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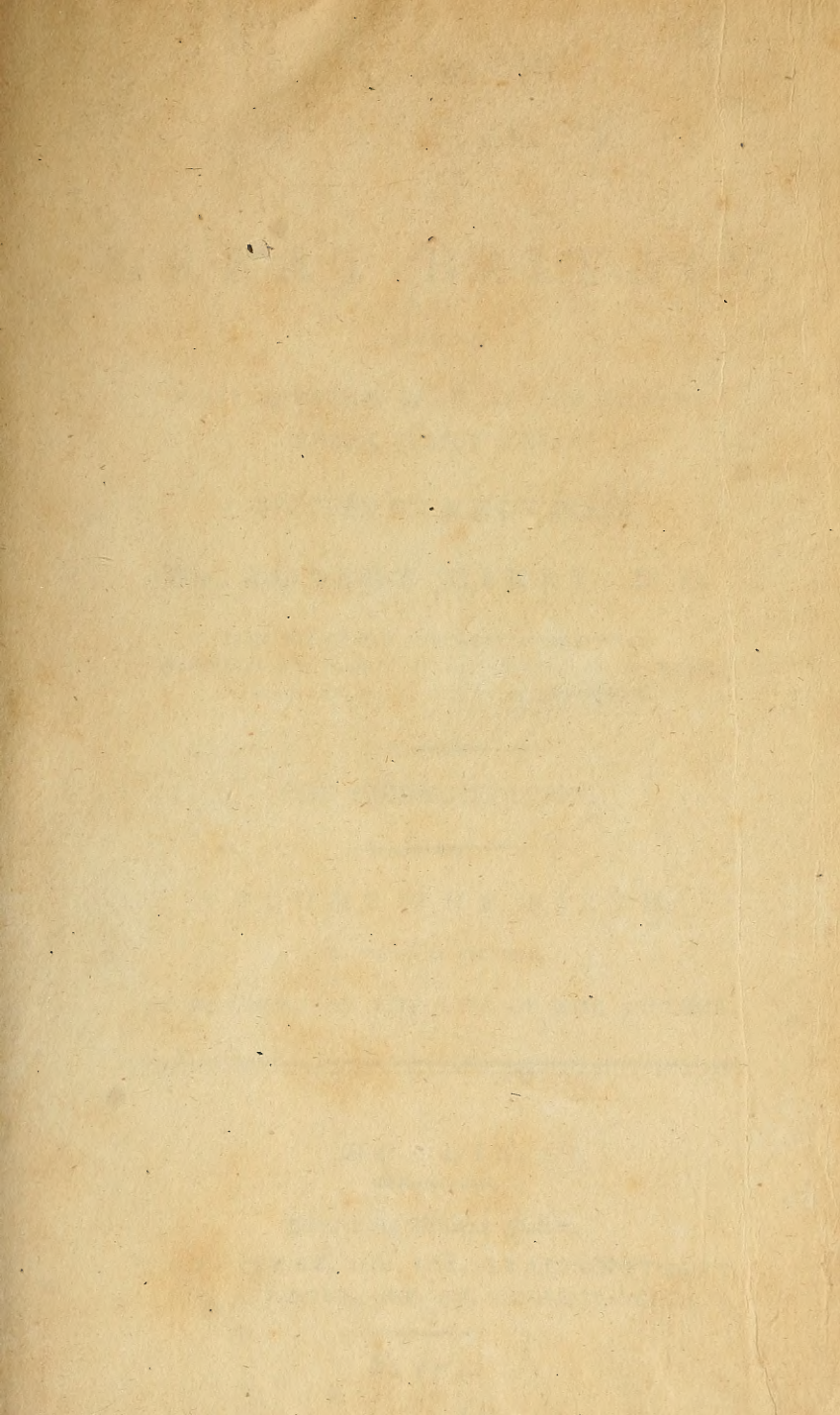


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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N,

FROM THE
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

BY ROBERT HENRY. D. D.

LATE ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH,
MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND,
AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

DUBLIN:

Printed by William Porter,
FOR P. BYRNE, NO. 108, GRAFTON-STREET,
AND J. MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1794.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
BY WILLIAM LAMARTINE
IN FIVE VOLUMES
LONDON: 1829

THE FRENCH INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CAESAR

ADAMS 250.1

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

WITH A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
FROM THE FOUNDED BY ROMANS
AND BY THE ROMAN SOCIETY OF BRITAIN
BY WILLIAM LAMARTINE
IN FIVE VOLUMES

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LONDON: 1829

TO

THE MEMORY

OF

WILLIAM EARL OF MANSFIELD,
Esq. Esq.

THIS POSTHUMOUS VOLUME

OF

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN


IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY DR. HENRY'S EXECUTORS,

H. MONCRIEFF WELLWOOD,

WM BALDERSTONE,

WM FINLAY.

 Dr. HENRY was always proud of the friendship with which the late EARL of MANSFIELD had honoured him; and it was the wish of his heart that the last part of his literary labours should be introduced to the world under his Lordship's patronage.

The death of that Nobleman has deprived the following Volume of this advantage. But the Executors of Dr. HENRY are persuaded that they could not better fulfil the intentions of the Author, than by inscribing this Work to the MEMORY of the EARL of MANSFIELD.

Dr. HENRY's friends have the satisfaction to believe, that a man whom his Lordship esteemed as an Author, cannot be soon forgotten; posterity will know that the History of Great Britain written by Dr. Henry was encouraged and protected by one of the wisest and greatest men of his time, whose old age was as venerable, as his active life was meritorious and distinguished.

LONDON,
22d April, 1793.

THE MEMORY

WILLIAM EARL OF MANSFIELD

32. 50

THIS TOGETHER WITH VOLUME

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY D. BARR, EXECUTOR

M. HONORABLE WILLIAM

M. LAIDENSTON

W. T. T. T.

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT TIME, IN TEN VOLUMES. BY SAMUEL JOHNSON, ESQ. VOL. X. THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD, FROM 1760 TO 1800. LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1790.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author of this Work, who died in 1790, left some part of the Volume which is now offered to the Public unfinished; for Chapter V. on *Arts*, and Chapter VII. on *Manners*, &c. he had only sketched out a few of the authorities, and no part of the narrative was written by him: Those two Chapters are entirely the work of MALCOLM LAING Esquire, who has finished them at the request of Dr. Henry's Executors. The whole of the Appendix is also Mr. Laing's; but the reader may be assured that every other part of the volume was completed by Dr. Henry himself, and is faithfully published from his manuscript.

ADVERTISEMENT

L. L. L.

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THE
L I F E
OF
ROBERT HENRY, D. D.

DR. ROBERT HENRY, author of the "History of Great Britain, written on a new plan," was the son of James Henry, farmer at Muirtown in the parish of St. Ninian's, North Britain, and of Jean Galloway daughter of — Galloway of Burrowmeadow in Stirlingshire. He was born on the 18th of February 1718; and having early resolved to devote himself to a literary profession, was educated first under a Mr. John Nicholson at the parish school of St. Ninian's, and for some time at the grammar school of Stirling. He completed his course of academical study at the university of Edinburgh, and afterwards became master of the grammar-school of Annan. He was licensed to preach on the 27th of March 1746, and was the first licentiate of the presbytery of Annan after its erection into a separate presbytery. Soon after, he received a call from a congregation of Presbyterian dissenters at Carlisle, where he was ordained in November, 1748. In this station he remained twelve years, and on the 13th of August 1760 became pastor of a dissenting congregation in Berwick upon Tweed. Here he married in 1763 Anne Balderston, daughter of Thomas Balderston, surgeon in Berwick; by whom he had no children, but with whom he enjoyed to the end of his life a large share of domestic happiness. He was removed from Berwick to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh in November 1768; was minister of the church of the New Gray Friars from that time till November 1776; and

and then became colleague-minister in the old church, and remained in that station till his death. The degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred on him by the university of Edinburgh in 1770; and in 1774 he was unanimously chosen moderator of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, and is the only person on record who obtained that distinction the first time he was a member of the assembly.

FROM these facts, which contain the outlines of Dr. Henry's life, few events can be expected to suit the purpose of the biographer. Though he must have been always distinguished among his private friends, till he was translated to Edinburgh he had few opportunities of being known to the public. The composition of sermons must have occupied a chief part of his time during his residence at Carlisle, as his industry in that station is known to have rendered his labours in his department easy to him during the rest of his life. But even there he found leisure for other studies; and the knowledge of classical literature, in which he eminently excelled, soon enabled him to acquire an extent of information which qualified him for something more important than he had hitherto had in his view.

Soon after his removal to Berwick, he published a scheme for raising a fund for the benefit of the widows and orphans of Protestant dissenting ministers in the north of England. This idea was probably suggested by the prosperity of the fund which had almost thirty years before been established for a provision to ministers widows, &c. in Scotland. But the situations of the clergy of Scotland were very different from the circumstances of dissenting ministers in England. Annuities and provisions were to be secured to the families of dissenters, without subjecting the individuals (as in Scotland) to a proportional annual contribution, and without such means of creating a fund as could be the subject of an act of parliament to secure the annual payments. The acuteness and activity of Dr. Henry surmounted these difficulties; and, chiefly by his exertions, this useful and benevolent institution commenced about the year 1762. The management was entrusted to him for several years; and its success has exceeded the most sanguine expectations which were formed
of

of it. The plan itself, now sufficiently known, it is unnecessary to explain minutely. But it is mentioned here, because Dr. Henry was accustomed in the last years of his life to speak of this institution with peculiar affection, and to reflect on its progress and utility with that kind of satisfaction which a good man can only receive from "the labour of love and of good works."

It was probably about the year 1763 that he first conceived the idea of his History of Great Britain: a work already established in the public opinion; and which will certainly be regarded by posterity, not only as a book which has greatly enlarged the sphere of history, and gratifies our curiosity on a variety of subjects which fall not within the limits prescribed by preceding historians, but as one of the most accurate and authentic repositories of historical information which this country has produced. The plan adopted by Dr. Henry, which is indisputably his own, and its peculiar advantages, are sufficiently explained in his general Preface. In every period, it arranges, under separate heads or chapters, the civil and military history of Great Britain; the history of religion; the history of our constitution, government, laws, and courts of justice; the history of learning, of learned men, and of the chief seminaries of learning; the history of arts; the history of commerce, of shipping, of money or coin, and of the price of commodities; and the history of manners, virtues, vices, customs, language, dress, diet, and amusements. Under these seven heads, which extend the province of an historian greatly beyond its usual limits, every thing curious or interesting in the history of any country may be comprehended. But it certainly required more than a common share of literary courage to attempt on so large a scale a subject so intricate and extensive as the history of Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar. That Dr. Henry neither over-rated his powers nor his industry, could only have been proved by the success and reputation of his works.

BUT he soon found that his residence at Berwick was an insuperable obstacle to the minute researches which the execution of his plan required. His situation there excluded him from the means of consulting the original authorities; and though he attempted to find access to

LIFE OF DR. HENRY.

them by means of his literary friends, and with their assistance made some progress in his work, his information was notwithstanding so incomplete, that he found it impossible to prosecute his plan to his own satisfaction, and was at last compelled to relinquish it.

By the friendship of Gilbert Laurie, Esq; late lord provost of Edinburgh, and one of his majesty's commissioners of excise in Scotland, who had married the sister of Mrs. Henry, he was removed to Edinburgh in 1768; and to this event the public are indebted for his prosecution of the History of Great Britain. His access to the public libraries, and the means of supplying the materials which these did not afford him, were from that time used with so much diligence and perseverance, that the first volume of his History, in quarto, was published in 1771, the second in 1774, the third in 1777, the fourth in 1781, and the fifth (which brings down the history to the accession of Henry VII.) in 1785. The subject of these volumes comprehends the most intricate and obscure periods of our history; and when we consider the scanty and scattered materials which Dr. Henry has digested, and the accurate and minute information which he has given us under every chapter of his work, we must have a high opinion both of the learning and industry of the author, and of the vigour and activity of his mind; especially when it is added, that he employed no amanuensis, but completed the manuscript with his own hand; and that, excepting the first volume, the whole book, such as it is, was printed from the original copy. Whatever corrections were made on it, were inserted by interlineations, or in revising the proof-sheets. He found it necessary, indeed, to confine himself to a first copy, from an unfortunate tremor in his hand, which made writing extremely inconvenient, and obliged him to write with his paper on a book placed on his knee instead of a table, and which unhappily increased to such a degree, that in the last years of his life he was often unable to take his victuals without assistance. An attempt which he made after the publication of the fifth volume to employ an amanuensis did not succeed. Never having been accustomed to dictate his compositions, he found it impossible to acquire a new habit; and though he persevered but a few days in the attempt, it had a sensible effect on his health, which he never

ver afterwards recovered.—An author has no right to claim indulgence, and is still less intitled to credit from the public, for any thing which can be ascribed to negligence in committing his manuscripts to the press; but considering the difficulties which Dr. Henry surmounted, and the accurate research and information which distinguish his history, the circumstances which have been mentioned are far from being uninteresting, and must add considerably to the opinion formed of his merit among men who are judges of what he has done. He did not profess to study the ornaments of language; but his arrangement is uniformly regular and natural, and his style simple and perspicuous. More than this he has not attempted, and this cannot be denied him. He believed that the time which might be spent in polishing or rounding a sentence, was more usefully employed in investigating and ascertaining a fact: and as a book of facts and solid information, supported by authentic documents, his History will stand a comparison with any other History of the same period.

BUT Dr. Henry had other difficulties to surmount than those which related to the composition of his work. Not having been able to transact with the booksellers to his satisfaction, the five volumes were originally published at the risk of the author. When the first volume appeared, it was censured with an unexampled acrimony and perseverance. Magazines, reviews, and even newspapers, were filled with abusive remarks and invectives, in which both the author and the book were treated with contempt and scurrility. When an author has once submitted his works to the public, he has no right to complain of the *just* severity of criticism. But Dr. Henry had to contend with the inveterate scorn of malignity. In compliance with the usual custom, he had permitted a sermon to be published which he had preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge in 1773; a composition containing plain good sense on a common subject, from which he expected no reputation. This was eagerly seized on by the adversaries of his History, and torn to pieces with a virulence and asperity which no want of merit in the sermon could justify or explain. An anonymous letter had appeared in a newspaper to vindicate the History from some of the unjust censures which had been published, and asserting from the real merit and accuracy of the book the

author's title to the approbation of the public. An answer appeared in the course of the following week, charging him, in terms equally confident and indecent, with having written this letter in his own praise. The efforts of malignity seldom fail to defeat their purpose, and to recoil on those who direct them. Dr. Henry had many friends, and till lately had not discovered that he had any enemies. But the author of the anonymous vindication was unknown to him, till the learned and respectable Dr. Macqueen, from the indignation excited by the confident petulance of the answer, informed him that the letter had been written by him. These anecdotes are still remembered. The abuse of the History, which began in Scotland, was renewed in some of the periodical publications in South Britain; though it is justice to add (without meaning to refer to the candid observations of English critics), that in both kingdoms the asperity originated in the same quarter, and that paragraphs and criticisms written at Edinburgh were printed in London. The same spirit appeared in *Strictures* published on the second and third volumes; but by this time it had in a great measure lost the attention of the public. The malevolence was sufficiently understood, and had long before become fatal to the circulation of the periodical paper from which it originally proceeded. The book, though printed for the author, had sold beyond his most sanguine expectations; and had received both praise and patronage from men of the first literary characters in the kingdom: and though, from the alarm which had been raised, the booksellers did not venture to purchase the property till after the publication of the fifth volume, the work was established in the opinion of the public, and at last rewarded the author with a high degree of celebrity, which he happily lived to enjoy.

IN an article relating to Dr. Henry's life, not to have mentioned the opposition which his History encountered, would have been both affectation and injustice. The facts are sufficiently remembered, and are unfortunately too recent to be more minutely explained. That they contributed at first to retard the sale of the work is undeniable, and may be told without regret now that its reputation is established. The book has raised itself to eminence as a History of Great Britain by its own merits; and the means employed to obstruct its progress have only served to embellish its success.

DR. Henry was no doubt encouraged from the first by the decided approbation of some of his literary friends, who were allowed to be the most competent judges of his subject; and in particular by one of the most eminent historians of the present age, whose history of the same periods justly possesses the highest reputation. The following character of the first and second volumes was drawn up by that gentleman, and is well intitled to be inserted in a narrative of Dr. Henry's life. "Those who profess a high
 " esteem for the first volume of Dr. Henry's History, I
 " may venture to say, are almost as numerous as those
 " who have perused it, provided they be competent judges
 " of a work of that nature, and are acquainted with the
 " difficulties which attend such an undertaking. Many
 " of those who had been so well pleased with the first were
 " impatient to see the second volume, which advances into
 " a field more delicate and interesting; but the Doctor
 " hath shown the maturity of his judgment; as in all the
 " rest, so particularly in giving no performance to the
 " public that might appear crude or hasty, or composed
 " before he had fully collected and digested the materials.
 " I venture with great sincerity to recommend this vo-
 " lume to the perusal of every curious reader who desires
 " to know the state of Great Britain, in a period which
 " has hitherto been regarded as very obscure, ill supplied
 " with writers, and not possessed of a single one that de-
 " serves the appellation of a good one. It is wonderful
 " what an instructive, and even entertaining book the
 " Doctor has been able to compose from such unpromising
 " materials: *Tantum series juncturaque pollet*. When we
 " see those barbarous ages delineated by so able a pen, we
 " admire the oddness and singularity of the manners, cus-
 " toms, and opinions of the times, and seem to be intro-
 " duced into a new world; but we are still more surpris-
 " ed, as well as interested, when we reflect that those
 " strange personages were the ancestors of the present
 " inhabitants of this island. The object of an antiquary
 " hath been commonly distinguished from that of an his-
 " torian; for though the latter should enter into the pro-
 " vince of the former, it is thought that it should only be
 " *quantobasta*, that is, so far as is necessary, without com-
 " prehending all the minute dispositions which give such
 " supreme pleasure to the mere antiquary. Our learned
 " author hath fully reconciled these two characters. His
 " historical

LIFE OF DR. HENRY.

“ historical narrative is as full as those remote times seem
 “ to demand, and at the same time his inquiries of the
 “ antiquarian kind omit nothing which can be an object
 “ of doubt or curiosity, The one as well as the other is
 “ delivered with great perspicuity, and no less propriety,
 “ which are the true ornaments of this kind of writing.
 “ All superfluous embellishments are avoided; and
 “ the reader will hardly find in our language any
 “ performance that unites together so perfectly the two
 “ great points of entertainment and instruction.”—The
 gentleman who wrote this character died before the pub-
 lication of the third volume.

THE progress of Dr. Henry's work introduced him to more extensive patronage, and in particular to the notice and esteem of the late Earl of Mansfield. That venerable nobleman, who was so well entitled to the gratitude and admiration of his country, thought the merit of Dr. Henry's history so considerable, that, without any solicitation, after the publication of the fourth volume, he applied personally to His Majesty to bestow on the author some mark of his royal favour. In consequence of this, Dr. Henry was informed by a letter from lord Stormont, then secretary of state, of His Majesty's intention to confer on him an annual pension for life of 100*l*. “ consider-
 “ ing his distinguished talents and great literary merit, and
 “ the importance of the very useful and laborious work in
 “ which he was so successfully engaged, as titles to
 “ his royal countenance and favour.” The warrant was issued on the 28th of May, 1781; and his right to the pension commenced from the 5th of April preceding. This pension he enjoyed till his death, and always considered it as inferring a new obligation to persevere steadily in the prosecution of his work. From the Earl of Mansfield he received many other testimonies of esteem both as a man and as an author, which he was often heard to mention with the most affectionate gratitude. The octavo edition of his history, published in 1788, was inscribed to his lordship. The quarto edition had been dedicated to the king.

THE property of the work had hitherto remained with himself: but in April 1786, when an octavo edition was intended, he conveyed the property to Messrs. Cadell and Strahan for the sum of 1000*l*.; reserving to himself what still remained unsold of the quarto edition. Dr. Henry had

had kept very accurate accounts of the sales from the time of the original publication; and after his last transaction he found that his real profits had amounted in the whole to 3,300*l.*; a striking proof of the intrinsic merit of a work which had forced its way to the public esteem, in spite of the malignant opposition with which the first volumes had to struggle.

THE prosecution of his history had been Dr. Henry's favourite object for almost thirty years of his life. He had naturally a sound constitution, and a more equal and larger portion of animal spirits than is commonly possessed by literary men; but from the year 1785 his bodily strength was sensibly impaired; notwithstanding this he persisted steadily in preparing his sixth volume, which brings down the history to the accession of Edward VI. and is now published by his executors: they flatter themselves that it will be found entitled to the same favourable reception from the public which has been given to the former volumes. It was written under the disadvantages of bad health and great weakness of body. The tremulous motion of his hand had increased so as to render writing much more difficult to him than it had ever been: but the vigour of his mind and his ardour were unimpaired; and, independent of the general character of his works, the posthumous volume will be a lasting monument of the strength of his faculties, and of the literary industry and perseverance which ended only with his life.

DR. HENRY's original plan extended from the invasion of Britain by the Romans to the present times; and men of literary curiosity must regret that he has not lived to complete his design; but he has certainly finished the most difficult parts of his subject. The periods after the accession of Edward VI. afford materials more ample, better digested, and much more within the reach of common readers.

THE works of an author make so considerable a part of his personal history, that the account of them is in danger of encroaching on the place which ought to be reserved for his private life. But though Dr. Henry's character as a man was sufficiently interesting, his death is too recent to permit the minuteness of a biographer. An account of his habits, his friendships, his amusements, his convivial intercourse, such as a reader of narratives of this sort expects, cannot be given to those who shared in his society, without
mixing

mixing the history of the living with the character of the dead. Nothing but what is general can be said; and much must therefore be withheld which a friend might wish to read, and which might gratify the curiosity of a stranger.

THOUGH his literary engagements might have been supposed to have given him sufficient employment, he always found time for what he believed to be objects of public utility, as well as for the offices of private friendship. In public life no man was more steady or active in pursuing his purpose, or sought the means of attaining it with more integrity. As an ecclesiastical man, he followed the unbiassed dictates of his own mind, uniformly promoting the measures which he thought most for the interest of religion and of his country, and persevering in the principles he avowed, though in the General Assembly they most frequently led him to be included in the votes of the minority. Of the public societies of Edinburgh he was always one of the most useful and indefatigable members; regular in his attendance as long as his health permitted him, and always pure in his intentions. But in serving and assisting his private friends, he discovered an ardour and activity through his whole life more interesting than the most distinguished literary fame: even the sons of those who had once been his companions, were certain of every assistance in his power, if he thought they deserved it; and no consideration could persuade him to desert a man whom he esteemed, or whom he believed to have a claim on his friendship. He was particularly attentive to young men who were prosecuting a literary education. He had himself experienced difficulties in his youth, and mentioned them often as motives which he could not resist, to the industry and merit of other men. His activity to serve his friends was always accompanied with an earnestness and good will, which added greatly to the obligations he conferred. Besides his friends, he was particularly attentive to his relations; of whom he had a number, whose circumstances were not opulent; with them he shared his good fortune, as soon as the profits of his book enabled him to be useful to them; and with the exception of an annuity to Mrs. Henry, and a few small legacies, left them by his will all the property he had acquired.—His pension and the profits of his book had placed him at last in easy circumstances, and enabled him to do for his relations

relations what gave great satisfaction to his worthy and benevolent mind.

DR. Henry was naturally fond of society; and few men ever enjoyed society more perfectly, or were capable of contributing so much to the pleasures of conversation.—Notwithstanding his literary pursuits, he was always ready to make one in a party of his friends; and attached himself to pleasant and respectable companions wherever he found them, without any regard to the competitions or contrary opinions which unhappily so often prevent worthy men from associating. His extensive knowledge, his cheerfulness and pleasantry, his inexhaustible fund of humour and anecdote, would have made him a distinguished character among any description of men, although he had no pretensions as an author. His great extent of solid information gave a variety to his conversation, to which much was added by his talents for convivial pleasantry. He had a story or anecdote ready for every occasion, and adapted to every subject; and was peculiarly happy in selecting the circumstances which could render it interesting and pointed. If the same narratives were sometimes repeated, a circumstance which was unavoidable, they were always seasoned with a new relish; and even those who lived most with him, have seldom been in his company without hearing from him something which was as new to them as to strangers. His character was uniform to the end. He conversed with the ardour and even the gaiety of youth long after his bodily strength had yielded to the infirmities of age; and even within a few days of his death, which he was every day expecting, he could mix anecdotes and pleasantry with the most serious discourse.

FOR several years he had spent a part of every season at Milnfield, a country-house with a few acres surrounding it, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, of which he had a lease for his own life and Mrs. Henry's. He had been attracted to this situation by its vicinity to his friend Mr. Laurie's estate, to whose family he had always an affectionate attachment. Here he prosecuted his studies without interruption; and amused himself with such improvements and alterations on his small farm as his convenience or his fancy suggested to him. He built a small room for a library, which he had surrounded with trees; and inscribed

“ *Otis*

"*Otio et Musis*;" and, the situation admitting of it, he fitted up on the ground floor a place for a cold bath, which his physicians had directed him to use: on the door of which he had written, "Be easily pleased;" a circumstance highly characteristic of his own temper in the common affairs of life.

HIS health had been gradually declining since the year 1785. He had been unable to preach for several years, and an assistant had supplied his place. On this account he spent more of his time than usual at Milnfield. Till the summer of 1790 he was able to pursue his studies, though not without some interruptions: but at that time, though he had no particular disease, a universal relaxation and debility assured him that his constitution was exhausted. What rendered his situation more depressing still, Mrs. Henry had for some time discovered symptoms of a cataract on her eyes, which in 1790 reduced her to a state of almost total blindness. In the month of August he accompanied her to Edinburgh, where she submitted to an operation, which was so far unsuccessful that she did not recover her sight during his life. From the time of his return to Milnfield in September, his strength was sensibly diminished; and he was soon convinced that he had but a few weeks to live. No man could meet death with more equanimity or fortitude, or with a fortitude derived from better sources. He mentioned his death easily and often as an event which in his situation was desirable, sensible that from the exhausted state of his body he could no longer enjoy this world, or be useful in it; and expressing in the most explicit terms his firm persuasion of the great doctrines of Christianity, and the full expectation he derived from them of "life and immortality through Jesus Christ our Lord." His faculties were perfectly entire; nor could any change be observed in his manner or conversation with his friends. He was never confined to bed, and conversed easily till within a few hours of his death. He had a strength of mind which falls to the lot of few; and Providence permitted him to preserve the full possession of it.

A FEW days before his death he executed a deed, which he dictated himself, by which he disposed his collection of books to the magistrates, town-council, and presbytery of Linlithgow, as the foundation of a public library; under certain regulations and conditions which he expressed very distinctly,

distinctly, and by means of which he flattered himself that a library might at last be created, which might contribute to diffuse knowledge and literature in the country. This idea had been suggested to him by his experience in the public utility of libraries of this sort, which had been established at Berwick and at Kelso. By such institutions the means of knowledge may be obtained in remote situations at a small expence, and are easily circulated among the different orders of men: and though his collection of books was not a large one, he believed the institution required only to be begun under proper regulations, and might soon become considerable if proper attention should be given to it. His intentions were certainly pure; and the rules he suggested well suited to the design. The magistrates of Linlithgow have prepared a room, and curators for the management of the library have been chosen in terms of the deed. The public have reason to expect from them every thing by which they can promote the benevolent and respectable intentions of the founder. He gave very minute directions with regard to his affairs, and even dictated a list of his friends whom he wished to be present at his funeral; and with a constitution quite worn out, died on the 24th of November, 1790, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of Polmont, where a monument is erected to his memory.

DR. Henry's personal virtues will not be soon forgotten. Among his friends he will always be remembered with tenderness: and his character as an author will be respected by posterity, long after the events of his private life shall become too distant to be interesting.

1870

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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

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The Civil and Military History of Britain, from the
Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the
Death of Henry VIII. A. D. 1547.

SECTION I.

*The Civil and Military History of England, from the
Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Accession of
Henry VIII. A. D. 1509.*

THE victory gained at Bosworth, by Henry earl of A. D. 1485.
Richmond over Richard III. was decisive, and produced
the most important consequences. The victorious chief-
tain was proclaimed king by his army on the field of
battle; a crown of ornament, which Richard had worn
in the action, was placed upon his head, and from that
moment he assumed the name, state, and authority of
king of England.

The title of Henry VII. (as he must now be called) Defects of
to the crown which he thus assumed, was quite inexplicable.
VOL. VI. B cable Henry's title.

A.D. 1485.

cable. The hereditary right or title to that crown was evidently in the house of York, of which there were several princes and princeſſes then alive in England *. Henry had even no title to the hereditary rights, or rather pretenſions, of the houſe of Lancaſter to the crown. He was deſcended, indeed, from one of the natural ſons of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter; and the natural children of that prince had been legitimated; but in the very act of their legitimation, they and their poſterity were declared to be incapable of inheriting the crown †. To a parliamentary right he could not then pretend; for he ſtood attainted as a traitor by an act of parliament ‡. One victory of one Engliſh army over another Engliſh army, could not be called a conqueſt of England; and Henry's little army, though victorious, had certainly no right to change the eſtabliſhed laws of ſucceſſion, and to chooſe a king contrary to thoſe laws, for a great and powerful kingdom. But notwithstanding all theſe defects in his title, of which he could not be ignorant, Henry acted in all reſpects, from the day of his victory, as if it had been perfectly clear, and liable to no objections.

Earl of
Warwick
imprison-
ed.

The firſt act of Henry's government was equally unjuſt and cruel. On the day after the battle of Boſworth, he ſent Sir Robert Willoughby to ſheriff Hotton in Yorkſhire, with a commiſſion to ſeize Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, (the only ſon of George duke of Clarence, by the eldeſt daughter of the great earl of Warwick,) and conduct him to the Tower of London. This young prince, without being accuſed, or even ſuſpected of any crime, was kept a a priſoner, from his infancy to his death, by the jealouſy of two ſucceſſive tyrants §. So little were the feelings of humanity, and the moſt eſſential rules of juſtice, regarded, in thoſe unhappy times.

Joy at
Henry's
acceſſion.

Henry having reſreſhed his troops a few days at Leiceſter, conducted them towards the capital, and was every where received with the loudeſt acclamations; which were, in general, ſincere expreſſions of joy at his acceſſion. The Lancaſtrian party had long fixed their eyes

* Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. vii. p. 849.

‡ Statutes.

§ Hall, Hen. VII. f. 1. Bacon's Hiſt. Hen. VII. p. 6. Poly-
æne Virgil, p. 565.

upon him as their head, and the only person of his family who was capable of asserting its pretensions to the crown. The Yorkists, knowing his engagements to marry the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter to Edward IV. rejoiced in his success, hoping that their union would put an end to those civil wars which had raged so long with such destructive violence. The remaining partizans of the late king were quite dispirited, and consulted their safety by their silence and retirement. A.D. 1485.

When the victorious prince and army approached London, the citizens went out in crowds to meet and welcome their new monarch. But on this occasion Henry discovered his reserved and haughty disposition, by entering the city in a close litter, and depriving the people of the satisfaction of seeing his person, which gave a check to their joy. He proceeded directly to St. Paul's, where he deposited the standards taken at Bosworth, and returned thanks to God for his victory*. Enters London.

Though Henry was inflamed with the most violent hatred to the rival family of York, by which he had been long and cruelly persecuted, he was sensible he could not retain the possession of the crown without forming an alliance with that family. He made haste, therefore, in the presence of an assembly of the principal clergy and nobility, to renew his promise to marry the princess Elizabeth †. But he determined not to perform that promise, till he was firmly seated on the throne, and had his own right to the crown recognised by parliament; that he might not seem to derive his title from the princess, or depend upon her life for the duration of his authority. Promises to marry the lady Elizabeth.

As the sweating sickness raged in London at this time, he was forced to defer his coronation till the 20th of October, when it was performed with the usual pomp and ceremonies. On that occasion Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley was made earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, earl of Devonshire ‡. Coronation.

When the parliament met at Westminster, November 7th, it was found, that many of the members of the house of commons were attainted for treason in the two last reigns, by acts of parliament yet unrepealed. This occasioned no little perplexity and hesitation; as these Parliament.

* Bacon, p. 7, 8.

† Id, ibid.

‡ ibid. p. 9.

THE HISTORY OF

A.D. 1485. members were the most zealous partisans of the house of Lancaster; and the judges were required to give their opinion on this case, so new and singular. The sages of the law, after mature deliberation, gave it as their opinion and advice, "That the attainted members should not take " their seats till their attainders were reversed." This prudent opinion was adopted, and the attainers of one hundred and seven gentlemen were reversed *.

Settle-
ment of
the crown.

The parliament then proceeded to the great business for which it had been called, the settlement of the crown. The king expressed his claims to the crown in few words, by saying, he had a just title to it by hereditary right, and by victory over his enemies. But, that he might not alarm the parliament and people by the claim of conquest, he added, that he did not intend to deprive any man of his inheritance. The parliament, without considering these claims, which were ill-founded, but attending only to his present possession of the crown, which was undeniable, enacted, "That the inheritance of the crown of " this realm of England, and also of France, shall rest, " remain, and abide in the most royal person of our " new sovereign lord king Henry the Seventh, and in " the heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually, " with the grace of God, so to endure, and in none " other †." It is remarkable, that the princess Elizabeth, undoubted heiress of the house of York, and consequently of the crown of England, is not once mentioned in this act of settlement, and that the last words of it seem to have been inserted to cut off her claim. This was owing to the jealous and haughty spirit of Henry, and his hatred of the house of York, and must have been very offensive to the friends of that house.

Acts of
parlia-
ment.

The parliament then, by one act, secured indemnity to those who fought under the earl of Richmond at the battle of Bosworth; and by another, attainted the duke of Norfolk, and thirty other lords and gentlemen who had fought under king Richard at that battle ‡. The last of these acts was certainly unjust and cruel. It could not be high treason in these lords and gentlemen to fight under the banner of a prince to whom they and

* Records of Parliament, 1 Hen. VII.

† Records of Parliament. Hall, Hen. VII. f. 3.

‡ Statutes, 1 Hen. VII.

the whole kingdom had sworn fealty, against the earl A.D. 1485.
 of Richmond who did not so much as pretend to be
 king, and who was at that time an attainted outlaw.
 Accordingly, we are told by a contemporary historian,
 that this act met with great opposition and occasioned
 long and warm debates in parliament; and that historian,
 though he evidently writes under great restraint and ter-
 ror, breaks out into this pathetic exclamation; "O God!
 " what security can princes have, that their subjects
 " will defend their persons in the day of battle; when
 " being forced there, perhaps, by their absolute com-
 " mands and threats, the side they fight for, as is often
 " the case, being worsted, they find their own lives and
 " fortunes involved in the common ruin *?"

Though the Yorkists were numerous in this parlia- Address.
 ment, and disliked this severity, which fell only on their
 friends and party, many of them concealed their
 thoughts, in hopes that the marriage of the king with the
 princess Elizabeth would extinguish his hatred to the
 friends of her family, and put an end to the calamities
 of their country. They had influence to procure an ad-
 dress from the parliament to the king, to hasten the con-
 clusion of the marriage †.

Henry, finding that he had pushed his resentment Pardon.
 against those who had opposed him rather too far,
 thought it prudent to publish a free pardon to all his sub-
 jects, who signified their submission to his government,
 by taking the oath of fealty. On this, many who had
 espoused the cause of the late king, issued from their
 sanctuaries and hiding-places, and took the benefit of
 that pardon. At the same time he restored Edward
 Stafford, the eldest son of the late Henry duke of Buck-
 ingham, to the honours and princely fortune of his fa-
 mily ‡.

Though Henry was not an impatient lover, he was a 1486.
 quick-sighted politician; and perceiving that the delay of Henry's
 his marriage was one of the chief sources of the doubts marriage.
 and fears of his subjects, he determined to remove that
 cause of their disgust. This long expected marriage
 was accordingly celebrated January the 10th, A. D.
 1486, with royal pomp. The rejoicings on this occa-
 sion, in London, Westminster, and other places, were

* Continut. Hist. Croiland, p. 581.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Bacon p. 14, 15.

A. D. 1486. excessive, far superior to those at the king's accession and coronation. Henry did not relish these rejoicings; on the contrary, they gave great disgust to his jealous and sullen spirit; as they convinced him, that the house of York was still the favourite of the people, and that his young and beautiful consort possessed a greater share of their affections than himself. This, it is said, deprived her of the affections of her husband, who treated her unkindly during her life *.

External
peace.

England was not at war with any other nation at the accession of Henry VII. ; and it was one of the first cares of that sagacious prince to secure the continuance of this external peace, so necessary to one in his circumstances. With this view he preserved the truce with France, and spared no pains to prevent disputes with Scotland, and to unite the royal families by intermarriages †.

Insurrec-
tion sup-
pressed.

Henry now enjoying peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, set out on a progress into the north, where he knew the people had been more generally attached to the late king and to the house of York; than in any other part of England. When he was celebrating the feast of Easter at Lincoln, he was informed that the lord Lovet, with Humphry and Thomas Stafford, had left the sanctuary at Colchester, which did not seem to give him much concern, and he proceeded to York. There he received more certain and more alarming intelligence; that the lord Lovet was advancing towards York at the head of four thousand men, and that the two Staffords with an army were besieging Worcester. The king was not insensible of his danger, but without betraying any symptoms of fear, he prepared for his defence; and having collected about three thousand men, he gave the command of them to his uncle Jasper duke of Bedford, with directions to march boldly towards the enemy; and when he approached them, to proclaim a full and free pardon to all who would lay down their arms. Lord Lovet, dreading the effect of this proclamation, fled in the night; and his followers, seeing themselves without a leader, accepted of the offered pardon. The army before Worcester, hearing the dispersion of their confederates, disbanded; and the two Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Cobham near Abington. But as that obscure church

* Bacon, p. 16.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 281.

had not the privilege of protecting traitors from justice, A.D. 1486. they were taken from thence, and Humphry, the eldest brother, was executed, and the other pardoned *. Thus ended an insurrection, which under more able leaders, might have been very dangerous.

Soon after Henry returned to London from the north, Prince Arthur born. he deigned to pay a visit to the queen at Winchester, who was there prematurely delivered of a son, September 20th. The young prince was named Arthur, in honour of the renowned British prince of that name, from whom the king pretended to derive his descent, by his grandfather Owen Tudor †.

Though the late insurrection had been so easily suppressed, the spirit of discontent and animosity against the king, that had excited it, still continued, and daily increased. This spirit was raised and inflamed by Henry's inveterate hatred to the house of York and all its partisans, of which he had given early, and continued to give daily, proofs. To this they imputed his procuring the parliamentary settlement of the crown on himself and his heirs, without any mention of the princess Elizabeth; his delaying so long to marry that princess; his harsh treatment of her after marriage; his denying her the honour of being crowned, which had never been denied to any queen consort; his frowning upon all the friends of the family of York, and refusing them every favour. This conduct was the more irritating to the Yorkists, that they had expected, and thought they had merited, a very different treatment, as they had contributed so much to his elevation to the throne. In a word, the whole York party was ripe for rebellion, and wanted only a proper head to have renewed all the horrors of the civil wars. Such a head was so earnestly desired, that it was reported, and generally believed by those who wished it to be true, that Richard duke of York, the youngest son of Edward IV. was still alive, and would soon appear to assert his right to the crown; which gave occasion to the mysterious transaction I am now to relate, but which will never be perfectly understood.

Richard Simon, a priest residing in Oxford, had Lambert a pupil under his care, named Lambert Simnel, the Simnel.

* Hall, f. 4. Bacon, p. 17. 18.

† Hall, f. 5.
natural

A.D. 1487. natural son of a baker. This youth was about fifteen years of age, acute, sensible, and sagacious; handsome in his person, graceful in his deportment, and every way qualified to personate Richard duke of York, whose appearance was earnestly desired and generally expected. To fit him for doing this, his preceptor gave him his best instructions. But whether this scheme was formed by the priest himself, or contrived by some person of higher rank and greater consequence, cannot be discovered, though the last seems to be most probable. While Simon was instructing his pupil how to personate the duke of York, a report was propagated, and generally believed, that Edward earl of Warwick had made his escape from the Tower of London, and would soon emerge into public view. This determined Simon or those who conducted this plot, to change their plan, and to make Simnel personate the earl of Warwick.

Removed
to Ireland.

No scheme could be more unfeasible than this, or more unlikely to succeed. The person and family of Simnel were known to thousands in and about Oxford. The person of the earl of Warwick was still better known; he was alive, in the possession of the king, and ready to be produced, to confound the impostor and undeceive the people. Whoever were the managers of this scheme, they were sensible of this difficulty; and they resolved to begin their operations in Ireland, where neither the earl nor Simnel were personally known, and where the people of rank hated Henry, and were devoted to the house of York. With this view Simon and his pupil removed of themselves, or were conducted by others, into Ireland.

Proclaim-
ed king.

Henry had been so much engaged in England since his accession, that he had almost totally neglected Ireland, and suffered those that had been invested with power in that island by the late kings of the house of York, to retain their places. Thomas Fitzgerald earl of Kildare, a zealous Yorkist, was lord deputy, his brother lord chancellor, and almost all the bishops had been promoted by Edward or Richard. It is highly probable too, that the lord deputy, and perhaps some others, had been let into the secret of this design by the promoters of it in England, and instructed how to act. However that
may

may be, Simon and his pupil met with a most favourable reception in Ireland. The citizens of Dublin expressed great joy on their arrival in that city, and Simnel was universally believed to be earl of Warwick. The lord deputy, (observing that the sentiments and dispositions of the people coincided with his own inclinations,) after conversing with Simnel, and asking him some questions about the manner of his escape, declared himself fully convinced that he was Edward Plantagenet, only son of George duke of Clarence. The example of the deputy was followed by many other persons of rank. Simnel was conducted with great pomp from his lodgings in the city to the castle of Dublin, where he was attended as a prince, and soon after proclaimed king of England and lord of Ireland, by the name of Edward VI. with all the usual solemnities. A.D. 1487.

Henry was greatly alarmed at the news of this sudden and surprising revolution in Ireland. His apprehensions were increased when he heard that John earl of Lincoln, a brave and active nobleman, son to Elizabeth duchess of Suffolk, eldest sister to the two late kings, had left the kingdom, and was gone to the court of his aunt, Margaret duchess dowager of Burgundy, his most inveterate and most formidable enemy. This convinced Henry that the plot now disclosed in Ireland had been formed in England, and would be supported by the earl of Lincoln, the duchess of Burgundy, and perhaps many others. Henry alarmed.

Henry, on this occasion, exerted his usual activity, to prepare for his defence, and to discover the authors and favourers of this plot. With this view he held a council at Shene, with his most confidential friends. At the breaking up of this council an unexpected scene was opened. The queen dowager was apprehended and conducted to the nunnery of Bermondsey, and all her estates and effects of every kind confiscated. The reason assigned for this severe treatment of so near a relation was that she had left the sanctuary at Westminster, and put her daughters into the hands of the late king; a crime, if it was a crime, of a very old date, and supposed to have been long ago forgiven. But the real reason, as it was universally believed, was, that Henry had discovered that she was concerned in the present plot to dethrone him: and when we consider the intriguing spirit of the queen, and her hatred of Henry, for excluding Queen Dowager continued.

A.D. 1487. cluding her from all power, and for his harsh treatment of her daughter and the friends of her family, this will not appear improbable. Her son, the marquis of Dorset, was committed to the Tower, to prevent the effects of his resentment, for the confinement of his mother*.

Earl of
Warwick
exhibited
in Lon-
don.

The next step taken by Henry to defeat the designs of his enemies was less violent and more effectual. He caused the real earl of Warwick to be carried in procession through the principal streets of London, permitting all who pleased, to approach his person, and enter into conversation with him; after which he was conducted to St. Paul's, where the nobility and persons of rank were introduced to him, and invited to ask him such questions as they thought proper, for their entire satisfaction. This contributed very much to keep the people of England quiet, and prevent their promoting what they were convinced was an imposition. It had little or no effect upon the Irish, who boldly affirmed, that the person exhibited by Henry was an impostor, and that they were in the possession of the true Plantagenet†.

Simnel
crowned.

When the earl of Lincoln arrived at Brussels, and applied to Margaret duchess of Burgundy, he found her as forward to promote any scheme for dethroning Henry as he could desire. She accordingly furnished him and the lord Lovel, (who had taken shelter in her court,) with two thousand German soldiers, commanded by Martin Swartz, a brave experienced officer; and with shipping to transport them to Ireland, where they landed March 19th, A. D. 1487. This reinforcement inspired the Irish with so much confidence, that they prepared for the coronation of their pretended king; and all things being provided, Lambert Simnel was crowned (with a crown taken from an image of the Virgin Mary) by the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, assisted by other prelates and nobles, in the cathedral of Dublin‡: a very extraordinary honour for the natural son of an obscure mechanic! But this was the age of surprising revolutions.

The Irish knowing that their own country could not long support a court and army, and hoping to enrich themselves with the spoils of England, determined to

* Polydore Virgil, p. 571. Bacon, p. 25.

† Ibid.

‡ Hall, f. 9. Polydore Virgil, p. 572. Bacon, p. 31. &c. Rym. Ford. tom. xii. p. 332:

make that country the seat of the war. They embarked ^{A.D. 1487.} with their auxiliaries, and landed at the Pyle of Foudray in Lancashire, June 4th; where they were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, a gentleman of considerable influence in those parts. Being now about 8000 strong, they advanced into Yorkshire, expecting great reinforcements in that country; but in this they were disappointed; the people, disliking the Irish, and convinced that the pretended Edward VI. was an impostor, remained quiet.

In the mean time Henry had not been idle. He published a general pardon to all that had engaged in this rebellion, upon their submission; he guarded the ports with great care; sent spies into Ireland and Flanders; stationed couriers on the sea-coasts to bring him intelligence; visited the shrines of the most celebrated saints to implore their protection; and provided an army to encounter his enemies. As soon as Henry heard of their landing, and the rout they had taken, he marched towards them with great diligence; and the two armies met on a plain at the village of Stoke near Newark, where a bloody battle was fought, June 16th, A. D. 1487. The leaders of the invaders expecting no mercy if they were taken, determined to conquer or die, and inspired their followers with the same resolution. The battle raged with uncommon fury no less than three hours, when the Irish, being destitute of defensive armour, and no longer able to resist the English archers, began to fly, and the king obtained a complete victory at the expence of about 2000 of his best troops. Of the Irish and Germans about 4000, with the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, Sir Thomas Broughton, Martin Swartz, and all the other leaders, fell in the action, or in the pursuit*. Lambert Simnel and his preceptor, Richard Simon, were taken, and met with more merciful treatment than they had reason to expect. The priest was imprisoned for life; Simnel was first employed in the lowest offices about the king's kitchen, and afterwards made one of his falconers†. It is in vain to guess at the motives to this lenity; they will never be known.

Henry spent the remainder of the summer in the north, making the most diligent enquiries after all who ^{Delinquents punished.}

* Hall, f. 10. Bacon, p. 35.

† Hall, *ibid.*

A.D. 1487. had aided the late invaders, or who had expressed any wishes for their success. Few of the delinquents were put to death, but many of them severely fined; and the king, on this occasion, discovered to the world that avarice was his ruling passion.

Speech to
parlia-
ment.

Having reduced the country to order, he returned to the capital; finding it necessary to pay attention to the state of affairs on the continent: and that he might be enabled to do this with effect, he called a parliament, which met at Westminster, November 9th, A. D. 1487. Morton, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, informed the two houses of the reasons which had determined the king to call this parliament. "The causes," said he, "of your present assembling are two: the one a foreign business; the other, matter of government at home. 1. The French king (as no doubt you have heard) maketh, at this present, hot war on the duke of Britaine. His army is now before Nants, and holdeth it straitly besieged, being the principal city in strength and wealth of that duchy. You may guess at his hopes, by his attempting the hardest part of the work first. The cause of this war he knoweth best. He alledgeth the entertaining and succouring of the duke of Orleans, and some other French lords, whom the king taketh for his enemies. Others divine of other matters. Both parties have, by their ambassadors, divers times prayed the king's aids; the French king's aids or neutrality; the Brittons' aids simply; for so their case requireth. The king, as a Christian prince, and blessed son of holy church, hath offered himself as mediator, to treat a peace between them. The French king yieldeth to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the war. The Brittons, that desire peace most, hearken to it least, not upon confidence or stiffness, but upon distrust of true meaning, seeing the war goes on. So as the king, after as much care and pains to effect a peace as ever he took in any business, not being able to remove the prosecution one side, nor the distrust on the other, caused by that prosecution, hath let fall the treaty; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore, by this narrative you may understand the state of the question, whereupon the king prayeth your advice; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive war for
" the

"the Brittons against France *." This speech produced the desired effect. The parliament granted the king a liberal supply, and advised him to enter into the war †. A.D. 1487.

Henry was not ignorant that many of his subjects, particularly the numerous friends of the house of York, were greatly offended at his unkind contemptuous treatment of his queen, in delaying her coronation so long; and therefore, to avoid the effects of their resentment, he at length consented to it; and that ceremony was performed, November 25th, A. D. 1487. About the same time he restored the marquis of Dorset, the queen's uterine brother, to his liberty ‡. The queen crowned.

Though the supplies for the war in Brittany had been cheerfully granted by parliament, they were not so cheerfully paid. The people in the counties of York and Durham opposed the collectors; and the earl of Northumberland found it necessary to acquaint the king with their opposition, and desire directions how to proceed. Having received positive commands from court, to cause the tax to be levied with the greatest strictness, he communicated these commands to a meeting of the gentlemen of the county of York, in a tone, it is said, rather imperious. When the people were informed of this, they became furious and ungovernable; broke into the earl's house, and put him and several of his servants to death. Hitherto this mob had been conducted by one of their own number, called John a Chambre; but Sir John Egermond now placed himself at their head, and declared open war against Henry, as a tyrant and usurper. As soon as the king received intelligence of this insurrection, he dispatched a body of troops, commanded by Thomas Howard earl of Surry, to meet the insurgents, who dispersed them without much difficulty. Sir John Egermond escaped to Flanders, but John a Chambre and twelve of the ringleaders of this mob, were hanged at York, and the tax was levied without any further opposition §. 1488.
Earl of Northumberland killed.

Henry was far more active in collecting the supplies granted by the late parliament, than in applying them to the purpose for which they were given. Resolved, if possible, to keep the money in his own coffers, he sent Truce with France.

* Bacon, p. 51. &c.

† Parliament. Hist. vol. xi. p. 419.

‡ Bacon, p. 38.

§ Hall, f. 16.

A.D. 1488. ambassadors to the king of France, March 17th, A. D. 1488, to negociate, as he pretended, a peace between that king and the duke of Brittany, which he had told his parliament he knew to be in vain. The real business of these ambassadors was of a very different nature; and they actually concluded a truce between England and France, to continue to the 17th January, A. D. 1489, leaving the unhappy Brittons (who are not once mentioned in the treaty) a prey to their too powerful enemies*. What could be more base and dishonourable than this transaction; more unjust to his own subjects; or more cruel and ungrateful to the duke of Brittany, by whom he had been so long protected and supported in his exile†.

Battle of St. Aubin. The duke was now in great distress, with a powerful enemy in the heart of his dominions; but he had still many brave captains and loyal subjects, who resolved to make one great effort to save their prince and country. A considerable army was raised, and marched toward the enemy. The two armies met, July 28th, A. D. 1488, near St. Aubin, where a battle was fought, in which the Brittons were defeated with great slaughter. Edward lord Woodville, brother to the queen dowager of England, (who had raised 400 men, and carried them into Brittany,) fell in this fatal action, with almost all his followers‡.

Peace between France and Brittany. By this defeat the affairs of the duke being almost quite desperate, he humbly supplicated the king of France for peace; which that prince granted, not from generosity or compassion, but from the fear of rousing the king of England, whose interest it was to support the duke, and whose subjects ardently desired a war with France. By this peace, concluded in August, it was stipulated, that Charles should retain all the towns and forts he had taken, and withdraw the rest of his army out of the country; which last article he eluded.

Francis II. duke of Brittany, died September the 9th, a few days after the conclusion of this peace; leaving the princess Anne, his daughter, in her thirteenth year, heiress of his dominions and distresses.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 337. 344.

† Bacon, the great historian of this reign, knew nothing of this infamous treaty.

‡ Hall, f. 15. Bacon, p. 62.

It would be tedious to conduct the reader through all the intricate mazes of Henry's policy on this occasion. He certainly acted with much art and little honesty; but, unfortunately for him, his antagonists were more artful and no honefter than himself. The ends at which he aimed were these: to keep his money; to avoid war; and yet to preserve Brittany from being annexed to France. All this he hoped to accomplish by his superior cunning. As soon as he heard of the death of duke Francis, he affected to feel the most tender concern for his daughter in her distress; he was loud and vehement in his declarations, that he would defend her and her dominions with all his power; and he sent embassies with much parade into Flanders, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and even Italy, to make the French believe he was forming a powerful confederacy against them for the defence of Brittany*. But the French ministers were too well acquainted with Henry's real character, to be either deceived or intimidated by these appearances.

A.D. 1488.

Henry's
policy.

That the Brittons might not quite despair of ever receiving any assistance from England, and that the French might be induced to believe that he was now at last in earnest, Henry concluded a treaty with the duchess Anne at Redon, February 10th, A. D. 1489, in which he engaged to send her an army of six thousand archers, to remain in Brittany from the time of their landing to the 1st of November in the same year. But how cruel were the conditions on which this aid was granted? The most ample security was demanded and given, by delivering certain strong towns into the king's hands, for the repayment of every farthing expended in raising, transporting, paying, and maintaining these troops, till they were safely relanded in England, though he had actually received from his own subjects the supplies granted by parliament for the performance of this very service. But, which is still more extraordinary, in this treaty Henry reserved to himself the power of observing his truce with France, which rendered these expensive auxiliaries in a great measure useless. In a word, the most griping usurer could not have made a harder bargain with his most necessitous debtor, than this great king made with the

1489.

A treaty.

* Rym. Fœd. p. 348—389.

A.D. 1489. distressed princeſs, to whom he pretended to be a father and protector*.

English
auxiliaries
in Britta-
ny.

The English auxiliaries landed in Brittany in March, where they remained in great tranquillity till November, when they all returned to England, except five hundred left to guard the cautionary towns. The French observed the truce with great ſtrictneſs, to deprive the English of any pretence for breaking it, and the campaign paſſed without any action †. In the mean time, the unfortunate Brittons were the only ſufferers, and actually ſuffered more from the protecting, than from the invading army.

Marriage.

Duke Francis had begun to negotiate the marriage of his eldeſt daughter with Maximilian king of the Romans, from whom he expected aſſiſtance. Theſe negotiations were now brought to a concluſion, and they were married in November this year by proxy, with this uncommon ceremony: the prince of Naſſau, Maximilian's proxy, put his naked leg into the bed where the young duchefs was laid; as a kind of conſummation of the marriage.— This tranſaction was kept a profound ſecret a conſiderable time.

Treaty.

As the duchefs Anne could not expect any preſent aid from Maximilian, whoſe affairs were much embroiled, ſhe was obliged to have recourſe again to the king of England; and gave a commiſſion, 15th February, 1490, to her chancellor, and ſeveral others, to negotiate with that prince for further aid. In that commiſſion, ſhe gave Henry many fair words, and conſtantly called him her lord and father ‡. But all this, and every thing commiſſioners could ſay, made no impreſſion on Henry. Inſtead of obtaining aſſurances of further aids, (except in words) he made them agree to a very diſadvantageous treaty, containing additional ſecurities for the repayment of the money expended on the late auxiliaries, and of his other expences in the affairs of Brittany; acting uniformly more like a covetous uſurer than a great princeſs.

Henry
threatens
war.

This year was almoſt wholly ſpent in negotiating various treaties with different princes and ſtates, on commercial and other ſubjects. In the treaties with the king

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 364—369.

† The hiſtorians, who knew not of the truce, ſay, there were ſome ſkirmiſhes; but theſe were probably only tilts or tournaments.

‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 387.

§ Ibid. p. 394.

of the Romans and the king and the queen of Spain, it was agreed, that the three contracting parties should declare war against king Charles, and invade France, for the recovery of their own rights and the rights of their allies, and particularly of Anne duchess of Brittany. As Henry's chief object in making these treaties was to intimidate the French, and to please his own subjects, who ardently desired to defend Brittany, he took care to make them as public as possible, by causing them to be proclaimed in all the towns in every county of England, and to be communicated to the court of France by his ambassadors *.

A.D. 1490.

Though the French ministers did not yet believe that Henry really intended war, they were desirous of discovering, if possible, what he did intend; and with this view they sent a splendid embassy to London. Henry gave a commission to his great confidant, bishop Fox, the earl of Ormond, and the prior of Canterbury, to treat with these ambassadors †. At their first meeting, Gaguien, prior of the order of the Holy Trinity, made a flaming harangue, in which he magnified, in very extravagant strains, his master's admiration of the wisdom, valour, and other virtues of the king of England; his warm affection and friendship for him; and his earnest desire to live at peace with him. As a proof of his entire confidence in his dearly beloved brother, he had desired them to communicate to him a very important secret: that he designed in a short time to lead an army in person into Italy, to assert his right to the kingdom of Naples, unjustly detained from him; and then to proceed to make war upon the Ottomans, for the recovery of the Holy Land. He had nothing at present to ask, but a mere trifle, hardly worth mentioning. All the world knew, that their master was superior lord of Brittany; and as such, had a right to be guardian to the heiress, and to dispose of her in marriage; and hoped that the king of England would give him no opposition in the exercise of that right. The English told the ambassadors, they would consult their master, and give them an answer in a few days. At their next meeting, bishop Fox made a short speech, and told the ambassadors, that if their master had so great an affection for the king as they

1491.

Speeches.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 410. 431.

† Id. Ibid.

A.D. 1491. pretended, it would be better to show it by actions, than only by words. As to the marriage of the heiress of Brittany, the king would not meddle in it, if their master would marry by the book, and not by the sword. He commended the pious design of making war upon the Turks; and when their master engaged in that war, the king would petition for a share in the danger, expence, and glory of the expedition. If the French king is bound in honour, as you say, to assert his right to the kingdom of Naples, the king my master is bound by his honour to assert his right to Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and even to the kingdom of France*. This last stroke so irritated the ambassadors, that they replied with warmth, "The king our sovereign is able to defend his sceptre with his sword;" then broke off the conference, and departed.

Henry's
ungene-
rous beha-
viour to the
Brittons.

In the beginning of this year the duchess of Brittany being involved in great distress and danger, sent the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and her chancellor Montaubon, to communicate the secret of her marriage with Maximilian to Henry, and to implore his protection. But they implored in vain. Nothing could move his covetous unfeeling heart to risk any more money. On the contrary, he continually demanded, and obtained, from her ambassadors, additional securities for the money he had expended. It is impossible to peruse the treaties he made with the agents of this distressed princess in the course of the year, without feeling the most lively indignation at this selfish sordid prince, who could see, unmoved, the only child of his protector stripped of all her dominions, when it was so much his interest, and so much in his power, to save her; and when his subjects panted for liberty to fly to her relief †.

Rennes
besieged.

When king Charles and his council considered the haughty answer given to their ambassadors, and were informed that no preparations were making for war in England, they were fully convinced that Henry's inten-

* Bacon, p. 82—93. I suspect these speeches were made by the noble historian who hath recorded them. This practice of inserting speeches that were never spoken, gives an author an opportunity of displaying his eloquence, but at the expence of his veracity; the most valuable virtue of an historian.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 433. 437. 438. 439. 443. 456. 457. 458. 459.

tion was to intimidate them with threats which he did not design to execute. They resolved, therefore, to push the war, and finish the conquest of Brittany as soon as possible. With this view they collected all their forces, and invested Rennes, the capital of the duchy, and residence of the duchess *. A.D. 1491.

In this extremity that distressed princess sent two successive embassies to Henry, to importune him for immediate relief, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her enemies. But nothing could prevail upon him to risk any more of his money. He only renewed his threats of invading France, in conjunction with Maximilian king of the Romans, and Ferdinand king of Spain; and began to make some preparations for the execution of these threats †. Embassies.

The siege of Rennes proved more tedious and difficult than was expected; and the French ministers began to fear the interference of the neighbouring powers, particularly of England, whose interest it was to prevent so great an accession to the monarchy of France. They therefore secretly formed a design of acquiring Brittany by a method more safe and easy than that of conquest. When this design was first formed cannot be discovered; because it was conducted, from the beginning to the end, with the most profound secrecy, on which its success depended. It is most probable that it was first thought of during the siege of Rennes. The marshal de Rieux, one of the chief instruments in its execution, certainly knew nothing of it when he was in England, in the summer this year, soliciting supplies †. The French change their plan.

Charles VIII. king of France, had been contracted several years to Margaret, only daughter of Maximilian king of the Romans, and had received extensive territories as her fortune. The young princess resided at Paris, and bore the title of Queen of France. Anne duchess of Brittany was married, with all the solemnities the church required, to Maximilian, and had taken the title of Queen of the Romans. The council of France proposed to dissolve both these marriages, (as they may be called,) and to unite her sovereign to the duchess in the ties of matrimony, and thereby get the peaceable possession of her King of France and duchess of Brittany married.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 437. 444. 446. 455. 462.

† Ibid. p. 437. 444. 446. 455. 462.

‡ Ibid. p. 444.

A. D. 1491. dominions. They gained the prince of Orange, the duke of Orleans, the earl of Dunois, the marshal de Rieux, the chancellor Montaubon, and others, who, by their united efforts and incessant importunities, at length prevailed upon the young princess to give her consent. Preliminaries were soon settled; the French were admitted into Rennes, and the royal nuptials were solemnized with great pomp, 16th December, A. D. 1491.

1492.
Henry pre-
pares for a
war with
France;

The news of this event threw Maximilian (who was most cruelly injured and affronted by it) into a furious rage, which he vented in bitter reproaches and threats of vengeance, that he had not power to execute. Henry was exceedingly chagrined to see all his fine political schemes defeated, and his precious treasures, which he had expended on Brittany, in danger of being lost. To prevent this greatest of misfortunes, (as he esteemed it,) he determined to make the most vigorous efforts. He had already made some preparations for war at the expence of his subjects, by exacting a benevolence, as it was very improperly called. This odious method of raising money was a direct violation of an act of parliament made in the reign of his immediate predecessor, on whom he had so liberally bestowed the name of *tyrant* *. This benevolence was levied by commissioners appointed in every county, furnished with very artful ensnaring instructions †. Not contented with the great sums of money raised by the benevolence, he called a parliament, which in its first session granted him two-fifteenths. To this parliament, at the opening of its second session, January 26th, A. D. 1492, Henry made a speech, in which he declared his resolution to make immediate war on France, and never to desist till he had subdued that kingdom. He put them in mind of the glorious victories of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; of a king of France a prisoner in London, and a king of England crowned in Paris. The war, he said, would be expensive at first, but he hoped soon to make it maintain itself ‡. The parliament, transported with joy at the prospect of a war with France, gave a kind of sanction to the late illegal benevolence, by

* Statutes. 11 Rich. III.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 446, 447, 448, 464.

‡ Bacon, p. 96, 97, 98.

commanding the arrears of it to be levied, and made several acts relating to war *. A. D. 1492.

Henry having spent the greatest part of this year in preparing for his intended expedition against France, sailed from Sandwich, October 6th, attended by a splendid train of his nobility, and a gallant army of 25,000 foot, and 1,600 men at arms, and landed at Calais the same day †. This formidable invasion occasioned little or no alarm in France. The French ministers perfectly well knew that Henry had no intention to fight, or make conquests. It is even probable, that the conditions of the peace had been settled before the embarkation, by Giles lord D'Aubeney, governor of Calais, and the marechal Des Quardes, governor of Picardy, who had been commissioned by the two kings, in the preceding harvest, to meet and treat of peace ‡. However that may be, something was to be done, to save appearances, and prevent the secret of the peace from transpiring too soon. The English army marched from Calais, October 15th, and invested Boulogne, but made little progress in the siege. At the same time Henry received letters from his two allies, Ferdinand and Maximilian, informing him of what he very well knew, that they were not prepared for invading France, which he made as public in the army as possible, to abate their fondness for the war, and reconcile them to the approaching peace §. Fox, bishop of Bath and Wells, and the lord D'Aubeney, were commissioned, October 29th, to treat with the marechal Des Quardes and others at Estaples, where, in three days, the plenipotentiaries settled all the conditions of the treaty, or rather bargain. When this treaty (by which Charles agreed to pay to the English monarch 620,000 crowns in gold, equivalent to 124,000 pounds, for the money he had expended on Brittany, and 125,000 crowns, equivalent to 25,000 pounds, as arrears of the pension granted by Lewis XI. to Edward IV.) was presented to Henry, he affected to doubt whether he should ratify it or not, and referred it to a council of the great lords and chief officers of his army for their advice. The members of this council, gained, as it is said, by bribes and pensions from the king of France, advised

invades
France;

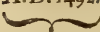
makes
peace.

* Statutes, 7 Hen. VII.

† Bacon, p. 103.

‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 481. 497.

§ Bacon, p. 110, 111.

A.D. 1492.  their sovereign to ratify the treaty, and presented a long petition, containing their reasons for this advice, which were chiefly these: the lateness of the season; the difficulties of the siege; the failure of his allies; the greatness of the sum to be received; the advantages of peace to commerce, &c. In this petition they were not ashamed to affirm, that it was the most glorious peace that any king of England had ever made with a king of France; and declared, that if any of his subjects presumed to find fault with it, they would defend it, or take all the blame of it upon themselves*. With this petition, dictated by himself, the king complied, and ratified the treaty, November 6th, A. D. 1492. By such a long train of crooked policy did this avaricious prince deceive and pillage his subjects, and disgrace his country, to amass treasures which he did not need, and had not the heart to use.

1493.
Henry un-
popular.

The great lords and chieftains who petitioned for the peace had probably been refunded the expences they had been at in preparing for the war. But this was not the case with many other gentlemen, who had borrowed money, or sold their estates, to equip themselves and followers, in hopes of gaining both riches and honours by their conquests; and were therefore very ill-pleased with this unexpected peace, which blasted all their hopes. The people of England in general had been much displeased at the loss of Brittany, and their discontents were greatly increased by the sudden return of that expensive armament, for which they had been so severely taxed, without having performed any thing for the honour or advantage of their country. In a word, Henry was very unpopular at this period, when a pretender to his crown appeared, who is well known in history by the name of Perkin Warbeck, but who called himself Richard duke of York, the youngest son of Edward IV. late king of England.

Difficulty
of disco-
vering the
truth.

It would be easy to adopt any one of these two opinions on this subject: 1. That Warbeck was an impostor; or, 2. That he was the real duke of York; and even to support that opinion with plausible and specious arguments. But it is not so easy to establish the truth of either of these opinions so fully and clearly as to leave no

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 490, 494, 501, 504.

ground of doubt in the mind of an attentive and critical inquirer. The relation given of this matter by the noble historian of this reign, and implicitly followed by many subsequent historians, is too laboured and artificial to be strictly true in all its parts; at least many things are positively affirmed in it, without any proof, which he could hardly know, and which are exceedingly improbable. 1st, It is affirmed, that Margaret duchess dowager of Burgundy spent several years in searching for a young man to personate the duke of York, who she knew to be dead, in order to pull down Henry, who was married to her niece, by whom he had two young princes of great hopes. This is a degree of perverseness, wickedness, and malice, which is scarcely credible*. 2dly, It is affirmed further, that she was so fortunate as to find a young man exactly of the age of the duke of York, who, besides a striking resemblance in his person to Edward IV. was as admirably qualified to act the part designed, as if he had been created for that purpose. "Such a mercurial," to use the words of the noble historian, "as the like hath seldom been known; and had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity and induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination or enchantment†." Besides, though he was the son of one John Osbeck, a converted Jew, and had spent his youth in wandering from place to place, he acted the prince with as much dignity and propriety as if he had been educated in a court. 3dly, It is affirmed, that Margaret brought this young man to her court, but so secretly, that no person saw him or heard of him, and that she privately instructed him in every thing relating to the persons and characters of Edward IV. his queen, the princes their sons, and the princesses their daughters, and all the little incidents that had happened in the court of England when the duke of York was a boy, though she had left England several years before that duke was born. But how this historian came to the knowledge of

A.D. 1493.

* It cannot be denied that Margaret countenanced Lambert Simnel, knowing him to be an impostor. But Lambert was entirely in the power of the earl of Lincoln, her nephew, whom, it is probable, she wished to see on the throne. She had not now any prince of the house of York to substitute in the room of Henry.

† Bacon, p. 113, 114.

A.D. 1493. all this we are not informed. 4thly, It is said, that when Perkin was perfect in his lessons, and able to answer all questions that could be put to him, he was sent to Portugal, where he remained a whole year; during which the duchess took care to have a report propagated, that the duke of York was alive, and would soon make his appearance. Finally, We are informed, that when the war was ready to break out between France and England, Margaret, thinking this a proper season to produce her pupil on the scene, sent Perkin a message to sail into Ireland, where the house of York was much beloved, and there take upon him the name and character of Richard duke of York, which he did accordingly *. What truth may be in all this I shall not take upon me to determine; but I confess it seems to me more like a tale contrived to solve appearances, than genuine history supported by proper evidence.

Warbeck in Ireland; When Perkin Warbeck, calling himself Richard duke of York, (how truly I shall by and by inquire,) arrived at Cork, he was joined by the mayor of that city, and several others. But the resort to his standard was far from being general. The Irish still smarted from the wounds they had received in supporting Lambert Simnel; and were in general averse to venture so soon upon a second attempt of the same kind. Perkin wrote to the two potent earls of Desmond and Kildare, intreating their assistance. But these noblemen were not willing to engage in so dangerous an undertaking †.

in France; When Perkin's affairs were in this unprosperous state in Ireland, he received a message by two ambassadors from the king of France, inviting him to Paris, and promising him protection and assistance. Having communicated this joyful news to his followers in Ireland, he embarked with the ambassadors. At his arrival in Paris, he was received by Charles with all the honours due to the duke of York; lodged, served, and attended as a great prince, and a guard assigned for his honour and protection. Here he was joined by Sir George Nevil, and about a hundred other English gentlemen ‡.

in Flanders. This gale of prosperity was not of long duration. As soon as Charles was certain of a peace, a hint was given him to leave France. He obeyed with great celerity, for

* Bacon, p. 112—118.

† Id. 117, 118.

‡ Id. p. 119.

fear of being delivered to the king of England, went to the court of the duchess of Burgundy, presented himself before her, as her unfortunate nephew Richard duke of York, and claimed her protection as her near relation. The duchess, it is said, acted her part with great dexterity on this occasion. She at first treated him roughly, calling him an impostor; said she had been once deceived, but would not be deceived a second time. To prove him to be an impostor, in presence of her whole court, she asked him many questions about king Edward, his queen and family, in which she had before instructed him, and appeared astonished at his answers. At length, as overcome by the force of evidence, she embraced him in a transport of joy, and cried out, "I have found my long lost nephew; he is indeed the duke of York *." She afterwards gave him the name of the White Rose of England, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and treated him in all respects as the head of her family, and the undoubted heir of the crown of England †.

The news of these transactions soon reached England, and gave no little joy to people of all ranks, who either hated the king, or were attached to the house of York. But knowing the severity of Henry's government, and that his spies were numerous, they were constrained to conceal their joy. Several gentlemen, however, of the York party held private consultations, and sent Sir Robert Clifford to Brussels to investigate the truth. He was well received: and having had frequent conversations with Warbeck, he wrote to his friends in England, that he had been well acquainted with the person of the duke of York, and was so certain that this young man was that prince, that there remained no room for doubt ‡.

In the mean time Henry was not idle; he saw a storm gathering around him, and prepared to meet it with calmness and intrepidity. His first care was, to endeavour to convince his subjects, that the duke of York had been put to death at the same time with his brother Edward V. There were only two persons then alive who had been concerned in that horrid scene, Sir James Tirrel, lieutenant of the Tower, and John Dighton, one

* Whether this great duchess was as good an actress as historians have represented her, may be doubted.

† Bacon.

‡ Id. p. 122.

A.D. 1493. of the murderers. They were both committed to the Tower and examined, and their declarations published, which were to this purpose: That John Dighton and Miles Forest smothered the two princes in their bed, and then called in their master Sir James Tirrel, who saw their dead bodies laid forth naked; that they were first buried under the stairs, but afterwards removed by the priest of the Tower to another place, which could not now be discovered, because the Priest was dead.— When they had given this evidence of their own guilt, they were set at liberty, to the disgrace of public justice. The testimony of such miscreants met with little credit; and Henry never made use of it in any of his subsequent declarations*.

Endea-
vours to
discover
Warbeck.

Henry's next care was to discover, if possible, the family and history of the adventurer who personated the duke of York. With this view he sent several artful and trusty spies into the Low Countries, and from them, as it is said, he received information of the following particulars: that he was the son of one John Osbeck, a converted Jew of Tournay: that he was born in London: that Edward the IV. had been his godfather, which is not very probable: that when he was a child, his parents had carried him with them to Tournay: that when he was a young boy he had lived some time with a relation at Antwerp, after which he became such a wanderer, that he could be no further traced: only, it is added, that in all his wanderings, he conversed much with the English; but how this came to be known, when he could not be traced, it is difficult to conceive. It appears plainly to have been put in to account for his speaking the English language so perfectly†. In a word, it is evident, that Henry, with all his art and industry, could discover very little of the history of this young man, whoever he was.

Warbeck
betrayed.

Henry dispatched other agents of higher rank, on a more dishonourable business, in which they had better success. Several gentlemen went over to Brussels; insinuated themselves into Warbeck's confidence, by pretending to be his most zealous partisan, watched all his words and actions, and transmitted accounts of every thing to Henry; who pretended to be in a violent rage

* Bacon, p. 123.

† Id. p. 114, 115.

against them; declared them outlaws, and procured them to be excommunicated in the most public manner. He directed these agents to spare no expence to gain Sir Robert Clifford, which they accomplished; and he being Warbeck's greatest confidant, became a most dangerous enemy to him and his friends*. In consequence of informations received from him, John Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Dawbigny, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressner, and Thomas Astwood, were all seized in one day, tried, and condemned as guilty of high treason, for corresponding with, and promising aid to, Perkin Warbeck. Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbigny, were soon after executed†. These discoveries and executions struck terror into all the partisans of Perkin in England. They saw they were betrayed; they knew not whom to trust, and could not form any confederacy.

Another discovery and execution followed, which struck them with still greater consternation. Sir Robert Clifford returned to England, appeared before the king, sitting in council in the Tower, January 7th, A. D. 1494, and accused Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who was present, of high treason. Though Henry was in the secret, he affected to be exceedingly surprised, and to disbelieve the accusation; but Sir Robert persisting in it, the lord chamberlain was committed to prison, tried, and found guilty. Our information of the particular fact with which he was charged, and of the evidence brought against him, is very imperfect. He is said to have confessed rather too much, with a view to soften the king's displeasure, and regain his favour. His accuser, Sir Robert Clifford, swore, that he had declared to him, "if he were sure that young man (meaning Warbeck) were king Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him." This, I imagine, was not treason in the eye of the law, but it was the blackest treason in king Henry's eyes, who hated the house of York, and all who favoured its title. But though Sir William Stanley was

* There is some reason to suspect that Clifford was an agent of Henry's from the beginning. He was of a Lancastrian family, the son of that lord Clifford who killed the young earl of Rutland at Wakefield.

condemned,

A.D. 1494. condemned, it was not believed, either by himself or others, that the sentence would be executed. It is hardly possible for one man to be under greater obligations to another, than Henry was to Sir William Stanley, and his brother lord Stanley, who was married to the king's mother. They saved his life, and gained him the victory, and placed a crown upon his head, at Bosworth. But great obligations are apt to excite disgust, rather than gratitude, in haughty and selfish spirits. Besides this, there were two other considerations, which had a powerful influence on Henry's hard and covetous heart. He knew that the execution of Sir William Stanley would convince all his subjects that they could expect no mercy, if they did any thing in favour of the pretender to his crown; and that the confiscation of his great estate would fill his coffers *. These considerations at last prevailed, and Sir William Stanley, the greatest benefactor of an unrelenting master, was beheaded on Tower-hill, 16th February, A. D. 1495 †.

1495.
Warbeck
makes an
attempt
upon Eng-
land.

Henry's vigilance and severity prevented any insurrection in favour of Warbeck; and the princes on the continent were so much engaged in prosecuting their own schemes, that they could give him no assistance. He knew, however, that he had many friends in England who hated the king, and wished for a revolution; and he determined to make a trial of their strength and resolution, by appearing among them. Having, with the assistance of his great patroness, the duchess of Burgundy, collected a considerable body of troops of different nations, and, in general, of desperate fortunes, he embarked with them, and approached the coast of Kent, near Sandwich, July 3d, A. D. 1495; when he commanded a party of his men to land, to gain intelligence, and invite the country to declare for him. But it being observed that they were all foreigners, and of a suspicious appearance, the gentlemen and common people took arms, to protect their property from being plundered. They tried several stratagems to entice Warbeck

* Sir William Stanley had an estate of 3000*l.* a year, (a great sum in those times,) 40,000 marks in money and plate, besides jewels, furniture, horses, cattle, sheep, &c. to a great value.

† Bacon, p. 133. 134. Hall, f. 36.

to come on shore; but finding that he was on his guard, A.D. 1495.
 they fell upon his men who had landed, killed many, }
 and took one hundred and fifty of them prisoners. By
 the king's command these were all hanged, to shew fo-
 reigners, as well as his own subjects, what they might
 expect if they engaged in such attempts *. Warbeck,
 finding that none of his men returned, suspected what
 had happened, and sailed back to Flanders.

Warbeck soon had reason to fear that he would not 1496.
 long enjoy protection in that country. The interruption Treaty.
 of trade between England and the Netherlands, which
 the protection already afforded him had occasioned, was
 become very distressful to the Flemings; and the arch-
 duke Philip, their sovereign, at their earnest request,
 was negotiating a treaty of friendship and commerce with
 England. This treaty was concluded, 24th February,
 A. D. 1496; and by the fourth article, the contracting
 parties mutually agreed, not to admit the enemies of
 each other into their territories; and by the fifth article,
 each of the parties engaged to expel such enemies of the
 other as had already been admitted into his territories,
 within a month after it was required †. These articles
 were evidently designed to deprive Warbeck and his fol-
 lowers of that protection which they had hitherto enjoy-
 ed in Flanders.

Warbeck was not ignorant of these transactions; and Warbeck
 wisely resolving to depart before he was compelled, he in Ireland;
 sailed, with such followers as still adhered to him, into
 Ireland. But there he found that the people of all ranks,
 for various reasons, were more averse than ever to em-
 bark in his quarrel, which obliged him to seek for pro-
 tection and assistance in another country ‡.

Henry, from the moment of his accession, had en- in Scot-
 deavoured by all means to preserve peace with Scotland. land.
 But these endeavours had not always been successful,
 especially after the accession of James IV. who, being
 a young and warlike prince, was apt to resent the in-
 cursions of the borderers, which occasioned frequent
 disputes. Though the emperor Maximilian, the arch-
 duke Philip his son, and Charles king of France, were
 all at peace with Henry, and bound by treaties not to

* Bacon, p. 141, 142.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 550.

‡ Bacon, p. 148.

A.D. 1495. protect his enemies in their dominions; they did not really wish him well, and would have rejoiced to see his fall. These princes, it is said, gave Warbeck letters of recommendation to the king of Scotland, which determined him to direct his course to that country. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he was admitted to a solemn public audience of the king, at which he behaved with equal art and dignity. Having approached the king, seated on his throne and surrounded by his nobles, he addressed him in an eloquent speech, to this purpose: That he was the unfortunate Richard duke of York, the youngest son of king Edward IV.: that he had been saved from death by the murderers of his brother Edward V. delivered from the Tower, conducted to the continent, and there abandoned, for what reason God only knew: that he then resolved to conceal himself till the tyrant Richard III. died, when he proposed to appear and claim the crown; but that one Henry Tudor had come from France and usurped the throne: that after this he had led the life of a wretched wanderer several years; but that at length, being ashamed of a way of life so unbecoming his birth, he had discovered himself to his dearly beloved aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, and to Charles king of France, who had both acknowledged and assisted him; but that the providence of God had reserved the honour of raising him to the throne of his ancestors to the king of Scotland, in order to establish a perpetual amity between the two nations *. To this speech king James, it is said, replied, "That whoever he was, he should never have reason to repent that he had put himself under his protection."

King
James
convinced
that War-
beck was
the duke of
York.

A truce between England and Scotland had been concluded at Edinburgh, 25th June, A. D. 1493, to continue to the last day of April, A. D. 1501. By the fifth article of that truce it was stipulated, that neither of the two kings should admit the enemies of the other into his dominions, or give them any assistance †. This article was evidently intended by king Henry to prevent

* Bacon, p. 148—153. There is good reason to suspect that this harangue, given us at full length by the noble historian, was his own composition. The language of it is evidently more modern than that of the fifteenth century.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 535.

Perkin Warbeck, his most dangerous enemy, from obtaining admission into, or assistance from, Scotland; and it could not but be so understood by king James. Besides this, Henry had always discovered a sincere desire to live at peace with James, to redress all his grievances, and even to enter into the most intimate connexion with him, by offering him his eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, in marriage, only a few days before Warbeck's arrival in Scotland *. Nor could James be ignorant of the danger of provoking so wise, brave, and fortunate a prince, possessed of so much power and wealth, by wantonly attempting to pull him from his throne, without any provocation. It must therefore have been some very powerful motive which determined king James to disregard so many obligations and inducements to live at peace with his powerful and friendly neighbour, unless we suppose him to have been an absolute madman, who had no concern either for his honour or his interest. In a word, it is hardly possible to conceive any other motive that can account for the conduct of king James on this occasion, but a full conviction that Warbeck really was what he pretended to be, the duke of York. Such a conviction may be supposed to have excited a very lively compassion in the bosom of James, a brave and generous prince, and to have made him overlook every other consideration. It is a further proof that James was at this time convinced that Warbeck was not an impostor, that he consented to his marriage with lady Katherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, one of the most noble, beautiful, and accomplished ladies in his dominions †. It is also probable, that James was made to believe that the people of England in general entertained the same favourable opinion of Warbeck, and that they would receive him with open arms, as soon as they saw him supported by a powerful army.

King James, having determined to aid Warbeck, raised an army, with which he invaded England, in October, A. D. 1496, and published a manifesto, inviting all the subjects of that kingdom to repair to the standard of their rightful sovereign, Richard IV. by the grace of God king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, and prince of Wales. This manifesto, which is long and

A.D. 1496.

Warbeck's
manifesto.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 635, 636.

† Bacon, p. 153.

A.D. 1496. artfully drawn, narrated his deliverance from the Tower; the usurpation of his crown by one Henry, son to Edmund Tudor, son to Owen Tudor, a man of low birth; this Henry's cruel persecutions of him, and oppressions of his subjects: that he had now entered his kingdom, by the grace of God and the aid of his dearly beloved cousin the king of Scots, to assert his right, and confound the calumnies of the usurper, who was preparing to leave the land with the treasures he had amassed by his exactions. He then intreats and commands all his loving subjects to prevent the escape of his great enemy, and promises 1000*l.* in money, and 100 marks a year in land, to any who shall kill, or take him prisoner. He next promises to use his utmost efforts to repair the mischiefs that had been done to the kingdom by the usurper; "by his manifold treasons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pillage of the people by dismes, tasks, talliages, benevolences, and other unlawful impositions and grievous exactions." He threatened all who continued to adhere to his adversary with the severest punishments, and promised a free pardon to all who abandoned him and returned to their duty. Finally, he invited and commanded all his subjects to attend his person in their most defensible array*.

This manifesto did not produce the desired effect. Few or none of the English joined the invading army; which was not only owing to their doubts concerning Warbeck, but also to their national animosity against the Scots; to their high opinion of Henry's policy and good fortune; and to their dread of his severity. When the Scots (who for some time behaved as friends rather than enemies) observed that none of the English joined them, they had recourse to the usual way of making war on the borders, by spoiling and plundering the country. On this occasion Warbeck, it is said, acted the part of a good humane prince with great propriety, by expostulating with king James on this cruel method of making war; and declaring he would rather lose a crown, than obtain it by the ruin of his subjects. James (who, it is probable, began now to suspect that he had been deceived)

* See this manifesto, Appendix, No. I. This copy, transcribed from MSS. in the British Museum, is very different from that in Sir Francis Bacon's History of this Reign, p. 154—160.

answered peevishly, that he gave himself too much concern about subjects who did not acknowledge him for their sovereign*. About the end of the year the Scots returned into their own country, to secure their booty.

Though Henry could not but be irritated at this destructive unprovoked invasion, he had all his passions under such subjection to his avarice, that he proceeded calmly in his plan of adding to his treasures by every event. In order to this, he gave a shocking exaggerated description of the murders, rapes, burnings, and devastations committed by the Scots in their late invasion, to a parliament which met at Westminster, January 16th, A. D. 1497; and declared that he was determined, for his own honour, and the honour of the nation, to resent this insult in a signal manner. The parliament really felt the resentment which their sovereign feigned, and granted him 120,000*l.* for a war with Scotland, under certain restrictions, to prevent its being applied to any other purpose. But Henry, without the least regard to these restrictions, immediately set about the collection of the money with his usual strictness†.

Taxes are often more frankly imposed than they are paid. The people of Cornwall, living far from the seat of danger, discovered great reluctance to the payment of this tax, in which they were encouraged by two popular demagogues, Michael Joseph, a blacksmith, and Thomas Flammock, a country lawyer. Flammock, who was esteemed a kind of oracle, assured them that this was an unlawful tax, which they were not obliged to pay; because the barons in the north were bound by their tenures to defend the kingdom against the Scots. He advised them further, to take arms, to proceed to London in a peaceable and orderly manner, and to present a petition to the king, praying him to give up this unlawful tax, and to punish those evil counsellors who advised him to oppress his subjects by such heavy taxes. They followed this advice, assembled in great numbers, with belts, bows, pikes, and such weapons as they could procure, and marched under the conduct of their two leaders, Flammock and Joseph; their numbers daily increasing as they advanced through the counties of De-

* Bacon, p. 160.

† Records of Parl. vol. vii. Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 441.

A.D. 1497. von and Somerset. When they arrived at Wells they amounted, it is said, to 16,000. There Thomas Touchet, lord Audley, a nobleman of a restless ambitious spirit, put himself at their head, and conducted them towards the capital. They obliged him, however, to deviate into Kent, in hopes that the people of that county would join them, which was prevented by the influence of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county. This disappointment made some of the insurgents desert, and discouraged those who remained. But as they met with no opposition, they still advanced, and encamped at Blackheath, within sight of London, about the middle of June *.

Suppressed. Though Henry had given these insurgents no opposition in their progress, he was not ignorant of any of their proceedings, nor unprepared for their reception. He had collected a great army at London, composed of all the fighting men in the neighbouring counties, and had recalled the lord Daubeney, with the troops designed for an expedition against Scotland. This army was so much superior to that of the insurgents, that he divided it into three bodies; directing the first, commanded by the earl of Oxford, to take a compass and attack them in the rear, and the second, commanded by lord Daubeney, to attack them in front, retaining the third about his own person, in St. George's Fields, to secure the city.— Though the Cornish were brave and strong men, yet being undisciplined and ill armed, they could not long resist two such attacks. About 2000 of them were killed, and almost all the rest taken prisoners, June 22d, A. D. 1497. On this occasion Henry acted with uncommon lenity; contenting himself with the execution of lord Audley and the two incendiaries, Flammock and Michael Joseph; he gave up the other prisoners to the disposal of their captors, who set them at liberty for two or three shillings a man †.

Invasion. While Henry was engaged with the Cornish insurgents, king James made a second irruption into the north of England, and besieged the castle of Norham, at the same time plundering the neighbourhood. But having received intelligence that the earl of Surrey was approach-

* Hall, f. 42. Hollingsh. p. 781. Bacon, p. 163—166.

† Bacon, p. 163—172. Hall, f. 42, 43.

ing with an army of 20,000 men, he raised the siege and retired into his own kingdom. The earl marched about four miles into Scotland, took and demolished the little castle of Ayton, and then returned to Berwick, and disbanded his army*.

Henry earnestly desired a peace with Scotland, to deprive Warbeck of an asylum in that country, whence he might give him frequent alarms: but was unwilling to be the first proposer of peace, for fear of a repulse. He prevailed, therefore, on Peter D'Ayala, the Spanish ambassador at his court, to go into Scotland, (where he had a commission from his master to execute,) and endeavour to discover king James's inclinations as to peace or war. D'Ayala, finding that James was not averse to peace, acquainted Henry, that if he would send proper persons into Scotland, with full powers to treat, a peace or truce would be concluded. Henry, in consequence of this information, gave the proposed commission, July 4th, to his great confidant Richard Fox bishop of Durham, and other two, who met with the plenipotentiaries of Scotland at Ayton, and entered on a negotiation†.

When king James resolved to make peace with England, he intimated to Warbeck, in the softest terms, that it was become necessary for him to leave Scotland, and take up his residence in some other country. Warbeck, it is said, behaved on his trying occasion with composure and dignity. He thanked the king for the protection and assistance he had afforded him, and the many favours he had conferred upon him, of which, he said, he should ever retain a grateful remembrance. He then embarked, with his amiable consort, (who would not forsake him,) and about 120 followers, and landed at Cork, July 30th.

The departure of Warbeck smoothed the road to peace between the two British monarchs, and a truce was subscribed by the plenipotentiaries of both princes, in the church of Ayton, September 29th, A. D. 1491, to continue from that day for seven years‡. Peter D'Ayala, who acted as mediator in this negotiation, acquired great honour by his activity and impartiality, and was highly praised by both the contracting parties. About three

* Bacon, p. 163—172. Hall, f. 42, 43.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 677.

‡ Ibid. p. 678.

A.D. 1497. months after, this truce was prolonged, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of the longest liver *.

1498. Though Henry had happily repelled the attacks of his foreign enemies, quelled the insurrections of his subjects, and made peace with all the neighbouring princes, and might therefore expect to enjoy some tranquillity, he was soon involved in new troubles. When the prisoners who had been taken at Blackheath, and had obtained their liberty with so much ease, returned home, they revived the hopes and inflamed the discontents of their countrymen, by telling them, that the king did not dare to put them to death, or to keep them prisoners, because he knew that almost all his other subjects were discontented and ripe for rebellion. Upon hearing this, the people of Cornwall and Devonshire, where the odious tax was still collected with great severity, flew to arms, and resolved to make another attempt more directly against the king than the former. Having no person of eminence or ability to lead them, they turned their eyes towards Warbeck, and sent messengers, it is said, into Ireland, to invite him to come and put himself at their head. However that may be, Warbeck, either on information or invitation, sailed from Ireland, and landed at Whitland-bay, September 7th, A. D. 1493, with his wife and about a hundred men, who still followed his fortunes. Being joined by three thousand of the insurgents at Bodmin, he published a manifesto similar to that which he had formerly published, with the necessary alterations †.

Exeter besieged. Warbeck, by the advice of his confederates, besieged Exeter, the strongest and most opulent city in those parts. But the citizens, dreading to be plundered by his undisciplined followers, rejected all his fair promises, and resolved to make a brave defence. As he had no artillery, he attempted to take the place by burning the gates and scaling the walls; but being repulsed, with the loss of two hundred men, he raised the siege, and marched to Taunton in Somersetshire, September 20th ‡.

Warbeck in sanctuary. In the mean time Henry, who could not be at ease while a pretender to his throne was at liberty, made

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 679.

† Stowe, p. 480. Bacon, p. 179, 180.

‡ Ibid. 131. Hall, f. 45.

much greater preparations than were necessary to crush A.D. 1498.
 so feeble an insurrection, with a view to get Warbeck
 into his hands. He declared publicly, that now was the
 time for such of his subjects as wished to gain his favour,
 to exert themselves in his service. This engaged the
 duke of Buckingham, the earl of Devonshire, and several
 other barons, to raise their forces and take the field.
 The lord D'Aubeney, with a considerable body of troops,
 advanced towards the enemy, announcing the approach
 of the king with a much greater army. Though the in-
 surgents were now become desperate, and declared to
 Warbeck that they were ready to shed the last drop of
 their blood in his defence, yet seeing himself on the point
 of being attacked by forces so far superior to his own, he
 fled in the night, and took sanctuary in the monastery of
 Bewley *. The lord D'Aubeney having heard of War-
 beck's flight, sent five hundred horse in pursuit of him,
 who arriving too late to prevent his admission into the
 sanctuary, surrounded it, to prevent his escape. When
 the insurgents found that they were abandoned by their
 leader, they submitted to the king's mercy, and were
 dismissed, except a few of the ringleaders, who were soon
 after hanged at Exeter †.

The king being informed that the lady Katherine Gor-
 don, spouse to Warbeck, was at St. Michael's-mount in Lady Ka-
therine
Gordon.
 Cornwall, sent a party of horse to bring her from thence.
 When she was brought into his presence, he was so much
 affected by her beauty, modesty, and distress, that he
 treated her with great tenderness, sent her to his queen,
 and settled upon her a decent allowance for her support.
 This unfortunate lady was long known in the court of
 England by the name of the White Rose; a name that
 had been given to her husband on account of his supposed
 birth, and continued to her on account of her inno-
 cence and beauty ‡.

Henry now deliberated with his council what was to
 be done with Warbeck. Some advised to take him out Warbeck
in custody;
 of the sanctuary by force, and put him to death. But
 the violation of sanctuaries was a dangerous measure in
 those times, and would have embroiled the king with
 the pope and clergy. Others advised to tempt him to

* Stowe, p. 480.

† Hollingshead, p. 784. Eagon, p. 181.

‡ Ibid. p. 184.

A.D. 1498. leave the sanctuary and surrender, by a promise of life. This promise was made and accepted. Warbeck came out of the sanctuary, was conducted to London, and carried through the principal streets of the city, November 28th, amidst the hisses, taunts, and insults of the mob, which he bore with dignity and composure. He was then committed to the custody of certain trusty keepers, with a strict charge not to suffer him to escape. Henry never admitted him into his presence, but gratified his curiosity by viewing him from a window *.

in the
Tower.

Warbeck, impatient of restraint, escaped from his keepers, but finding that he was hotly pursued, and would soon be taken, he entered himself a sanctuary-man in the monastery of Shene in Surrey; and though the prior interceded with the king in his favour, he was taken from the sanctuary and brought back to Westminster. There he was prevailed upon to acknowledge that he was an impostor, and to give an account of his real family and adventures, which he read to the people from a scaffold near the gate of Westminster-hall on one day, and on the next day from a scaffold in Cheapside; after which he was committed to the Tower †.

Warbeck's
confession.

Almost all the means which Henry employed to convince his subjects that Warbeck was an impostor had a contrary effect. Even this confession, which, it might have been imagined, would have removed all their doubts, rather increased them. It was very different from the account published by the king from the information of his spies, at the beginning of these troubles; and therefore both could not be true. Henry had published, that Warbeck was born in London, and that Edward IV. was his godfather. Warbeck declared in his confession, that he was born at Tournay in Flanders, and that he had never been in any of the British isles till he arrived at Cork, in the service of a merchant. He added further, that when he appeared in that city, dressed in silk clothes belonging to his master, several people came to him, and affirmed that he was the earl of Warwick, who had formerly been at Dublin; which he denied, and made oath before the mayor, that he was not that earl: that they then affirmed he was the natural son of Richard III. which he also denied with many oaths:

* Hollingshead, p. 186. Stowe, p. 483.

† Hall, f. 49.

but

but at length, by their importunity, and giving him assurance of the support of the earls of Desmond and Kildare, they prevailed upon him to personate Richard duke of York. These gentlemen, he said, put him to learn English, and instructed him how to speak and act in his new character. If this be true, it exculpates the duchess of Burgundy from being the contriver of this imposture, and the instructress of this impostor. In a word, the people were disappointed and dissatisfied with this confession, as it did not give them the satisfactory information they expected *.

When Warbeck had remained some months in the Tower, he formed a scheme for effecting an escape; gained four of his keepers, and communicated his design to his unhappy fellow-prisoner, Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, who agreed to accompany him in his flight. This plot being discovered, Warbeck was tried for attempting to escape out of prison, with a design to excite a new insurrection, found guilty, and hanged at Tyburn, 23d November, A. D. 1499; with John O'Water, late mayor of Cork, one of his most zealous accomplices. From the scaffold on which he was executed, Warbeck read his former confession to the people, with a declaration that it was true †. Thus died this extraordinary person, concerning whose real birth and character such different opinions have been entertained, so much has been said and written, and so much is still wanting to render that part of our history perfectly clear and satisfactory. My own private opinion, with the reasons on which it is founded, I have thrown into the Appendix, No III. to prevent the interruption of the narrative by controversy.

The earl of Warwick was brought to his trial, November 21st; and being accused of a conspiracy against the king's person and government, he confessed the crime, (which he was incapable of committing,) and threw himself upon the king's mercy. But no mercy resided in the unrelenting heart of Henry. Being condemned by his peers, who must bear their share of the guilt and infamy of this barbarous murder; he was be-

* See Warbeck's confession, Appendix, No. II.

† Hall, f. 51. Bacon, p. 194.

A.D. 1499. headed on Tower-hill, 28th November, A. D. 1499 *.
 Thus fell, by the hands of the executioner, the last of the male line of the Plantagenets, who had reigned in England 331 years, from the accession of Henry II. A. D. 1154, to the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485. It would be difficult to find in history a more ill-fated prince than Edward earl of Warwick: without any crime but his high birth, he was confined in prison from his childhood; denied all means of information, and all intercourse with man; and finished his wretched life by a violent death. Can any political considerations justify such horrid cruelty, or screen the perpetrators of it from the execration of posterity? It brought much odium upon Henry at the time, of which he endeavoured to transfer a part to another artful tyrant, Ferdinand king of Spain, who refused to give his daughter in marriage to the prince of Wales while the earl of Warwick lived.

1500.
 Henry at
 Calais.

In this and all the succeeding years of this reign, England was neither disturbed by foreign invasions nor internal insurrections; and Henry was chiefly employed in strengthening the bonds of peace between him and all the neighbouring princes; in amassing treasure, which he had always most at heart; and in disposing of his children in marriage. To avoid a dreadful pestilence which raged in England this year, he sailed with his queen and court to Calais, 8th May, and had an interview with Philip, archduke of Austria and sovereign of Burgundy and Flanders, near that place. At this interview these two princes treated one another with the highest marks of respect, the warmest expressions of friendship, and the strongest assurances of the faithful observance of the commercial treaty which had lately been concluded. The archduke flattered the king agreeably, by calling him his father and protector. In a word, Henry was so well pleased, that he sent a circumstantial account of what had passed at this interview, to the mayor and aldermen of London, which occasioned great rejoicing in the city. The pestilence being now abated, the king, queen, and court returned to England in June †.

* Hall, and Bacon. *ibid*.

† Hall, f. 51. Stowe, p. 481.

Henry lived in perfect harmony with Charles VIII. and his successor Lewis XII. kings of France, ever since the peace of Estaples. These princes being engaged in the wars of Italy, found it necessary to cultivate peace with England, and paid the annuity of 25,000 crowns, stipulated by that peace, with great punctuality. A.D. 1500.

To render the peace with Scotland more secure and permanent, which Henry very much desired, a scheme was formed for uniting the royal families, by a marriage between king James and the princess Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter. This proposal, as it was most decent, was made by James, and joyfully listened to by Henry. The terms of the contract of this marriage were soon and easily settled by the plenipotentiaries of the two kings. A dispensation from the pope was obtained in the month of July this year*. But as the royal bride was only in the eleventh year of her age, the marriage was not consummated till about three years after. A treaty of marriage between Arthur prince of Wales and the princess Catherine, third daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, had been negociated for several years, and was at last concluded, between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings, at Bewdley in the diocese of Hereford, 19th May, 1499; but the princess did not arrive in England till October 2d, 1501, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp in St. Paul's, November 14.—These two marriages, in the course of time, were productive of the most important consequences. They were among the happiest events in the annals of this island, and of unspeakable advantage to both kingdoms†. The second of these marriages proved the remote occasion of the reformation of religion.

Few princes have been better acquainted with the enriching arts of getting and keeping money than Henry VII. It would be endless, and indeed impossible, to enumerate all the arts of this kind which he put in practice; but it may be proper to mention a few of them. War, which empties the coffers of other princes, contributed greatly to fill those of Henry. He well knew that his subjects considered the French and the Scots as their natural enemies, and that to propose a war with

1501.
Henry's
arts of
gaining
money.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 765.

† Ibid. p. 756, 780.

A.D. 1501. either of these nations, would procure an ample supply from his parliament. Such wars were therefore once and again proposed; and when he had thereby obtained a supply, he immediately concluded a peace, and kept the money. The insurrections with which he was harassed in the first years of his reign, he contrived to render no less lucrative, by the forfeitures of the noblemen and gentlemen concerned in them; and by exacting as heavy fines and compositions from those of inferior rank who had favoured them, as they were able to bear. Many penal laws had been enacted in former ages, which, by the lapse of time and the change of circumstances, had become obsolete and forgotten. He employed in his service certain expert lawyers, who searched into these laws, and who employed innumerable spies in all parts of the kingdom, to discover those who had transgressed them. These unhappy persons were apprehended and cast into prison, where they were long detained without being brought to trial; and, in the mean time, frequent alarms were given them of their danger, till they were brought to offer large compositions to obtain deliverance. Such of them as obstinately refused to compound for their delinquency were tried; not before the ordinary courts of justice, but before commissioners appointed by the king for that purpose, who tried and condemned them in a summary manner, without juries and without witnesses. Many gentlemen who had borne offices were accused before these commissioners of certain misdemeanours, which it was pretended they had committed in the execution of their offices. The same arts were practised with those gentlemen to bring them to offer compositions; and if they refused, they were tried, condemned and severely fined. For example, Sir William Capel, who had been lord mayor of London, was fined 2,700*l.* and, after a long struggle, and remaining several years in prison, was forced to compound for 1,600*l.*; Thomas Knesworth, mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, suffered a long imprisonment, and at length obtained their deliverance by the payment of 1,400*l.*; Christopher Hawis, mercer and alderman of London, was so harassed by those inquisitors, that he died of a broken heart; Sir Lawrence Alemore and his two sheriffs were fined 1000*l.* and committed to prison, but obtained their deliverance

deliverance by the king's death *. The feudal system of government had been long upon the decline in England; and the several prestations drawn by those who held their lands of the crown had, in some preceding reigns, been levied with less strictness than formerly. But Henry compelled the tenants of the crown to pay the full amount of all these prestations. Beside this, many gentlemen, who held their lands by other tenures, were brought before the king's commissioners, and compelled to submit to the payment of all the feudal prestations, to avoid greater inconveniencies, with which they were threatened.

Outlaws on personal actions were compelled to pay exorbitant sums, before they could obtain their charters of pardon. Several laws were enacted which had a specious appearance of promoting the public good, but in reality were only intended to increase the revenues of the crown. In a word, hardly any justice, and no favour, could be obtained from these commissioners of the king, without paying for it a very extravagant price. These were a few of the arts by which this avaricious monarch harassed his subjects, and increased his treasures. Sir Richard Empson and Edmond Dudley, two bold unfeeling lawyers, with their spies and informers, were the chief instruments employed by Henry in these iniquitous transactions.

So unrelenting was the avarice of this prince, that his best and most zealous friends, who had done him the most essential services, were not exempted from these exactions. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, had been a most zealous Lancastrian, and had done and suffered more for that cause than any other person. His great estate had been twice forfeited, and he had endured a long imprisonment in the castle of Hams, from which he had made his escape; joined Henry, when he was earl of Richmond, in France; came over with him into England; and contributed greatly, by his valour and military skill, to the victory at Bosworth. This nobleman entertained the king several days in a splendid and sumptuous manner at his castle of Henningham. At the departure of his royal guest, the earl's servants, friends, and retainers, in their livery-coats and cognifances, were

Earl of
Oxford's
composition.

* Stowe, p. 485.

A.D. 1501. ranged in two lines, between which he was to pass. The king observing their rich dresses and prodigious numbers, called to the earl and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality; but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants." The earl smiled, and said, "It may please your grace, that were not for mine ease: they are most of them my retainers, they are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight: my attorney must speak with you." The earl was accordingly prosecuted for transgressing the laws against retainers, and forced to compound for no less than 15,000 marks *. Henry did not only grasp with eagerness at great forfeitures and compositions, but was attentive to the most trifling gains. Of this the noble historian of this reign gives us the following remarkable example: "I remember to have seen," says he, "a book of accounts of Empson's, that had the king's hand almost to every leaf by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the king's hand likewise, where was this remembrance: '*Item*, Received from such a one five marks, for a pardon to be procured; and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid, except the party be some otherways satisfied.' And over against this memorandum, in the king's own hand, OTHERWAYS SATISFIED †."

Arts of
saving
money.

Henry excelled no less in the arts of saving than of obtaining money; the expences of his household were regulated by the most strict and correct œconomy. He constituted his second son, Henry duke of York, warden of the marches towards Scotland, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, when he was only two years of age. In the management of his greatest affairs, and in his embassies to foreign courts, he chiefly employed clergymen, and rewarded them with preferments in the church, instead of money, &c. &c. By these, and other arts of the same kind, this prince collected a greater mass of

* Bacon, p. 211.

† Ibid. p. 212.

money than ever was in the possession of any former king of England. This, it is said, at length amounted to 1,800,000*l.* in money, beside plate and jewels, all which he kept with the most anxious care in secret apartments of his palace at Richmond, under his own lock and key. A.D. 1507.

Arthur prince of Wales, and the princess Catherine of Spain his consort, soon after their marriage, were conducted to the castle of Ludlow, the place appointed for their stated residence; there, in the spring of the year, the prince fell into a distemper, of which he died, April the 2d. This event, no doubt, affected Henry as a parent; but it seems to have afflicted him full as much from his apprehensions of the loss of money it was likely to occasion. The fortune of the princess was 200,000 crowns, of which Henry had received 100,000. Her dowry, as princess dowager of Wales, was to be one third part of the revenues of the principality of Wales, of the dukedom of Cornwall, and earldom of Chester. If the princess were sent back to Spain, that part of her fortune which had been received must have been returned; and it might also have weakened that strict union which had long subsisted between the courts of Spain and England. If she continued to reside in England, she must have enjoyed her dower. Neither of these alternatives could be agreeable to a prince of Henry's disposition. 1502.
Death of
prince Ar-
thur.

To avoid these inconveniencies, Henry formed the extraordinary scheme of a marriage between his only surviving son, Henry duke of York, then in the eleventh year of his age, and the widow of his late brother prince Arthur; though she had cohabited with that prince five months, and from an apprehension that she might be with child, the king abstained several months from creating his son Henry, prince of Wales. This extraordinary project being communicated to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, met with their approbation, and steps were soon after taken to carry it into execution. Projected
marriage.

Henry's hatred and jealousy of the house of York still continued unabated. John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, died A. D. 1491; leaving Edmund de la Pole his son and heir. But Henry disputed the succession to the estate and honours of his family, and forced him to a compromise, Earl of
Suffolk.

mise,

A.D. 1502. *mise*, by which he was permitted to enjoy the title of the earl of Suffolk, and the estate of that earldom *. This nobleman had the misfortune to kill a man in a sudden gust of passion, for which he was arraigned and tried in the court of King's Bench, and then obtained a pardon. Disgusted at these injuries and affronts, he went out of the kingdom, without leave, to the court of Margaret duchess dowager of Burgundy, his aunt. Henry, by sending him solemn promises of forgiveness and good usage, prevailed upon him to return to England, A. D. 1501. But the earl having contracted a heavy load of debt, by his extravagant expences at the marriage of prince Arthur, he became uneasy, and fled into Flanders in the spring of this year. Henry now became apprehensive that he had accomplices in England, and that an insurrection was intended; he therefore directed Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hams, to join the earl of Suffolk at Brussels, insinuate himself into his favour, and discover his designs and accomplices. In consequence of informations sent by this emissary, the lord William Courteney, brother to the earl of Devonshire, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir John Windham, and some other gentlemen, were apprehended, tried, and found guilty of treason. Sir James Tyrrel and Sir William Windham were beheaded on Towerhill, May 6th, 1502. The unhappy earl of Suffolk, on the death of his aunt Margaret, was reduced to great distress, and wandered about in France and Germany, but was at length permitted by the archduke of Austria to reside privately in Flanders †.

1503. Henry sustained another loss in his family by the death of his amiable consort, queen Elizabeth, on Saturday, February 11th, A. D. 1503. She had been delivered of a daughter upon Candlemas-day preceding, and her child survived her only a few days. As this princess had never gained the affection of her husband, it is probable that her death did not give him much concern; and he soon after began to think of a second marriage ‡.

Marriage. Henry and the king and queen of Spain having given full powers to their plenipotentiaries to negotiate the con-

* Rotuli Parliamentorum, tom. vi, p. 474, &c.

† Bacon, p. 203. Hall, f. 54. Stowe, p. 484. ‡ Stowe, p. 484.

tract of marriage between prince Henry, lately created prince of Wales, and Catherine princess dowager of Wales, his late brother's widow, that contract was signed, June 23d, A. D. 1503; but as the prince was then hardly twelve years of age, the consummation of the marriage was several years delayed, and did not actually take place till after the death of the king his father; though a papal dispensation for it was granted, December 25th, A. D. 1503*.

A. D. 1503.

One of the prestations due by those who held their lands of the crown *in capite*, by the feudal system of government, was an aid to the king for knighting his eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter. Henry had knighted his eldest son, prince Arthur, before his marriage; and had lately married his eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, to the king of Scotland; and would not suffer such an opportunity of getting money to escape. He therefore called a parliament, which met at Westminster on the 25th of January, of which Edmond Dudley, the most hated man in the kingdom, was chosen speaker: so absolute was Henry now become. The parliament, to avoid the trouble and perplexity of levying these obsolete aids according to the ancient custom, made him a grant of 40,000*l.* of which he was graciously pleased to remit 10,000*l.*, and was still a considerable gainer. At this parliament too, several noblemen and gentlemen were attainted, and their estates forfeited; some of them for offences of a very old date. Among these were, Edmond earl of Suffolk, the lord William Courtney, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir George Nevil, Sir Thomas Wyndham, &c. Not contented with these grants and forfeitures, Henry appointed commissioners for a general benevolence, though he was engaged in no war, nor involved in any troubles which could occasion an extraordinary expence †.

1504.
Parliament.

Henry, after some time spent in deliberation, fixed upon the queen dowager of Naples, who had a very large dower assigned her by her late husband, king Ferdinand, for his second wife: but he resolved to proceed with caution. He sent three gentlemen to Naples, not invested with any public character, but furnished with letters

1505.
Marriage.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 75, &c. Bacon, p. 216.

† Rotuli Parliamentorum, tom. vi. p. 532, &c.

A.D. 1505. from the princess of Wales, which procured them access to the intended bride. He gave these gentlemen very particular directions to observe attentively the complexion, stature, health, temper, inclinations, and behaviour of the queen, and to examine into the state and value of her dower. These gentlemen made a very favourable report of the person and character of the queen; but informed him, that the reigning king of Naples had deprived her of her dower, and had granted her a moderate pension for life. This extinguished Henry's love in a moment, and put an end to that project *.

1506.
King of
Castile in
England.

Philip archduke of Austria had married the princess Jane, eldest surviving daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain. That princess, by the death of her mother Isabella, heiress of Castile, was become the heiress of that kingdom: her father Ferdinand of Aragon had been appointed administrator of Castile, by the last will of his deceased consort; but the archduke, intending to hold the possession of the crown of Castile with his father-in-law, embarked, with his consort and court, on the 10th of January, for Spain; but his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, and his own ship with much difficulty got into the port of Weymouth, January 26th. Philip and queen Jane being extremely sick, went on shore, contrary to the advice of his council.

As soon as Henry was informed of this event, he sent the earl of Arundel, with a splendid retinue, to compliment Philip and the queen, and assure them that his sovereign was on the way to wait upon them. Philip, finding that it would be impossible for him to avoid the king's visit, immediately set out for Windsor, where he was received by Henry with every possible demonstration of respect and friendship †.

Treaty.

Henry, having the archduke and his consort, the queen of Castile, now in his possession, began to ruminate upon what advantage might be derived from this accident. Among other things, he prevailed upon Philip, who could deny nothing, to make a new commercial treaty, much more advantageous to the English than the former, which had been called by the people of the Low Countries *intercurfus magnus*, or the great treaty;

* Bacon, p. 218, &c.

† Ibid, p. 225.

this was called by them *intercurfus malus*, or the bad treaty *. A.D. 1506.

Henry then intimated to Philip his desire to marry his sister Margaret duchess dowager of Savoy. To this Philip cheerfully consented. Thomas Wolfey, then chaplain to the king, who afterwards made so distinguished a figure, was employed to negotiate this treaty, which was concluded at Windsor, March 20th. By this treaty, Philip engaged to give with the duchess, his sister, 300,000 crowns of gold, and an yearly pension of 3,850 crowns. By the treaty it was agreed, for the further security of the money, that the principal lords of the Low Countries should become bound by oath for the payment †.

Treaty of marriage.

Henry, not yet contented with these advantages, pressed Philip to deliver Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, into his hands; and Philip expressing great reluctance to betray a nobleman who had trusted in his protection, Henry gave him assurances that he would not put the earl to death, and contrived to make his return to England appear voluntary. He was accordingly brought to Dover, delivered to Henry, and committed to the Tower; he having given his consent to return, upon being assured of his life. Henry, after investing Philip with the order of the garter, and entertaining him magnificently about three months, having obtained all the advantages he could expect, suffered him to pursue his voyage into Spain †.

Earl of Suffolk.

When Philip was in England, some proposals were made of a marriage between his son, Charles prince of Castile, and the princess Mary, Henry's youngest daughter; and ambassadors were appointed to negotiate that treaty, which was at length concluded and signed at Calais, December 21st, A. D. 1507. By this treaty it was stipulated, that Charles should marry the princess as soon as he was fourteen years of age, and her fortune was fixed at 250,000 crowns of gold. Such advantageous bargains did Henry make, that, though an old man, he was to receive a much greater fortune with the duchess of Savoy, than he was to give with his daughter Mary.

1507.
Treaty of marriage.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 126.

† Bacon, p. 223.

† Ibid. p. 126—132.

A.D. 1507. to Charles, the youthful heir of all the extensive dominions of Austria and Spain*.

1508. Henry had for some years past been much afflicted with the gout, and about this time fell into a declining state of health, which gradually impaired his strength, and threatened his dissolution. This put an end to all his thoughts of marriage, and engaged him to make preparations for his approaching death, by acts of mercy, justice, and piety. Besides granting a general pardon, excepting to thieves and murderers, and a few particular persons, he paid the debts of all the prisoners in London and Westminster who were confined for forty shillings, or under, and set them at liberty †.

1509. Henry, perceiving the approaches of death, made his last will, last will and testament, at his palace of Richmond, on the last day of March, A. D. 1509. Some of our historians had so good an opinion of this prince, that they assure us his soul ascended to heaven as soon as it left his body ‡. But he does not seem to have entertained such sanguine hopes himself, but rather to have been very apprehensive of the pains of purgatory, if not of something worse. This appears from the whole strain of his last will, which is, in many respects, a curious composition, and exhibits a lively picture of his mind at that awful season. Disquieted by a sense of guilt and a dread of punishment, he fled to the arts of superstition for relief. But, accustomed to make good bargains, he took every possible precaution to secure a sufficient number of masses and prayers of the best quality for his money.—He directed his executors to cause two thousand masses to be said for his soul within a month after his decease, at the rate of six-pence a piece. He ordered them also to distribute 2000*l.* to prisoners and poor people of different denominations, upon condition that they prayed fervently for his soul by name. “And in this partie,” said he, “we hertily desire our executours to thinke and consider howe necessarie behoofull and howe profitable it is to dede folks to bee praied for.” He had some time entered into formal contracts with the clergy of all the cathedrals, conventual and collegiate churches, in the kingdom, to say a certain number of masses and prayers for certain sums of money; and he now granted them,

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xlii. p. 271.

† Hall, f. 51.

‡ Id. Ibid. Bacon, p. 232.

by his will, additional fums, to engage them to fay their A.D. 1509.
 maffes with greater folemnity, and their prayers with
 greater fervency. To relieve his mind from the anxiety
 under which it laboured on account of his oppreffive
 exactions, he constituted a number of commiffioners,
 with authority to make reftitution to all whom he had
 injured and oppreffed. But ftill, to prevent impofition,
 he directed them to make no reftitution to any for what
 had been taken from them by courfe of law, which was
 the moft common method of his oppreffive exactions;
 and he appointed Empfon and Dudley, the two chief in-
 ftruments of his oppreffion, two of thefe commiffioners.
 But it would be tedious to enumerate all the other arts
 he employed to preferve his foul from thofe punifhments
 which he dreaded *.

Having languifhed about three weeks after he made Death.
 his will, he expired in his palace at Richmond, April
 21ft, A. D. 1509, in the 24th year of his reign, and
 54th of his age.

Henry VII. was in ftature a little above the middle Character.
 fize, flender, ftiong, and active. His deportment was,
 in general, grave, referved, and ftately; but he could
 put on a fmiling countenance, and affume a gracious en-
 gaging manner, when he faw convenient. In perfonal
 courage he was not defective, but it was attended with
 caution, and not of the impetuous enterprifing kind.
 Though he fometimes threatened, he never really in-
 tended to engage in any foreign war; becaufe he knew it
 was exceedingly expenfive, and peculiarly dangerous to a
 prince with a difputed title and difcontented fubjects.
 From thefe confiderations, rather than from timidity, he
 cultivated peace with all the neighbouring princes. In
 application to bufinefs he was indefatigable, and de-
 fcended to the moft minute details. He was his own
 minifter, impenetrably fecret in all his fchemes, and
 prefcribed to his fervants the parts they were to act,
 without acquainting them with his views. His under-
 ftanding was good, but neither very quick nor compre-
 hensive; but he fupplied the want of quicknefs by ma-
 ture deliberation; and the fuccefs with which all his
 meafures were crowned, procured him the name of the

* See the Will of Henry VII. published by Thomas Aftle,
 Efq. with an ingenious preface by the Editor.

A.D. 1509. Solomon of the age, and a very high reputation for wisdom, both at home and abroad. He has been highly admired for diminishing the exorbitant power of the great barons, which had often endangered the crown and oppressed the people. This he certainly endeavoured, and in part accomplished. But it was far from being a difficult task. The civil wars had ruined two-thirds of the great families, and at his accession there were only twenty-seven temporal peers in England. The great defects in the character of this prince proceeded not from the weakness of his head, but the hardness of his heart, which was exceedingly selfish and unfeeling; little susceptible of the impressions of love, friendship, pity, or any generous benevolent affection. He was an unkind husband to an amiable consort; never had a friend, and seldom forgave an enemy. As a son, he treated his venerable mother with formal respect, but allowed her no influence; as a father he was careful, but not affectionate; as a master he was far from being generous. His vexatious exactions of various kinds, his severity to Sir William Stanley, and his cruelty to the innocent earl of Warwick, have procured him, and not unjustly, the odious name of tyrant. An inordinate love of money, and an unrelenting hatred to the house of York, were his ruling passions, and the chief sources of all his vices and of all his troubles.

SECTION II.

The Civil and Military History of England, from the Accession of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509, to the Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

Accession
of Henry
VIII.

FEW kings have ascended their thrones with greater advantages, and fairer prospects of a happy reign, than Henry VIII. of England. He was in his eighteenth year, handsome, healthy, strong, and active; excellent in all fashionable and manly exercises, had a taste for the fine arts, and was learned, for his time of life and the age in which he flourished. His title to the crown was indisputable;

putable; he was at peace with all his neighbours; his coffers overflowed with money, and his subjects were transported with joy at his accession *. A.D. 1509.

The first measures of the young monarch were wise and popular. On the day after his father's death, when he was proclaimed in London, he retired to the Tower, to avoid the tumultuary acclamations of the people, and to enjoy leisure to attend to business. By the advice, it is said, of his wife and virtuous grandmother, Margaret countess of Richmond and Derby, he formed an excellent council, composed of men of eminent abilities and long experience in business; and though, from his age and temper, he was fond of pleasurable amusements, he frequently attended the meetings of his council, to gain some knowledge of his affairs. Two very popular proclamations were immediately published, the one confirming the general pardon that had been granted by the late king; the other inviting all who had been injured by the too rigorous execution of antiquated penal laws in the late reign, to lay their complaints before certain commissioners appointed to hear and redress their wrongs. Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, Esq. the two detested instruments of these vexatious prosecutions, were committed to the Tower, and many of their agents and informers to other prisons. These measures gave universal satisfaction, and inspired the people with the most sanguine hopes of a mild administration †.

One of the first and most important affairs that engaged the attention of the council was, the marriage of the young king. He had been contracted, 23d June, A. D. 1503, to Catherine of Spain, his brother's widow, and a dispensation for the marriage had been obtained from the pope; but on the day in which he completed his fourteenth year, he had protested against that contract; and it was now debated in council, whether he should adhere to his protest, or fulfil the contract ‡. William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, a wise and virtuous prelate, opposed the marriage as incestuous, and contrary to the laws of God, with which the pope, he said, could not dispense.

* Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. apud Kenet, vol. iii. p. 1.

† Ibid, p. 2, 3.

‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 76—86, 89.

A.D. 1509. But Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and lord privy seal, with a great majority of the council, advised the king to proceed to the marriage, and enforced their advice by many strong political and prudential arguments. Henry, with some reluctance, it is said, complied with this advice; and this extraordinary marriage was solemnized at Greenwich, June 7th, A. D. 1509*. A marriage which afterwards made a mighty noise, and produced effects altogether unexpected, and directly contrary to the intentions of those who promoted it with the greatest zeal. So short-sighted are the wisest politicians, and so little do they know what will be the consequences of their schemes! The pope, in particular, who granted the dispensation for this marriage, imagined he had thereby subjected Henry and his posterity for ever to himself and his successors; because the legality of his marriage and their legitimacy would depend on the plenitude of the papal power. The effect, it will soon appear, was directly contrary to his expectations, and proved that, with all his pretensions to infallibility, he saw no further into futurity than other men.

Informers punished. The commissioners who had been appointed to hear the complaints of those who had been injured in the late reign, soon found that it would not be so easy to repair the losses of the numerous complainers, as to gratify their revenge by punishing their oppressors. They therefore adopted that as the least expensive method, and made three of the most active and odious informers to ride through the principal streets of London, June 6th; with their faces to the horses tails, and then set them on the pillory, where they were so roughly used, that they all died soon after in prison †.

Coronation, &c. Great preparations having been made for the coronation of the king and queen, that ceremony was performed at Westminster, June 24th, with extraordinary pomp, and at a prodigious expence both to the king and the nobility ‡. The coronation was followed by a succession of tournaments and other splendid and expensive diversions, in which the young king spent much of his time and treasures. Not contented with the guard established by his father, he instituted a band of fifty spearmen,

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 251.

† Stowe, p. 487.

‡ Hall, Henry VIII. fol. 2—4.

each spearman to have three great horses for his own use, and to be attended by an archer, a demilance, and valet, all on horseback. The spearmen were dressed in cloth of gold, and the trappings of their horses were of the same costly materials *. In a word, Henry now discovered so strong a passion for magnificence of all kinds, as threatened the speedy dissipation of all the money which had been hoarded by his father. This gave no little concern to some of his ministers, particularly to bishop Fox, who lost much of his influence at court, by his remonstrance against this extravagance; and his rival, the earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, gained the ascendant by indulging the king's humour †.

Five days after his coronation, Henry sustained a great loss by the death of his excellent grandmother, for whom he had always entertained a very great regard and reverence; and who, if she had lived some years longer, might have preserved him from various errors, by her affectionate and prudent admonitions ‡.

In the first year of his reign Henry confirmed the treaties which had been made by his father, with the emperor, the kings of France, Spain, and Scotland, and declared his resolution to cultivate peace with all these princes §. How happy would it have been for him and his subjects, if he had adhered to that wise and virtuous resolution!

Though a few of the inferior agents in the late oppressions had been punished, the people could not be satisfied, while the two grand oppressors, Empson and Dudley, remained alive. It was not so easy, however, to convict them, as it had been to convict their under-agents. They were both expert lawyers, had acted with great caution, and had carefully preserved the orders they had received from their late master for all their transactions. When they were first brought before the council, Empson, who was equally bold and eloquent, made a noble defence for himself and his fellow-prisoner. "The crime," he said, "of which they were accused, and for which they were to be tried, was of a very extraordinary nature. Others were tried for violating

A.D. 1509.
Death of the count-
ress of
Rich-
mond.

Treaties
confirmed.

Trials of
Empson
and Dud-
ley.

* Hall. Henry VIII. fol. 5—6.

† Herbert, p. 4.

‡ Stowe, p. 487.

§ Rym. Foed. tom. xiii. p. 257, 260, 261, 267.

A.D.1509. “ the laws, but they were to be tried for putting the laws in execution, though they were bound to do so by their offices, and by the exprefs commands of their sovereign, to whom the execution of the laws was committed by the constitution. If they were to be sacrificed to the clamours of those whom their duty had obliged them to punish, he intreated that the cause of their sufferings might be kept a profound secret; because if it was known in foreign countries, it would be concluded that all law and government were dissolved in England *.” In a word, it was soon found that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to convict these men of the crimes of which they had been really guilty, without bringing a heavy load of infamy on the memory of the late king, by whose direction and authority they had acted. It was resolved, therefore, to try them for a crime for which they could plead no authority, but of which, it is probable, they were not guilty; trusting to the public odium under which they laboured for a verdict against them. Accordingly, Edmund Dudley was tried at Guildhall, in London, July 16th, for high treason, and found guilty; and Sir Richard Empson was tried at Northampton, October 1st, for the same crime, and also found guilty. The same accusation was brought against both; viz. that in March last, when the late king was sick, they had engaged certain of their friends to be ready to appear in arms in London, as soon as the king died; whence it was inferred, that they had conspired to seize the person of the young king, and either to rule him, or put him to death; than which inference nothing could be more improbable. After they were found guilty, they were committed to the Tower †.

1510.
Wolsey
introduced
at court.

Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, had been so long accustomed to court-favour and public business, that he ardently desired to recover the influence which he had lost; and with this view, he resolved to introduce a person to the king who he hoped would prove a powerful co-adjutor to himself, and a formidable competitor to his rival, the earl of Surrey. This was the famous Thomas Wolsey, so well known in history by the title of Cardinal Wolsey, who, from the humble station of a butcher's son in Ipswich, arrived at a degree of opulence, power,

* Herbert, p. 3.

† Id. p. 4, 5.

and influence, in the affairs of Europe, to which no British subject ever attained. Fox was well acquainted with Wolsey's great activity, captivating address, and dexterity in business, from the success with which he had executed some commissions in the late reign*; but the rapid progress he made in gaining the confidence and favour of the young king, far exceeded his expectations and desires: for though Henry was then only in his nineteenth, and Wolsey in his fortieth year, before he had been many months at court, he became his friend, the companion of all his pleasures, the repository of all his secrets, the dispenser of all his favours, and at length his only confidential minister. The first office bestowed on Wolsey was that of king's almoner, with a grant of all deadlands and forfeitures for felony, to which many other offices, benefices, and grants, were soon after added†. In November, A. D. 1510, he was admitted a member of the privy council, and from that time he was really prime minister.

The first parliament in this reign met at Westminster, January 21st, A. D. 1510. The temporal peers summoned to this parliament were, one duke, one marquis, eight earls, and twenty-six barons‡. Henry VII. was as frugal of his honours as of his money. William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, made a speech, or rather preached a sermon, to both houses, on this text: "Fear God, and honour the king;" insisting chiefly on the last part of his text§. Receivers and triers of petitions, according to the custom of those times, were then nominated. The commons chose Sir Thomas Inglefield to be their speaker, who was presented to the king in the House of Lords, January 23d, and accepted. At the same time an order was made, that both houses should meet at nine in the morning, for the dispatch of business.

The great object of this parliament was, to prevent the repetition of those vexatious exactions and prosecutions which had occasioned so much distress and discontent in the preceding reign. With this view, some of those antiquated penal laws, on which these prosecutions

* See Biographia Britannica, article Wolsey.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 267, 269. Biographia Britannica.

‡ Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 2.

§ Ibid. p. 3.

A.D. 1510 had been founded, were repealed, and others explained, and their severity mitigated*. With this view, Empson and Dudley, who had been already found guilty of high treason by a jury of their peers, were attainted by an act of parliament, and both beheaded on Tower-hill, August 17th, by a warrant extorted from the king by the clamours of the people †. To shew their affection to their youthful sovereign, this assembly voluntarily granted him two-tenths and two-fifteenths, though he abounded in treasure, and was at peace with all the world. An imprudent act, which served only to encourage the young king in his extravagance.

Treaty.

A treaty of peace between Henry and Lewis XII. king of France, was concluded, March 23d, A. D. 1510, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and great precautions were taken to render it secure ‡. But it will soon appear that all these precautions were in vain, and that this peace was of very short duration. During the remainder of this year, Henry had nothing to divert him from pursuing his pleasures and diversions, which he did with great ardour, and at an immense expence.

1511.
Queen delivered of
a son.

On the first day of January, A. D. 1511, the queen was delivered of a son at Richmond, which gave universal joy to the whole kingdom, as well as to the king and court. But this joy was soon succeeded by sorrow; for the young prince, who was named Henry, expired at the same place on February 23d §. Ferdinand of Spain, Henry's father-in-law, now pretended to meditate an expedition against the Moors in Barbary, and solicited an aid of 1000 English archers, which was granted ¶. These troops, which were esteemed the best in Europe, landed at Calais, June 1st, and were honourably received and entertained. But Ferdinand, having laid aside this expedition, (which he never really intended,) they were soon after sent home, well contented with their entertainment, and the valuable presents they had received. Henry sent a similar aid of 1500 archers, this summer, to Margaret duchess of Savoy, governess of the Low Countries, for her nephew Charles, prince of Spain, who was at war

* See Statutes, 1 Hen. VIII.

† Ibid cap. iv. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 7, 8. Stowe, p. 488.

‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 270—275, 277—280, 286, 289.

§ Stowe, p. 288.

¶ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 296.

with the duke of Guilders. These troops, having done good service at several sieges, returned home at the end of the campaign *. A D 1511.

Though England at this time enjoyed a profound peace, which nothing seemed capable of disturbing, the affairs of the continent were cruelly embroiled; and the most artful schemes were secretly formed to draw the rich and powerful, but young, rash, and unsuspecting Henry, into quarrels, with which he had no concern, and from the issue of which it was determined he should reap no benefit. These schemes were formed by his spiritual father the Pope, and his father-in-law Ferdinand of Spain, two persons for whom he had the greatest veneration; and their proposals were so admirably adapted to work upon his reigning passions of vanity and ambition, that he was more to be pitied than blamed for falling into the snare. Snares laid for Henry.

Pope Julius II. was unquestionably one of the most restless, ambitious, and faithless men that ever lived; and though he pretended to be the viceroy of the meek and peaceful Saviour of mankind, he acted the part of a firebrand during his whole pontificate, and practised every art to kindle and keep alive the flames of war. He had been the chief instrument in forming the famous league of Cambray, for the destruction of the Venetians; and he now laboured, with equal ardour, to form a similar league against the eldest son of the church, and most virtuous prince of the age, Lewis XII. king of France, who, by his power in Italy, he apprehended would obstruct the success of the schemes he had formed for aggrandising the popedom, and his own family, with the spoils of his weaker neighbours. Into this league he proposed to bring not only all the enemies, but all the allies, of the king of France; particularly the emperor Maximilian, and the kings of Spain and England. Character of pope Julius II.

It would be tedious to trace all the intricate mazes of the negotiations of his holiness, with the emperor and the king of Spain, who were almost as artful and as perfidious as himself. It is sufficient to say, that, after various intrigues, the holy father and his two dearly-beloved sons agreed upon this plan: that the pope, who, in conjunction with the Venetians, was already at open Schemes of the pope, &c.

* Stowe, p. 488.

A.D. 1511. war with the king of France, should launch the thunders of the church against that rebellious son and his subjects, who impiously dared to disobey the common father of all Christians; while the two monarchs should continue to make the strongest professions of inviolable attachment to that prince, till the king of England was engaged in the league, and all the confederates were ready to fall upon him at once. The honourable office of deceiving the king of England, and drawing him into the league, was committed to his father-in-law, who performed it with great dexterity and success*.

Treaty.

Ferdinand, by his ambassador at the court of England, communicated to Henry the plan of the league, as a mark of his confidence and paternal affection, and represented how honourable it would be, for a young prince of his great power and piety and learning, to become the protector of the church; and how favourable an opportunity this was of recovering the ancient dominions of his crown in France. To please him still further, it was promised that the pope would confer upon him the title of the Most Christian King, which the king of France had forfeited; and that he should be declared the head of the holy Italian league†. These offers and proposals were so flattering to Henry's bigotry, vanity, and ambition, that he yielded to the temptation, agreed to enter into the league, and to violate the treaty of peace with Lewis; to the faithful observance of which he had solemnly sworn only a few months before. Having formed this resolution, he began privately to prepare for war, and gave a commission to several gentlemen in each county, June 20th, to array and exercise all the men at arms and archers in their county, and to make a return of their names, and the quality of their arms, before the first day of August‡. The resolution of declaring war against France, met with opposition in the council of England, on very solid grounds. "The natural situation of islands," it was said, "seems not to be sort with conquests on the continent. If we will enlarge ourselves, let it be in the way for which Providence hath fitted us, which is by sea§." But

* Thuanus, lib. i. F. Paul. Hist. Conc. Trent.

† Pet. Martyr. Epist. p. 279. 462. Herbert, p. 8 Guicciard. c. 11.

‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 300.

§ Herbert, p. 8.

Henry

Henry was so intoxicated with the thoughts of being the A.D. 1511. protector of the pope, and of the conquests he was to make in France, that all opposition was in vain; and he concluded a treaty with his father-in-law, November 10th, A. D. 1511. The preamble to this treaty affords a curious specimen of political hypocrisy. After representing Lewis XII. as an enemy to God and religion, and a cruel unrelenting persecutor of the church, who despised all admonitions, and had even rejected the generous offer which the pope had made him, of the pardon of all his sins, it proceeds in this pious strain: "That the two kings, knowing how detrimental this conduct might prove to the Catholic faith, the church of God, and the welfare of Christendom, had thought proper to agree to the following articles, to the praise and glory of Almighty God, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the whole triumphant court of Heaven." It is not indeed very easy to discover the connection between the glory of God and the articles of this treaty, which were to this effect: That the two kings should unite their forces to make a conquest of the province of Guienne, from a prince with whom they were united by the most solemn treaties, and who had given them no offence*.

In this treaty Ferdinand affected to appear perfectly disinterested, and to have nothing at heart but the aggrandisement of the king of England, by the acquisition of Guienne. But this was far from being the intention of that selfish perfidious prince, who contrived to make the expedition turn entirely to his own advantage, and to the great loss and mortification of his dearly-beloved son.

Henry, having now resolved on a war with France, summoned a parliament, which met at Westminster, February 4th, A. D. 1512, and opened by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor, with a sermon on these words: "Righteousness and peace kissed each other." On which (says an ancient historian) he preached a long hour and a half, to his great commendation, and the singular comfort of his hearers†. No mention was made of the intended war till the fifteenth day of the parliament, when the chancellor dis-

* Rym. Fœd. tom. x. li. p. 312, &c.

† Journals, vol i. p. 1c. Stowe, p. 492.

A.D. 1512. closed to the lords the secret reason for which it had been called, and caused an apostolic brief to be read, containing a long detail and bitter complaints of the grievous injuries which the king of France had done to the pope and church of Rome. The chancellor, the treasurer, and some other lords, were sent to make the same discovery to the commons *.

Proceed-
ings.

The prospect of a war with France was exceedingly pleasing to the people of England in this period. The remembrance of the glorious victories their ancestors had gained, and the great estates they had possessed in that kingdom, was fresh in their minds, and they fondly hoped to gain similar victories and estates. The parliament, therefore, entered with great alacrity into the king's views, and granted two tenths and two fifteenths, to be levied from the laity, and the clergy in convocation granted a subsidy of twenty-three thousand pounds †. Then the parliament, after sitting forty-nine days, was prorogued to November 4th.

Expedition
into
Spain.

Henry being now amply furnished with the sinews of war, raised an army of ten thousand men, chiefly archers, with a train of artillery. This army, commanded in chief by the marquis of Dorset, embarked at Southampton, May 16th, and landed at Guipiscoa. They were received and treated with respect, but saw no appearance of the Spanish army they expected to join them on their landing. After they had remained a month in their camp, they received a message from Ferdinand, intreating them to have a little patience, and his army would join them in a short time, to undertake the siege of Bayonne. But he had a very different object in view ‡.

John D'Albret, king of Navarre, was in strict alliance with the king of France, and on that account had been excommunicated by the pope, and his kingdom offered to any prince who would take possession of it. This kingdom lay conveniently for Ferdinand; and therefore, instead of joining his forces to the English for the conquest of Guienne, he commanded his general, the duke of Alva, to invade Navarre, with the army he had raised, under pretence of an expedition against the Moors. To facilitate the success of this enterprise, he amused the

* Journals, p. 13.

† Wilkins Concil. tom. iii. p. 552.

‡ Stowe, p. 483.

weak unfortunate king John with delusive negotiations for a peace, while the French were engaged in securing Guienne against the expected invasion. The Spanish army met with little opposition, and made a conquest of Navarre in a few months *. While the Spanish army was employed in the conquest of Navarre, the situation of the English in their camp at Fontarabia was exceedingly disagreeable. Too weak to attempt the siege of Bayonne, or engage in any important enterprise, they remained idle in their camp, enraged at their perfidious ally, and brooding over their blasted hopes of conquest. Being ill-supplied with provisions, and making too free with the wines of the country, diseases broke out among them, of which several hundreds died. In the mean time, Ferdinand was not ashamed to importune the marquis of Dorset, by frequent messages, to join the Spanish army, and assist in the conquest of Navarre; but the marquis resisted all these importunities, as being directly contrary to his commission and instructions; and was no less importunate in demanding ships, to transport his army back to England, which Ferdinand was obliged, by treaty, to furnish when demanded. At length, when the conquest of Navarre was completed, and the presence of the English was no longer necessary to keep the French at bay, and prevent their opposing the progress of the Spaniards, ships were provided, the English army embarked, and arrived in their own country in December, discontented, dispirited, and diminished in their numbers †. Thus ended this campaign, in which Ferdinand gained a kingdom, and Henry got nothing but disgrace and loss.

A.D. 1512.

Henry, at the same time that he sent his army into Spain, fitted out a fleet of sixteen stout ships, commanded by Sir Edward Howard, the lord admiral; who, having conveyed the transports with the troops till they were out of danger, cruised in the channel, took many merchant ships, made several destructive descents on the coasts of France, and then returned to Southampton. The fleet being there supplied with water and provisions, and joined by another squadron of twenty-five sail, put to sea again; and having fallen in with the French fleet,

Sea fight.

* Pet. Martyr. Epist. 563, 570, &c.

† Hall, f. 20. Herbert, p. 9.

A.D. 1512. consisting of thirty-nine sail, August 10th, a fierce conflict immediately ensued. In the heat of the action the Regent, of one thousand tons, the largest ship in the English navy, grappled with the French admiral, which taking fire, both ships were presently involved in flames, and all on board, to the number of seventeen hundred men, perished. The two hostile fleets were so much astonished at this deplorable and sudden destruction of so many brave men, that they separated, as if it had been by mutual consent, without any further fighting*.

Parliament.

The parliament met again, November 4th, the day to which it had been prorogued; and as the king was actually engaged in an expensive war with France, and was preparing for a war with Scotland, they granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, beside an aid of 160,000*l.* to be raised by a poll-tax on persons of all denominations, at rates proportioned to their rank and circumstances. In this session several ladies, lords, and gentlemen, (and among others, Thomas, son and heir of Sir Richard Empson,) whose parents and ancestors had been condemned for treason, and their estates forfeited, were restored to their honours and fortunes†. The parliament was then prorogued to November 7th, A. D. 1513.

1513.
Pope's death.

Though the preceding campaign had been unprofitable to Henry, it had been very pernicious to the king of France. By his withdrawing the greatest part of his troops from Italy, for the defence of his kingdom, he lost the duchy of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, which had cost France much blood and treasure to acquire. While pope Julius II. was rejoicing in these events, and keenly engaged in forming a powerful confederacy against France, he was overtaken by death, on February 21st, A. D. 1513, and was succeeded in the papal chair, March 11th, by cardinal John de Medici, who took the name of Leo X. †

Confederacy
against
France,

The new pope prosecuted the schemes of his predecessor, for expelling the French out of Italy, enlarging the papal dominions, and securing the sovereignty of Florence to his own family. The negotiations which had for some time been carried on at Mechlin with great secrecy, for forming a confederacy between the pope,

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 327. Hall, f. 20.

† Rolls, 4 Henry VIII.

‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 249.

the emperor, and the kings of Spain and England, against France, were brought to a conclusion, and the league was signed by the plenipotentiaries, April 5th, A. D. 1513. By the league the pope engaged to invade France in Provence or Dauphiny, and to fulminate the thunders of the church against the king of France and all his allies. The emperor engaged to invade France, or some other territories belonging to the king of France out of Italy. To enable him to do this, the king of England was to pay him 100,000 gold crowns. The king of Spain engaged to invade Bearn, Guienne, or Languedoc, and the king of England, Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy. All the invading armies were to be strong and well-appointed. None of the confederates were to make a truce or peace with the common enemy, without the consent of all the rest. The emperor and the king of England were to ratify this treaty within one month, the pope and king of Spain within two months *.

A.D. 1513.

Henry was highly pleased with this treaty, and entertained the most sanguine hopes of victories and conquests, by the aid of these powerful allies. But in this he was much mistaken. None of his allies intended to invade France, or to fulfil any of their engagements, but that of receiving his money. Knowing his youthful ardour and ambition, as well as his power and wealth, their object was to engage him in a war with France, from which each of them hoped to derive advantages, without any expence or trouble. So shameful was the duplicity of Ferdinand, his father-in-law, that he was negotiating a truce for one year in his own name, and in the name of his allies, the emperor and the king of England, with the king of France and his allies, the king of Scotland and duke of Guilders, at the same time that he was negotiating the above confederacy against France, and both these treaties (so contradictory to one another) were concluded, signed, and sworn to with great solemnity, by his plenipotentiaries, at different places, almost on the same day †. This he esteemed a masterly stroke in politics; but it certainly deserved a very different name.

Perfidy of
the confederates.

As soon as Henry had resolved on a war with France, he laboured earnestly to secure the continuance of peace with Scotland. But all his endeavours were in vain.

Henry
prepares
for a war
with Scot-
land.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 354.

† Ibid, p. 350.

A.D. 1513. King James complained that he had been unkindly and even unjustly treated by his brother-in-law, in several particulars. Greater attention was now paid to these complaints than formerly; offers of redress and satisfaction were made, and commissioners appointed, on both sides, to adjust all differences. But these commissioners could come to no agreement *. The truth is, that king James had secretly resolved to support the ancient allies of his family and country, and concluded a treaty with the king of France, 22d May, A. D. 1512, in which the two monarchs agreed to assist and support one another with all their power against all men. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his hostile intention against England, that his country might not be made the seat of the war. But the English ministers were not deceived. They saw plainly that a war with Scotland was unavoidable, and Henry gave a commission to the earl of Surrey, August 6th, A. D. 1512, to array all the fencible men in Yorkshire, and the other five northern counties, and to have them in constant readiness to oppose the Scots †. Negotiations for an accommodation were still carried on, and Henry gave one commission, February 2d, A. D. 1513, to William lord Conyers and Sir Robert Drury, to treat with the commissioners of the king of Scotland, with power to promise the redress of all grievances; and another to lord Dacre and Doctor West, to the same purpose, February 15th ‡. But these negotiations were unsuccessful.

Expedi-
tion into
France.

Henry spent the first five months of this year in making every possible preparation for a vigorous offensive war with France, and defensive war with Scotland. For though he had no real ground of quarrel with either of these powers, he was so deluded by the promises of his deceitful allies, and by the vain ambition of appearing the great protector of the pope and church, that he embarked in these wars with the greatest ardour and the most sanguine hopes of success. About the middle of May, the earl of Shrewsbury conducted eight thousand men to Calais, and was followed by lord Herbert with six thousand, about the end of that month §. With these

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 309, 332, 347. Hollingshed, p. 295, 296.

† Ibid. p. 339.

‡ Ibid. p. 346, 347.

§ Ibid. p. 370.

troops they invested Tiruenne, a strong town in Artois, A.D. 1513. June 22d. The king, having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, sailed from Dover, June 30th, and landed at Calais the same evening, attended by an army of twelve thousand men, his favourite Wolsey, now his prime minister, and a gallant train of noblemen and gentlemen, impatient to display their courage under the eye of their youthful sovereign.

Tiruenne was bravely defended by a numerous garrison; and a report prevailing that the duke of Longueville was advancing with an army to his relief, Henry marched from Calais, July 21st, and arrived in the camp before Tiruenne with eleven thousand men, August 4th. The emperor Maximilian, who, as well as the other confederates, had made no preparation for invading France, was not ashamed to enlist in the service of the king of England at the rate of 100 crowns a day, and proved an useless expensive soldier, and most pernicious counsellor. On the approach of the duke of Longueville, Henry drew out to meet him, and an action ensued, August 19th, commonly called *the battle of the spurs*, in which the English obtained an easy victory: for the French cavalry, seized with a panic, used their spurs instead of their swords, and galloping off, left their general and several brave officers in the hands of their enemies*. The garrison of Tiruenne, despairing of any relief, surrendered the place on honourable terms August 22d. This conquest, which had cost Henry an immense sum of money, was dismantled and destroyed, by the interested advice of the emperor, that its garrison might no longer infest the contiguous territories of his son Charles duke of Burgundy.

Henry was again misled by the emperor, whose age, dignity, and cunning, gave him such an ascendant, that he directed all the motions of the English army to promote his own views. Instead of taking advantage of the consternation into which the French were thrown by their late defeat, he proceeded in great state, by slow marches, and invested the populous city of Tournay, September 22d. The citizens of Tournay enjoyed several peculiar privileges, and, among others, that of defending their own city; for which on this occasion, they

* Herbert, p. 16. Peter Martyr, ep. 526, 527.

A.D. 1513. discovered themselves to be very unfit. They surrendered a few days after they were summoned, agreeing to pay 50,000 crowns immediately, 4000 livres a year for ten years, and to admit an English garrison*.

Death of James IV. On the same day that Tournay surrendered, Henry received the important news of the death of James IV. who had been slain, September 9th, in the memorable battle of Flowden-field, of which a circumstantial account shall be given in the History of Scotland.

Confederacy. Henry was greatly elated by this flow of success, and kept a most magnificent court at Tournay. He was there visited by Margaret governess of the Low Countries, and her nephew Charles prince of Spain, with a splendid train of lords and ladies, who were all sumptuously feasted, and nobly entertained with tournaments and other diversions, for fourteen days, at an incredible expence†. Henry returned this visit, October 11th, to the court of Burgundy at Lisle, where he spent several days in the diversions of those times. While the princes and their courtiers were engaged in these amusements, their ministers were employed in negotiating a new treaty of confederacy against France, which was signed and sealed by the king of England, at Lisle, October 15th. By this treaty it was stipulated, 1. That, as winter was approaching, the king of England, after leaving a sufficient garrison in Tournay, might retire with his army into his own dominions. 2. That the emperor should keep on foot, an army of six thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, during the winter and spring, for the defence of the Low Countries, the further security of Tournay, and for harrassing the frontiers of France; and that Henry, to enable him to do this, should pay him 30,000 crowns of gold on the last day of each of the six winter and spring months, and 20,000 in May; in all, 200,000. 3. That by the first of June next, the emperor and the king of England should invade France, each at the head of a powerful army, and neither make peace nor truce but by mutual consent. 4. That the emperor, his daughter the archduchess Margaret, his grandson Charles duke of Burgundy, the king of England, his queen, and his sister the princess Mary, should all meet at Calais about the middle of May, and there solemnize the marriage of Charles and Mary‡. In this transaction

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 377. Herbert, p. 17.

† Hall, f. 45. Rym. p. 379.

‡ Ibid.

all was sincerity on the side of Henry, and all the grossest dissimulation on the part of his confederate. A. D. 1513.

The bishopric of Tournay had been lately vacant, and the bishop-elect refusing to swear fealty to the conqueror, Henry bestowed that rich see, with the abbey of Saint Martin's in the same city, *in commendam*, on his almoner and favourite, Thomas Wolsey, who attended him in that expedition. This was a strong mark of the king's esteem and friendship, which was soon followed by many others*.

Wolsey
bishop of
Tournay.

Henry, having left Sir Edward Poynings with a competent garrison in Tournay, marched the rest of his army to Calais, where he embarked, November 24th, and landed at Dover the same day. Thence he proceeded to Richmond, where the queen resided, and bestowed rewards and honours on several lords and gentlemen, who had attended him in France, or had fought under the earl of Surrey against the Scots†. In the distribution of rewards Wolsey was not neglected. He was appointed bishop of Lincoln, and the rich abbey of Saint Alban's was given him *in commendam*. Henry re-
turns to
England.

In this campaign the English had behaved every where with their usual bravery, and their arms had been crowned with success; but that success, though purchased at an immense expence, was of no advantage to their country. They had indeed greatly distressed the king of France, with whom they had no quarrel; they had also killed the king of Scots, their sovereign's nearest relation, who would have been his most faithful ally, if he had not wantonly engaged in this unnecessary war with France; they had likewise gained the city of Tournay, which they kept a few years with much difficulty and at a great expence‡. They had, it is true, most effectually promoted the interests of their treacherous confederates, the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, who violated all their engagements, and deserted them without a moment's hesitation, as soon as they obtained their own ends. May their posterity avoid engaging in quarrels in which they have little or no concern, and lavishing their blood and treasures for faithless and ungrateful allies!

His success
unprofit-
able.

* Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 6.

† Hall, f. 45.

‡ Strype, vol. i. ch. i.

A.D. 1513.

Perfidy of
the pope
and the
other con-
federates.

While Henry was thus fighting the battles of the church, the pope regaled him (to please his vanity) with the grossest flattery; and at the same time, boldly trampled on the rights of his crown and the laws of his country. He sent four bulls into England, dated in February, A. D. 1514. By one of these he declared that he had reserved the bishopric of Lincoln to his own disposal. By another he bestowed that bishopric on Thomas Wolsey; declaring any other nomination or election that had been made by any others, through ignorance or presumption, (meaning the nomination by the king and election by the chapter,) to be null and void. By the third, he prescribed the form of the oath of obedience to the pope and see of Rome, Wolsey was to swear, in which he did not forget to make him swear to persecute all heretics and schismatics. By the fourth, he commanded the chapter of Lincoln to receive and obey Wolsey as their bishop *. Wolsey accepted of these bulls, by which he was involved in a premunire, but obtained a pardon from the king, March 4th †. Before this, the pope had secretly concluded a peace with the king of France, without giving the least hint of his intention to the champion of the church, whose arms had brought that prince to submit to his terms: a conduct equally contemptuous, treacherous, and ungrateful. After that peace was concluded, he wrote Henry a most flattering letter, extolling his zeal and piety in espousing the cause of the church so warmly, and telling him, that his invincible bravery, and the terror of his name, had compelled its enemies to submit, by which the design of the war was accomplished, and he had gained immortal glory ‡. Still further to please him, and prevent his resenting so many affronts and injuries, he sent him a consecrated sword and bonnet, accompanied with a letter, full of the most fulsome flattery, which were received with great ceremony as presents of inestimable value §. Such was the vanity of this prince, and the bigotry of those times! Henry's other confederates were no less perfidious, than their holy father the pope. Maximilian violated every stipulation of the late treaty of Lisse, without any hesitation or apology; and Ferdinand, at the same time that he

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 390.

† Ibid. p. 386.

‡ Ibid. p. 394.

§ Ibid. p. 493.

was soliciting his son-in-law to enter into a new confederacy against France, concluded a truce with that crown for another year *. A.D. 1514.

Though Henry, blinded by his own bigotry, the interested counsels of his favourite Wolsey, and the arts of his confederates, had engaged with great ardour in this war against France, he now began to see his error, and the treachery of his allies. The duke of Longueville, who was then a prisoner in England, and admitted by Henry to share in his pleasures and amusements, took every opportunity of unfolding the characters, and exposing the deceitful arts of his confederates; and of extolling the honour and good faith of his own sovereign, and representing the earnest desire he had of a peace, and an intimate and cordial friendship with the young king of England, for whom he entertained the highest esteem. When the duke found that the king listened to these discourses, he proposed a treaty of peace, to be cemented by a marriage between his sovereign (who had lately become a widower) and the lady Mary, Henry's youngest sister. That princess had been betrothed to the emperor's grandson, Charles prince of Spain; and by one article of the contract, the prince had engaged to send an ambassador into England, to espouse the princess in his name within forty days after he had compleated his fourteenth year. The prince had neglected to perform this article; and therefore the princess and the king her brother thought themselves at liberty to enter into other engagements. Henry, who was an affectionate brother, was much pleased with the proposed marriage; and, in conversation, he acquainted the duke with the preliminaries on which he was willing to treat of the peace and marriage. The subject of this conversation he immediately communicated in a familiar letter, written with his own hand, to his favourite Wolsey. In this remarkable letter, directed To my Lord of Lincoln, he informed him, that the preliminaries were these two:

1. That the peace should be for the joint lives of the two kings, and one year longer.
2. That the king of France should pay him 100,000 crowns a year. To which, says he, the duke answered, "that he colde natt assure me thereof; but that he trustyde, seyng my demans were so reasonable that hys master wholde agre thereto. On trust

Treaties
with
France be-
gun.

A.D. 1514. " hereon we woll that yow begyne to penne the refydue
 " off the artycylles as soone as yow can. And thus fare
 " yow well. Written with the hande off your lovyng
 " master, HENRY R.*"

Treaties
 with
 France
 finished.

Though Lewis disliked the second preliminary, he was so desirous of the peace and marriage, that (hoping to obtain an alteration in the treaty) he gave one commission to the duke of Longueville, John de Sylva, and Thomas Bohier, to treat of a peace with England, dated July 29th, A. D. 1514; and another commission to the same persons, on the same day, to treat of his marriage with the princess Mary. He furnished these commissioners, at the same time, with full powers to bind and oblige him to pay to the king of England one million of crowns, partly as arrears due on several accounts, and partly as a testimony of the great esteem and love he bore to that prince†. This he hoped Henry would be prevailed upon to accept, instead of the 100,000 crowns a-year, which he was unwilling to grant, as it had the appearance of an annual tribute; and in this hope he was not disappointed. On the same day that the king of France executed these deeds at St. Germain's, the princess Mary solemnly renounced her espousals with the prince of Spain, on account of his breach of faith, and her contempt of him and aversion to him for that reason, in her brother's palace of Wainsted, in the presence of many persons of high rank‡. Henry appointed the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Wolsey bishop of Lincoln and postulate archbishop of York, and Richard Fox bishop of Winchester, his plenipotentiaries, August 2d, to treat with those of France on the peace and marriage. As both parties were really desirous of the peace and alliance, these treaties were finished in five days, and signed at London, August 7th, A. D. 1514||. As the English plenipotentiaries were prevailed upon, in the negotiation, to depart from their demand of 100,000 crowns a-year, and accept of the sum of one million of crowns for the whole, another treaty for regulating the terms of payment, and assigning the reasons for which that sum was to be paid, was signed at the same time§. Thus

* See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 403, 404. † Ibid. p. 408.

‡ Ibid. p. 409.

|| Ibid. p. 413—427.

§ Ibid. p. 428—439.

was this holy war (as it was called) terminated by stipulations merely secular, and the defence of the church and the pope, from the persecution of the king of France, the pretence for which it had been undertaken, was not so much as mentioned in any of these treaties. The plenipotentiaries of France earnestly endeavoured to procure the restoration of Tournay for a sum of money; but though it was evidently Henry's interest to restore it, Wolsey's apprehensions of losing the profits of that rich bishopric rendered all their efforts abortive. In this manner that insolent favourite sacrificed the interests of his king and country to his own.

While these treaties were in agitation, the king received a letter from cardinal John de Medicis, dated at Rome, July 14th, acquainting him, that his ambassador cardinal Bambridge, archbishop of York, had died on that day; and that the pope, at his request, had promised not to appoint a successor to his see, till he knew his majesty's pleasure*. The king immediately recommended Wolsey; and in the mean time granted him, August 5th, the custody of the archbishopric, with all its revenues†. Thus was this insatiable aspiring priest at once possessed of the archbishopric of York, the bishoprics of Tournay and Lincoln, the administration of the bishoprics of Worcester, Hereford, and Bath, (whose bishops were foreigners,) with several rich abbeys and other benefices, which made his revenues far superior to those of any other peer or prelate, if not to those of the king himself. The pope complied with Henry's recommendation, and appointed Wolsey archbishop of York, on account of his extraordinary learning, piety, and virtue. Such was the hypocritical cant of the court of Rome, in which truth was totally disregarded.

In consequence of the late treaty, the king of France espoused the princess Mary of England, by his proxy, Lewis duke of Longueville, at Greenwich, August 13th; after which the princess assumed the title of Queen of France. When all things were prepared, the young and blooming queen was conducted by the duke of Norfolk, with a splendid train of lords and ladies, to Abbeville, and there married to Lewis XII. in person, October 9th,

* See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 404.

† Ibid. p. 450.

A.D. 1514. A. D. 1514*: but this marriage had not subsisted three months, when it was dissolved by the death of the king, January 1st, A. D. 1515.

Parliament.

The parliament had been prorogued, November 7th, A. D. 1513, to January 20th, A. D. 1514, when it met at Westminster for dispatch of business. In the time of this session, several noblemen, who had distinguished themselves in the preceding campaign in France and the north of England, were raised to higher titles, by royal patents, containing valuable grants of lands, as rewards for their services, and to enable them to support their honours: particularly Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, was created duke of Norfolk; Sir Charles Brandon, viscount Lisle, was created duke of Suffolk; Thomas Howard, son to the duke of Norfolk, was created earl of Surrey; and Humphrey Stafford was restored to the title of duke of Buckingham, and the estates of his family, which had been forfeited by his father; and these patents, with the grants contained in them, were confirmed by acts of parliament†. As Henry was then preparing for another vigorous campaign against France, parliament granted him an aid of 160,000*l.*‡ But his councils soon took a more pacific turn.

1515.
Character
of Lewis
XII.

Though the death of Lewis XII. considering his age and infirmities, and the very unequal marriage in which he had fondly engaged, excited little surprise, it occasioned no little sorrow among his own subjects, by whom he was much beloved, and who had given him the honourable name of *the father of the people*. He was a brave, honourable, and wise prince, though he had been often deceived by Maximilian and Ferdinand, two of the greatest dissemblers (to give them no harsher name) that ever lived. His death was a misfortune to England as well as France, as it dissolved the union between the two royal families, and rendered the late peace (so salutary to both nations) precarious. He was succeeded by Francis duke of Angouleme, the nearest male heir to the crown, who had married the princess Claude, his eldest daughter.

Marriage.

Mary, now queen dowager of France, was young, beautiful, and rich, and therefore likely to be courted

* See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 333—335.

† See Rolls of Parliament, 5 Hen. VIII.

‡ Ibid.

by the greatest princes; and both her brother, and the king of France, for political reasons, were anxious about her choice of a second husband. But the lady soon put an end to their anxiety, and consulting only her own inclinations, about two months after she had become a widow, married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, one of the handsomest and most accomplished noblemen of the age. Henry was, or pretended to be, displeased at this marriage. But his displeasure, whether real or pretended, was not of long duration. The queen and her husband returned into England, were well received by Henry, and publicly married at Greenwich, May 13th. The queen, it is said, brought with her 200,000 crowns in money and jewels*.

A new parliament met at Westminster, February 5th, A. D. 1515. The commons chose Sir Thomas Neville for their speaker, who acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the king and both houses, that he was made a knight of the garter in full parliament: "an honour (say the Journals) that had never been conferred on any mortal man in any age †." On the sixth day of the parliament, the chancellor, accompanied by several lords and prelates, went to the commons, and acquainted them, that the reasons which induced the king to call this parliament were these two: 1. That they might determine how the money that had been granted by the last parliament, and not yet levied, should be collected. 2. That the Scots had made great depredations on the English, both by sea and land, which had determined the king to declare war against them; and he intreated the commons to consider diligently the great expences in which that war would involve him. This was a modest way of asking a supply; but the commons did not take the hint. After making several laws, the parliament was prorogued, April 5th, to the 12th of November ‡.

The claims of the kings of France on the duchy of Milan, and other territories in Italy, involved them and their subjects in many and great calamities. Francis I. at his accession, was too brave and ambitious to relinquish any of these destructive claims. On the contrary,

* Herbert, p. 22.

† Ibid. p. 42.

‡ Journals, vol. i. p. 20.

A.D. 1515. he panted with the most impatient ardour to assert them, with all the forces of his kingdom. This made him very desirous of a solid peace with England; and he sent two ambassadors to London to treat with Henry and his ministers for that purpose. The plenipotentiaries of the two crowns concluded and signed, April 5th, a treaty of peace almost verbatim the same with that which had been lately made with Lewis XII. This peace was to continue during the joint lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of him who died first. On the same day the French ambassadors signed another treaty, binding and obliging their master to pay to the king of England one million of crowns, deducting 50,000 francs which had been paid by Lewis XII. * This proves that these treaties were intended to confirm those that had been made with the late king. The allies of both the contracting powers were comprehended in the treaty of peace; but the Scots only on this condition, that they committed no hostilities against the English after the 15th of May.

Wolsey's
promoti-
on.

Though Wolsey, archbishop of York, who had the chief direction in all these transactions, had already attained to a greater degree both of wealth and power than any other English subject had ever reached, he was far from being satisfied. "When he was once archbishop, (says a contemporary historian,) he studied day and night how to be a cardinal, and caused the king and the French king to write to Rome for him †." Several cardinals were averse to his advancement; but the pope, knowing his absolute sway over the mind of his royal master, was desirous of gaining his friendship, and in full consistory declared him a cardinal, September 11th. Francis I. who was then in Italy, willing to assume some merit on the occasion, sent him the first notice of his promotion. As soon as he received the agreeable news, he hastened to communicate them to the king, but affected to have great scruples about accepting so high an honour, of which he thought himself unworthy. The king saluted him My Lord Cardinal, and soon overcame his scruples ‡. This was soon followed by another promotion. The pope a few days afterwards appointed his legate the new cardinal for England.

* Rym. tom. xlii. p. 473—491.

† Hall, f. 56.

‡ Id. Ibid.

From this time, Wolsey set no bounds to his pride and arrogance; but made a most arbitrary use of his power, and a most disgusting display of his wealth. When his cardinal's hat was brought to England, he caused the bearer of it to be met on Blackheath, and conducted through London with as much pomp as if the pope himself had made his appearance; and his reception of it in Westminster-abbey resembled the coronation of a king*. Several of the king's most ancient and respectable counsellors, seeing themselves so much eclipsed and so little regarded, resolved to retire from court. The duke of Norfolk absented himself as much as possible, but did not resign his office of treasurer at this time†. Fox, bishop of Winchester, retired to his diocese, and resigned his office of keeper of the privy seal‡. On his taking leave of the king, he presumed to caution him, "not to make any of his subjects greater than himself;" to which Henry sternly replied, "that he knew how to keep all his subjects in subjection." William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, resigned his office of chancellor, by delivering the great seal to the king, December 22d, which was immediately committed to Wolsey, who may be said to have reigned in England the ten succeeding years without a rival||; for Henry, during all that time, with all his self-conceit and haughtiness, was little more than the nominal, while Wolsey was the real king of England§.

The people of those times were greatly perplexed how to account for the blind and obstinate attachment of so haughty a prince to so insolent a favourite. The vulgar of all ranks ascribed this to necromancy, and firmly believed that the cardinal had bewitched the king. But wise men ascribed this extraordinary phenomenon to its true cause, the extraordinary capacity and cunning of the cardinal, who contrived to render himself always agreeable, always useful, and always necessary to the king. The arts he employed for these purposes were innumerable, of which I shall mention only a few. Henry was fond of pleasurable amusements, in which he spent much of his time. The cardinal, who was himself a

Causes of
his great-
ness.

* Stowe, p. 500.

† Rym. p. 555—564.

‡ Ibid. p. 553.

§ Herbert, p. 24, Rym. p. 529.

§ Erasmus, l.b. 26. epist. 55.

A.D. 1515. man of pleasure, encouraged this passion, contrived amusements for him, partook of them, and provided him with companions and playfellows, who were his own creatures, and communicated to him every word the king spoke in his most unguarded moments. He recommended Longland, bishop of Lincoln, his old and faithful friend, to be the king's confessor; "and when the king's grace shrove himself, (says a writer then at court,) think ye not that he spoke so loud that the cardinal heard him*." The king's chaplains were all his confidants and creatures, and watered (says the same writer) what the cardinal had sown. He danced and frolicked with the ladies of the court, and made them presents, to gain their favour and obtain intelligence. He was a most skilful flatterer, and frequently regaled the king with that most palatable dish, nicely adapted to his taste. Above all, knowing Henry's high esteem of his own wisdom, and obstinate adherence to his own opinions, by long trains artfully laid, he got the schemes which he himself had formed to be proposed by the king, which he then praised and adopted as the best and wisest that could be invented†. By these and various other arts, this admirable but unprincipled politician gained, and long retained, the favour of one of the most capricious and passionate princes that ever lived.

Wolsey's
abuse of
his power.

Wolsey shamefully abused the unbounded confidence reposed in him by his royal master, and on several occasions sacrificed the honour of his prince, and the prosperity of his country, to his own passions and private interests. He had persuaded Henry to retain Tournay, that he might retain the revenues of the bishopric. But the French bishop elect gave him much trouble, and made strenuous efforts to obtain possession of his see; and Wolsey discovered, by his spies at Rome, that Francis I. had espoused the cause of the bishop, and solicited the pope for a bull in his favour‡. Incensed at this, the vindictive prelate persuaded Henry to violate the treaty of peace he had made with Francis only a few months before, and to form a new confederacy against France with Maximilian and Ferdinand, who had so often deceived him. Henry hesitated at this strong measure, and

* Cavendish apud Strype, vol. i. p. 124.

† Strype, vol. i. chap. i.

‡ Ibid.

wished for the advice of his old counsellors. The duke of Norfolk, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Winchester, were sent for to court, and a council was held in the king's presence. The ancient counsellors argued strongly against a breach with France, as highly imprudent, dishonourable, and unjust. The cardinal made a long and violent harangue against Francis, as a prince of insatiable ambition, who, by his late successes in Italy, was become formidable to all his neighbours; and that there was a necessity for England to interpose, to prevent the increase of his power. The bishop of Durham, and the other counsellors under Wolsey's influence, were of the same opinion. At the conclusion of the council, Henry declared, that he was determined to put a stop to the progress of the French arms in Italy, but that he hoped to do that without an open war, by supplying the emperor Maximilian with money*. That plan was adopted; an ambassador was sent to the emperor, furnished with a large sum of money, and bills for a still greater sum on the Friscobaldi, famous Italian bankers, to engage him to march an army into Italy, to recover Milan from the French, and give it up to Francisco Sforza, brother to Maximilian Sforza, who had resigned all his rights to the king of France. Sforza, who assumed the name of Duke of Milan, engaged to pay Wolsey an annual pension of 10,000 ducats; and Wolsey engaged to make the king of England his perpetual friend and protector†. In this manner did this covetous and corrupt minister sell his sovereign and his country. The same ambassador, (Doctor Richard Pace,) by the same powerful argument, money, enlisted an army of Swiss, to fight under the emperor in his expedition into Italy. Maximilian took the ambassador's bills and money, marched into Italy, and after a feeble attempt upon Milan, disbanded his army, and returned into Germany; giving this for his excuse, that the Friscobaldi had become bankrupts, and could not pay their bills‡. Thus was Henry obliged to sit down, as well contented as he could, with the loss of his money, and the mortification of having discovered his animosity against Francis, without doing him any harm.

A.D. 1515.

* Herbert, p. 25.

† Rym. p. 525.

‡ Herbert, p. 23. Hall, f. 59. Petrus de Angleria, p. 568.

A.D. 1515. The parliament met November 12th, the day to which it had been prorogued. As peace had been so lately concluded, Wolsey dared not yet divulge his hostile designs against France, and therefore had no pretence to demand a supply. But the king's coffers being much exhausted by his expensive amusements, and his remittances into Germany, a bill was brought into the House of Peers, on the fortieth day of the parliament, for a subsidy to be granted to the king, and being read once, was carried by the lord chancellor to the House of Commons. There, it is probable, it met with an unfavourable reception; for the parliament was dissolved the next day, December 22d; and on the same day archbishop Warham resigned the great seal *. Henry and his favourite seem now to have taken a dislike to parliaments, for no parliament was held after this, till July 31st, A. D. 1523 †.

Contest between the clergy and laity.

One thing that contributed to give the favourite an aversion to parliaments was, the violent contest between the last one and the convocation, which sat at the same time, about the exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. This matter was solemnly argued before the king, lords, and commons. Doctor Standish, guardian of the minors in London, and chief of the king's spiritual council, argued strongly against the exemption. The clergy, enraged at this, called him before the convocation. Standish, who could expect neither justice nor mercy from such interested judges, implored the king's protection. The temporal peers, the commons, and judges, petitioned the king to support the rights of his crown, and the authority of his laws, against the encroachments of the clergy. This involved Henry, who was at once fond of power, and a bigot to the church, in great perplexity. He consulted Doctor Veysey, dean of his chapel, of whose learning and virtue he had a high opinion, and the doctor declared against the exemption. All the judges gave it as their opinion, that those of the convocation who had awarded the citation of Doctor Standish were in a præmunire. In an assembly of both houses of parliament, the convocation, and judges, the king, at last, declared,

* Journals, p. 56. Rym. p. 529.

† Rolls of Parl. 14 Hen. VIII.

that it was his resolution to maintain the rights of his crown, and jurisdiction of his courts, in as ample a manner as any of his progenitors had done *. This affair is not mentioned in the Journals; but doctor Taylor, who was clerk of parliament, and prolocutor of the convocation, hath added this note: "In this parliament and convocation, most dangerous contests arose between the clergy and the laity about ecclesiastical immunities. One Standish, a minoret, was the author of all these evils †.

Queen Katharine was delivered of a daughter, February 11th, A. D. 1516, who was named Mary, and will be often mentioned in the sequel of this work ‡. In the same month died the queen's father, Ferdinand king of Spain, and was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his grandson Charles, already sovereign of all the territories of the house of Burgundy, and heir to those of the house of Austria, which, with the empire of Germany, came soon after into his possession.

The death of Ferdinand and accession of Charles engaged the attention of all the great princes and states in Europe, and gave occasion to various negociations. Henry had concluded a commercial treaty with Charles, as sovereign of the Low Countries, January 24th, A. D. 1516, only a few days before his grandfather's death; and now foreseeing his future power and greatness, he wished to form a more intimate connexion with him ||. With this view, and to gratify the resentment of his favourite against Francis, he gave a commission to cardinal Wolsey, the duke of Norfolk, and the bishop of Durham, to negotiate with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor Maximilian, and his grandson Charles king of Spain, a league and confederacy in defence of the church, and to restrain the unbridled ambition of certain princes, meaning the king of France. This holy league, of which the pope was declared the head, was concluded at London, October 29th, A. D. 1516 §. In this league they were ashamed to name the prince against whom it was formed; and they had good reason to be ashamed; for all the confederates had very lately made treaties of peace with

1516.
Birth and
death.

Treaties.

* Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. iii. p. 13—17.

† Journals, p. 57.

|| Rym. p. 533—539.

‡ Stowe, p. 504.

§ Ibid, p. 556—566.

A.D. 1516. Francis, and he had not done any of them the smallest injury. This was another absurd transaction into which Henry was betrayed by the covetous and vindictive spirit of his favourite, and it came to nothing.

Device of
the em-
peror.

In the spring of this year, the emperor attempted to extort money from Henry by a very curious contrivance: In a confidential conversation with Sir Robert Wyngfield, the English ambassador, at his court, he pretended to be tired of his toils and cares attending his high office—that he had a prodigious affection for his master the king of England, and was disposed to resign the empire in his favour—that when he was emperor, he might assert his right to the crown of France, in which he would be assisted by the pope, and all good Christians. The ambassador communicated this fine project to his master, but cautioned him not to depend too much on the emperor's sincerity. Though this bait was admirably dressed to please the predominant passions of the king and his favourite, the design of it was too palpable to escape detection. Henry directed his ambassador to thank the emperor for his friendly intentions, and desire him to keep them secret, till the French were driven out of Italy *.

1517.
Wolsey's
power.

The cardinal having failed in his attempts to raise a storm against the king of France, was constrained to suffer his country to continue in peace. Being thus disengaged from political intrigues, he employed himself in discharging the duties of his various offices. As chancellor he is said to have discovered uncommon talents; and his decrees are much applauded, by one of his most eminent successors, for their wisdom, equity, and justice †. He called the collectors of the revenues of the crown to a severe account, by which he brought considerable sums of money into the treasury. As papal legate, he acted with unbounded authority; erected no fewer than four new courts, into which he brought persons of all denominations, and pleas of all kinds, and thereby greatly diminished the business of the ordinary courts of law ‡. Possessed of all this power, he had not the magnanimity to forgive the affronts he had received when in a humbler station. He confined Sir Amias

* Herbert, p. 25.

† T. More, *Lucubrationes*.

‡ Stowe, p. 504.

Pawlet several years, for having put him in the stocks when he was a young man, for raising a riot in a country fair*.

A.D. 1517.

The influence of Cardinal Wolsey in all the councils of England was now so well established, and so universally known, that the greatest monarchs courted his friendship. The pope revoked the bull he had granted in favour of Lewis Galliard, bishop elect of Tournay; and by another, appointed Wolsey administrator of that see; and soon after made him his general collector in England†: a very lucrative office to one who had so much power. The young king of Spain granted him a pension of 3000 livres a year, calling him in the grant, "his most dear and most especial friend‡." It was no secret that pride and avarice were his ruling passions; and that money and flattery were the most effectual means of gaining his favour.

Court
ed by
great
princes.

As the king of England at this time held the balance between the monarchs of France and Spain, and was able to make either scale he pleased to preponderate, the friendship of his favourite was of great importance to both these monarchs, and Wolsey had the satisfaction to see them both courting him with the greatest emulation. Francis, in order to defeat his rival, sent the cardinal many valuable and curious presents, accompanied with the most flattering letters, in which he called him, his lord, his father, and his guardian; assured him that he would regard his advices as oracles, and amply reward his services§. When he had by these means gained the favourite, as much as it was possible to gain one so selfish and interested, he instructed Villeroy, his resident at the court of England, to treat privately with him about the restitution of Tournay, and an alliance between the two crowns, to be cemented by the marriage of the dauphin with the princess Mary, Henry's only child; not forgetting to promise him an indemnification for the bishopric.

When Wolsey perceived that it would be his interest to promote the views of the king of France, he managed his royal master with great dexterity. He presented him with some of the most curious things he had received

Wolsey's
artful
conduct.

* Stowe, p. 504.

† Rym. p. 585—588.

‡ Ibid 591.

§ Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii. Herbert p. 30.

A.D. 1518. from Francis, to put him into good humour. "With these things," said he, "hath the king of France attempted to corrupt me. Many servants would have concealed this from their masters, but I am resolved to deal openly with your grace on all occasions. This attempt, however," added he, "to corrupt the servant, is a certain proof of his sincere desire of the friendship of the master." Henry was so far from being offended, that it pleased his vanity, to think he had chosen so great a minister, who was so much admired and courted by other princes. "The cardinal," said he, "will govern both Francis and me*."

Treaties.

The way being thus prepared, Francis appointed William Gouffier, lord of Bonivet, admiral of France; Stephen Ponchier, bishop of Paris; Sir Francis de Rupescavarde, and Sir Nicholas de Neufville, his plenipotentiaries, July 31st, A. D. 1518, to treat with the king of England about a perpetual peace; the marriage of the dauphin and the princess Mary; the restoration of Tournay; and a personal interview between the two kings†. These plenipotentiaries set out with a splendid train of the gayest lords and ladies of France, attended by no fewer than twelve hundred officers, guards, and servants. This expensive cumbersome parade seems to have been designed to gratify the vanity of Henry and his favourite. They were introduced to the king at Greenwich, September 23d, and soon after entered upon business with Cardinal Wolsey, who had been appointed by Henry his sole commissioner to treat with them‡. Sensible that they could expect no success without the cardinal's favour, they began by presenting him with the grant of a pension of 12,000 livres a year for life, as a compensation for the bishopric of Tournay§. It appears from the strain of this grant, that every thing had been settled before by Wolsey and the French resident, and the plenipotentiaries had little or nothing to do but to sign the treaties they had prepared. These were four: 1. A treaty of perpetual peace and amity between the two kings and their successors. 2. A

* Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii. Herbert, p. 30.

† Ibid.

‡ Rym. p. 611.—619.

§ Hall, f. 65. Rym. p. 608.

|| Ibid p. 610

treaty of marriage between the dauphin and the princess Mary. 3. A treaty for the restitution of Tournay to France for 600,000 crowns. 4. A treaty for a personal interview of the two kings, in some neutral place between Calais and Ardres, before the last day of July, A. D. 1519*. By these treaties a solid foundation seemed to be laid of a cordial friendship between the two kings, an intimate union between their families, and a permanent peace between their subjects. But we shall soon see how little we can depend upon the most promising appearances, and most solemn treaties.

Every year brought Wolsey additions to his former power and riches; and Henry seemed to be determined to divest himself of all authority, to bestow it on his favourite. By one warrant, he gave him authority to make as many denizens as he pleased; and by another, he gave him power to issue *congès d'elire*, royal assents, restitutions of temporalities to all archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, priories, and all other ecclesiastical benefices, in the gift of the crown, without consulting the king†. In a word, by one means or other, he got the disposal of almost all the considerable benefices in England, which brought great sums of money into his coffers. The pope gave him the bishoprics of Bath and Wells, July 28th, which had been vacated by the deprivation of cardinal Adrian for a plot against his holiness‡. His pension from the king of France hath been already mentioned.

Wolsey increases in power and riches.

The king and court of England spent the beginning of this year in making preparations of all kinds for the approaching interview with the king and court of France, at which Henry proposed to outshine his brother monarch, and to make a most dazzling display of his riches and magnificence. His subjects were inflamed with the same vain ambition, in which they were encouraged by the king and cardinal; and some of the nobility contracted debts, which greatly distressed their families. Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the richest nobleman in England, dropped some expressions reflecting on the cardinal, as the cause of all this ruinous expence, which were not forgotten. Francis seems to have known the characters of Henry and his favourite, and he paid

1519.
Wolsey regulates the interview.

* Hall, f. 65. Rym. p. 625—681.

† Rym. p. 605.

‡ Ibid. p. 610.

A.D. 1519. them both a flattering compliment, by appointing Wolsey his commissioner, January 10th, A. D. 1519, with full powers to settle with the commissioners of the king of England the time, place, and all the other circumstances of the intended interview *. Wolsey having received a similar commission from his own master, issued a mandate, by which he regulated all the motions of these two mighty monarchs, their queens, their courts, and attendants of all kinds, in the most authoritative and peremptory manner †. We can hardly blame this man for being proud.

Charles of Spain elected emperor.

In the mean time an event happened which engaged the attention of all Europe, and suspended all other designs. The emperor Maximilian died, January 12th, A. D. 1519, and the two powerful kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown. Both these princes were rich and powerful, young, active, and ambitious, and made the most vigorous efforts to gain the glittering prize, by lavishing their money and promises among the electors. The pope earnestly desired to see them both disappointed, and the king of England, or some German prince, elected; but dared not openly to declare against either of them, Henry's ambition was roused, and he sent Sir Richard Pace into Germany, to try what could be done among the electors in his favour. But that minister soon acquainted him, that the ground was pre-occupied, and wisely advised him to conceal his ambition and save his money. The conferences of the electors began in June, and on the 28th of that month Charles king of Spain was unanimously chosen, and immediately proclaimed emperor, by the name of Charles V.: a name renowned in the history of modern Europe ‡. Charles was chiefly indebted for his success to the great interest and disinterested patriotism of Frederick, elector of Saxony, to whom the electors, it is said, made an offer of the imperial crown.

Francis courts Henry and his favourite.

The election of Charles was a cruel disappointment to his rival Francis, who had flattered himself with hopes of success to the very last. He was greatly mortified at the loss of his money, and still more at the preference of a

* Rym. p. 610.

† Ibid. p. 705.

‡ See Doctor Robertson's History of Charles V.

prince younger and less famous than himself, in so public a competition. He now saw more clearly than ever, the necessity of cultivating the friendship of the king of England. With this view he continued to flatter the favourite, and paid with great punctuality all the sums of money that were due for the restitution of Tournay, and on other accounts *. He also desired the favour of Henry to stand godfather to his second son, and to give him a name. He complied, and gave him his own name. In a word, the two kings, to express their regret for the delay of their interview, occasioned by the death of Maximilian, agreed not to shave their beards till they had seen one another †. This proposal probably came from Francis, who was at infinite pains to keep Henry and the cardinal in good humour, and steady to their engagements.

Though the young emperor Charles V. had triumphed in the competition for the empire, he was not without his disquiets. He met with much opposition in Spain; commotions arose in his German dominions, and he was greatly alarmed at the intended interview of Henry and Francis, which he endeavoured to prevent by his ambassador at the court of England. But the engagements to this interview, he was told, were too strong and too public to be violated; that nothing hostile to him was intended, and that the king would have no objections to an interview with him on a proper occasion. Charles, still uneasy, resolved to pay Henry the compliment of a visit, in his passage from Spain into Germany; and he took the most effectual method to secure a favourable reception, by transmitting to cardinal Wolsey a solemn promise, under his own privy seal, dated at Campostella, March 29th, A. D. 1520, that he would engage the pope to grant him the administration of the bishopric of Badajox in Castile, worth 5000 ducats a-year, and a pension of 2000 ducats a-year out of the bishopric of Placentia ‡. This promise was punctually performed ||. The emperor sailed from the Groyne, May 20th, and arrived off Dover, May 26th. As soon as this news reached Henry, (who was then with his court at Canterbury, in his way to France,) he sent the cardinal to receive him

A.D. 1519.

1520.
The emperor arrives in England.

* Rym. p. 699. Herbert, p. 34.

† Rym. p. 714.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid. p. 725.

A.D. 1520. at his landing, and conduct him to the castle of Dover, where he went to see him next morning. The emperor, it is said, endeavoured to dissuade the king from proceeding to his interview with Francis, or at least to prevent him from forming too intimate connections with that prince. This is probable, but cannot be certainly known. Charles, though he was still young, was already too good a politician to neglect the favourite. On the contrary, he cultivated his friendship with great attention, and no little success. It was on this occasion, as is commonly believed, that the emperor promised him his interest for obtaining the papal throne, on which he had fixed his eyes, though the reigning pope was a younger man than himself. After conferring some time on business at Dover, Henry conducted the emperor to Canterbury, and introduced him to queen Katharine, his aunt, and to Mary queen dowager of France, formerly his betrothed bride, with whose appearance he was so much struck that he could not conceal his emotions. Having spent two days in banqueting and diversions, the emperor went to Sandwich, May 29th, and sailed from thence next morning, as did the king, queen, and court of England, the day after from Dover, and arrived at Calais*. This visit of the emperor appears to have been very pleasing to Henry and his favourite; but it gave great uneasiness to the king of France.

Henry and
his court
proceed to
Guînes.

Henry spent three days at Calais, to finish the preparations for the approaching interview, and set out on his way to Guînes, June 4th, with his queen, the queen dowager of France, and all his court. The king, beside all his guards and servants, and all the noblemen and gentlemen of his household, was attended by one cardinal, one archbishop, seven bishops, two dukes, one marquis, eight earls, and eighteen lords, with all their numerous followers, and many knights and gentlemen. The queen, beside all the ladies, officers, and servants of her household, was attended by three bishops, one earl, three lords, thirty-three knights, one duchess, seven countesses, fifteen baronesses, nineteen knights' wives, and many gentlewomen, with all their attendants†. The suite, or rather court, of the cardinal was nearly as nume-

* Peter Martyr, ep. 669. Hall, f. 72, 73. Herbert, p. 35.

† Hall, f. 72. Rym. p. 710—713.

rous as that of the king. All the prelates, lords, and ladies vied with one another in the richness of their dresses and number of their followers. In a word, the court of England made a most splendid appearance on this occasion, and exhibited a conspicuous display of the wealth of their country, and the vanity of their king. A.D. 1520.

Great preparations had been made at Guisnes for the reception of this illustrious company. Two thousand artificers of different kinds had been employed several months in building a magnificent palace of wood near the castle, for the accommodation of the king and queen, with the principal lords and ladies of the court. This palace formed a square, surrounding a court, each side of which was three thousand and twenty-eight feet in length. The walls and roof were adorned, on the outside, with a great number of statues of warriors, in the act of discharging weapons of various kinds. Over the great gateway was a colossal statue of a savage, armed with a bow and arrows, with this inscription below it, "*Cui adhæreo præest* :—He to whom I adhere prevails." The inside of the palace was divided into state-rooms and lodging-rooms; the roofs of which were painted, the walls hung with silks or tapestry, the floors covered with Turkey carpets, and all richly furnished. On one side of the great gate was a fountain running with white and red wine and hippocras, with this inscription, "Make merry who will," and a statue of Bacchus on the top. On the other side of the gate was an obelisk, with a statue of Cupid on the top, in the attitude of discharging arrows at those who entered. Contiguous to this palace were built elegant convenient lodges for all the great officers of the household; as the lord chamberlain, lord treasurer, lord steward, the comptroller, and board of green cloth, and houses for all the offices; as the ewery, pantry, cellar, buttery, spicery, larder, poultry, pitcher-house, &c. On the plain around the palace were pitched two thousand eight hundred tents, many of them large and magnificent, covered with cloth of gold or silk. All the houses in the town of Guisnes were crowded, and several persons of rank and fortune were forced to lodge in barns, and to sleep on hay or straw*. Beside the great multitude of his own subjects of all ranks, who ac-

Splendor
of the Em-
glish court.

* Hall, f. 73, 74.

A.D. 1520. accompanied the king of England on this occasion, and beside the great number of foreign princes and princesses, and nobility of both sexes, who frequented his court, and were nobly entertained, we are told by an historian who was present, "That during this triumph, (which lasted twenty days,) much people of Picardy and Flanders drew to Guisnes, to see the king of England and his honour, to whom victuals of the court were given in plenty, and the conduit of the gate ran wine always. There were vagabonds, plowmen, labourers, waggons, and beggars, that for drunkenness lay in routs and heaps; so great resort thither came, that both knights and ladies, that were come to see that nobleness, were faine to lye in hay and straw, and held them thereof highly pleased *." If to the above were added a description of the dresses of the king, the queen, the ladies, the lords, and knights, in which nothing were seen but silks, velvets, cloth of gold, embroidery and jewels, we might form some idea of the immense expence in which this vain parade involved Henry and his most opulent subjects. "Many of the nobles," says a writer, who was a spectator of this glittering scene, "carried their castles, woods, and farms on their backs †."

Wolsey
treats with
the French
minister.

The king of France, with his queen and court, as numerous and at least as gay and sparkling as that of England, arrived at Ardres in the beginning of June. Cardinal Wolsey, to whom both kings had given authority to regulate all the circumstances of their interview, went from Guisnes to Ardres, June 7th, in all the pomp his riches enabled and his pride prompted him to exhibit, which was such as struck the French with astonishment. Francis, who ardently desired to gain him, received him with the most flattering marks of affection and respect ‡. He spent two days in negotiating with the French ministers: but in these negotiations no uncommon cordiality appeared; nothing of importance was concluded, and only a few trifling articles were added to the former treaties ||. Parade and bustle are unfriendly to real business.

First interview.

When Wolsey published his orders for regulating this famous interview, they appeared to breathe a spirit of

* Hall, f. 74.

† Id. f. 74.

‡ Id. f. 73.

§ Rym. p. 719, 723.

mutual diffidence; and if the two monarchs had been the bitterest enemies, greater precautions could not have been taken to prevent the one from taking the other prisoner. Both kings were to be constantly attended by equal numbers of men in all their motions; equal numbers of both nations were to guard the roads, and search the environs, to prevent ambushes *. In a word, every thing had rather a hostile than an amicable appearance; and, in fact, emulation and jealousy prevailed more on both sides, than love and friendship. This mutual distrust appeared in a strong light on the day of the first interview. Both kings drew up all their followers in a kind of battle array; both set out the same moment, at the firing of a cannon, from Guisnes, that was answered by one from Ardres. When the French had advanced a little, an alarm arose of some danger; Francis alighted, and remained for some time in suspense, but being encouraged by Monsieur Morret, he remounted and proceeded. Soon after, a similar alarm arose among the English: the king halted; but lord Shrewsbury said, "Sir, I have seen the Frenchmen; they be more in fear of you and your subjects than your subjects be of them; wherefore, if I were worthy to give counsel, your grace should march forward."—"So we intend, my lord," said the king. Then the officers of arms cried, "On afore †." At last the two kings met; embraced on horseback, then alighted, embraced again, and went arm-in-arm into a tent of cloth of gold, prepared for their reception. There they conversed familiarly, dined together, and then separated for that time ‡.

After this, the king of France visited the queen of England in her palace at Guisnes, where he dined, and spent the day in dancing and other amusements, while the king of England acted the same part at Ardres. But all their motions were still regulated by the cumbersome etiquette established by the cardinal. Francis, who earnestly desired to gain the confidence and friendship of his brother monarch, first broke through these embarrassing regulations. He mounted early in the morning, and rode towards Guisnes, attended only by two gentlemen and a page. A body of two hundred English, who were upon guard and knew him, were greatly surprised

* Rym. p. 707.

† Hall, f. 76.

‡ Id. ibid.

A.D. 1520. at his appearance. "Surrender your arms," cried Francis, "and conduct me to my brother." Henry was still in bed. Francis drew open his curtains, and awakened him. Nothing could equal his surprise, when he saw the king of France at the side of his bed. "You have gained a victory over me," said he, "my dear brother; I yield myself your prisoner, and plight you my faith." He then presented a chain or collar of great value to Francis, intreating him to wear it for his sake; and Francis taking a bracelet of still greater value from his own arm, tied it about Henry's, with the same request *. From that time the intercourse between the two kings and their courts became more free and confidential.

Tilts and
tournaments,
&c.

Both Henry and Francis delighted and excelled in the martial and manly exercises of those times, and took this opportunity of displaying their courage and skill in arms, as well as their magnificence. Heralds had been sent into all parts, to proclaim the challenge of the kings of France and England, as brothers in arms, with fourteen companions, at tilts, tournaments, and barriers; and to invite all valorous knights and gentlemen to come and accept the challenge. These most brilliant feats of arms (which will be more particularly described in another place) began June 11th, and ended June 23d. Francis spent the next day at Guisnes, with the queen and court of England; and Henry at Ardres, with the queen and court of France. In their return, the two monarchs met, and spent some time in familiar conversation and expressions of mutual esteem and friendship; after which they embraced, and took their leave of one another †. Thus ended this famous interview, commonly called, *the field of cloth of gold*. It produced no effect of importance, and contributed nothing to increase the amity between the two kings and the two nations, though it contributed not a little to exhaust their wealth ‡.

Henry,

* Garnier, Hist. de France, tom. xxiii. p. 296.

† Hall, f. 78—84.

‡ The following fact, related by the marechal de Fleuranges, most probably left an unfavourable impression on the mind of Henry: "After the tournaments the French and English wrestlers made their appearance, and wrestled before the kings and the ladies; the English gained the prize. After this the kings retired to a tent and drank together; and the king of England
" seizing

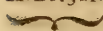
Henry, with his queen and court, returned to Calais, A.D. 1520. June 25th, where the cardinal assembled all the English lords, knights, and gentlemen, thanked them for their honourable attendance on the king, and gave them leave to send home one half of their followers; and at the same time advised them to live warily. An advice which these haughty chieftains took very much amiss*. Great preparations were made for visiting the emperor at Gravelines, and receiving a visit from him at Calais. Accordingly Henry set out, July 10th, with a splendid retinue, and was met by the emperor, and conducted into Gravelines. Charles had given orders to entertain all the English in the most friendly and hospitable manner, to efface any impressions that might have been made upon them in favour of the French at the late interview; and they seem to have been much pleased with their entertainment. Henry returned next day to Calais, accompanied by the emperor, his aunt Margaret, and the imperial court. Henry had caused a stupendous fabric of wood to be erected for their entertainment. It was of a circular form, eight hundred feet in circumference; and the ceiling was painted with a representation of the heavenly bodies: but the roof of it was so much damaged by a storm of wind, that it could not be repaired in time. Three days were spent in a continual round of banqueting, masking, balls, and other diversions†. But Charles was not so much captivated by these vain amusements as to neglect business. On the contrary, he laboured with so much art and assiduity to gain the favour of Wolsey, and consequently of his master, that he succeeded; and their professions of inviolable friendship to his rival Francis were forgotten. After the departure of the emperor, Henry returned to England, with his queen and court; having squandered, in a short time, an incredible mass of treasure to no purpose.

Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, lord high constable of England, the richest and most powerful nobleman 1521. Buckingham beheaded.

"seizing the king of France by the collar, said, "My brother, "I must wrestle with you;" and endeavoured to trip up his heels: "but the king of France, who is a dexterous wrestler, twisted him round, and threw him on the ground with great violence. The "king of England attempted to renew the combat, but was prevented." *Memoires de Fleuranges*, p. 329.

* Hall, f. 85.

† Id. ibid.

A.D. 1521. bleman of the kingdom at this time, was lineally descended from Anne, the eldest daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III.; and being a weak, vain, ambitious man, had formed very absurd and criminal projects, which he had not prudence to conceal. He had offended cardinal Wolsey, by declaiming against him too freely, as the contriver of the late expensive interview; and had made Charles Knevil, to whom he had communicated his projects, his enemy, by dismissing him from the office of his steward. Knevil, either out of resentment, or for fear of being involved in his ruin, discovered all he knew of the duke's designs to the cardinal. On this the duke was apprehended and committed to the Tower, April 16th; as were also Knevil, Sir Gilbert Parke, his chancellor, John le Court, his confessor, and one Hopkins, a knavish monk, who had deluded him by pretended revelations from Heaven that he should be king of England. The duke was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, May 13th, before the duke of Norfolk as lord high steward, and eighteen other peers. It appeared from the depositions of the above four witnesses, Knevil, Parke, Le Court, and Hopkins, that he had fixed his eyes upon the crown, and entertained hopes of obtaining it if the king died without a son: that these hopes were founded on his descent, his great estate, his noble connexions, his numerous retainers, and chiefly on the predictions of the impostor Hopkins: that, to promote his views, he had endeavoured to gain popularity, by railing at the king's ministers; and reprobating every measure of government, had laboured to increase the number of his retainers, and even to corrupt the king's servants by bribes. Charles Knevil, who was a gentleman, and nearly related to the duke, declared, that on the 4th of November he had said to him at East-Greenwich, "That when the king had reproved him for retaining Sir William Bulmer in his service, if he had perceived that he would be sent to the Tower, as he once suspected, he would have requested an audience of the king; and if he had obtained it, he would have run him through the body with his dagger, as his father intended to have done to Richard III. at Salisbury, if he had been admitted into his presence." He was found guilty of high treason by the unanimous vote of his peers, and beheaded

ed on Tower-hill, May 17th *. Such was his haughtiness, that when sentence was pronounced upon him, he declared he would not ask his life of the king. He appears to have been a desperate and dangerous man, who had formed the most pernicious schemes, and was capable of the most criminal actions; and neither the king nor the cardinal could be blamed for bringing him to a trial, and permitting the sentence against him to be executed. A. D. 1527.

By the league of London, A. D. 1518, between the kings of France and England, into which the pope, the emperor Maximilian, and his son Charles king of Spain, were admitted as principals, it was stipulated, that when one of the contracting parties were attacked, the other confederates should first admonish the aggressor to desist, which if he did not within one month, they were to declare themselves his enemies †. A war was now become unavoidable between Charles and Francis, two of these confederates. They were both young, powerful, and ambitious; they had various claims upon one another, and each of them had formed schemes which it was the interest of the other to obstruct. In a word, they were equally determined upon war, but neither of them was willing to appear the aggressor. Francis, however, with a view to take advantage of the civil war in Spain, encouraged Henry d'Albret, the expelled king of Navarre, to raise a body of troops in France for the recovery of his kingdom, which Charles was bound by treaty to restore, but refused. He also permitted the earl of Fleuranges to raise a small army, and march to the assistance of his father the prince of Sedan, who had been injured by the emperor, and had sent him a defiance. The emperor now called upon the king of England to interpose, and Henry sent an ambassador to admonish Francis to desist from giving aid to the emperor's enemies, contrary to the stipulations in the league of London. With this admonition Francis complied, by commanding Fleuranges to disband his army, that he might give Henry a pretence of joining with the emperor against him, to which he suspected he was inclined. But this compliance did not prevent a war. Charles sent

War between the emperor and the king of France.

* Stowe, p. 513—515.

† Rym. p. 624—631. Herbert, p. 31.

A.D. 1521. a powerful army to take vengeance, as he pretended, on the prince of Sedan, which obliged Francis to arm, and the war commenced without any formal declaration, leaving it difficult to determine who had been the aggressor. The flames of war were kindled also in Italy between these two princes, by the duplicity, or treachery of the pope, who, with a view to deceive the king of France, concluded a treaty with him for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples from the emperor, and at the same time, with great secrecy, concluded a contrary treaty with the emperor, for the conquest of the dukedom of Milan from the French, and immediately commenced a war for that purpose *.

Henry
mediates
a peace.

When the sword was thus drawn, Henry offered his mediation to bring about a peace between these two powerful rivals, which was accepted with pleasure by the emperor, and with hesitation and reluctance by Francis. Henry constituted his favourite, cardinal Wolsey, his plenipotentiary, with the most ample powers †. It is amusing to observe, that though Henry, by the influence of his favourite, was in the interest of the emperor, yet in the cardinal's commission, the extraordinary affection he had contracted for Francis at the late interview, is expressed in the strongest terms that could be invented ‡. The negotiations were appointed to be at Calais.

Bulls in
favour of
Wolsey.

Before Wolsey set out for Calais to execute his important commission, he received two bulls from the pope, which clearly evince the extent of his influence. His dignity of legate *a latere* had been continued to him by several bulls, each granting it for two years. In that which he received at this time, the following extraordinary powers were given him—of making fifty counts palatine, fifty knights, fifty chaplains, and fifty notaries—of legitimating bastards, and conferring the degree of doctor in divinity, law, and medicine ||. These favours were granted, to fix him in the interest of the emperor, and probably at the desire of that prince. By another bull, authority was given him to grant licence to such as he thought proper, to read the works of that pestilent heretic Martin Luther, especially to those who

* Herbert, p. 41, 42. Garnier, tom. xxiii. p. 323—347.

† Rym. p. 748—752.

‡ Ibid. p. 749.

|| Ibid. p. 741.

desired to read them with a design to write against them. A.D. 1521.
 This was intended to pave the way for the appearance of a royal champion for the pope, against the devil and Luther, who had formed a confederacy (as it was said) against his holiness and the church *.

This champion was Henry VIII. king of England, who wrote a whole book against Luther, with this title, *De Septem Sacramentis, contra Martinum Lutherum, Heresiarchon, per illustrissimum principem Henricum VIII. &c.* Henry obtains a new title.
 A copy of this book, beautifully written and elegantly bound, was presented by the king's ambassador at Rome to the pope in full consistory, and was received with the most flaming expressions of gratitude to, and admiration of, its royal author. His holiness, to encourage this powerful champion in his cause, who could defend him by his sword as well as by his pen, bestowed upon him and his successors the title of Defender of the Faith, by a bull subscribed by himself and twenty-seven cardinals. This bull was accompanied by a letter from the pope to the king, which exhibits a curious specimen of the grossest flattery. After the most extravagant encomiums on his wisdom, learning, and eloquence, the fervor of his zeal, and the warmth of his charity—his gravity, gentleness, and meekness—the order, solidity, and strength of his arguments, his holiness adds, “It is evident that you have been inspired by the Holy Spirit; and that if those against whom you have written had been really men, and not the worst of devils, they must have been converted †.” Henry swallowed all this flattery, and was excessively delighted with his new title, which he considered as an acquisition of inestimable value.

Cardinal Wolfey landed at Calais, August 2d, and was received with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been king of England. Congress at Calais.
 The ambassadors of the emperor and the king of France arrived at the same place about the same time, and conferences for a treaty of peace began to be held before the cardinal as mediator. The emperor, who (secure of the assistance of the king of England) did not really desire peace, directed his ambassadors to make demands which he knew would not be granted, and gave them no power to make any abatement of these demands. The French plenipotentiaries were greatly

* Rym. p. 739—744.

† Ibid. p. 755—759.

A.D. 1521. provoked at this haughtiness, at which the cardinal also affected to appear displeased, and told them with much seeming candour, that if he had a personal conference with the emperor, he hoped to prevail upon him to make peace on more moderate terms; and that he was determined to take a journey to Bruges (where the emperor then resided) for that purpose. The French plenipotentiaries remonstrated strongly against this, as inconsistent with that impartiality which it became a mediator to observe, and threatened to break off the conferences and retire. But Wolfey told them plainly, that if they departed from Calais before he returned from Bruges, he would declare them the aggressors in the war, and enemies to peace and to the king of England. That they might not give him a pretence for doing this, they were constrained to remain and wait for his return.

Cardinal
visits the
emperor.

The cardinal set out from Calais, August 12th, attended by the imperial ambassadors, and a splendid train of prelates, nobles, knights, and gentlemen. The emperor met him a mile out of Bruges, into which he conducted him in a kind of triumph, and treated him with the most flattering marks of respect. He continued thirteen days at the imperial court, and had frequent conferences with the emperor and his ministers. But the object of these conferences was, not a treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of France, but a treaty of confederacy between the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, for a war against that prince. The preliminaries of that treaty were then settled, which were to be reduced into form, and ratified within three months, and in the mean time to be kept a profound secret*. As this treacherous scheme had been formed before the cardinal left England, he obtained a commission from the king, July 29th, giving him full power and authority to make treaties and form confederacies with the pope, the emperor, the king of France, or any other king, prince, or state, which the king solemnly bound himself to confirm and ratify†. At a great entertainment which the emperor gave the cardinal and his attendants a few days before their departure, one of the imperial ministers stood up and made a most violent declamation against the

* Hall, f. 87. Stowe, p. 514. Herbert, p. 43, 44.

† Rym. p. 750.

king of France, enumerating all the injuries he had done to the emperor *. No formal reply was made to this harangue; but some English knights cried out, "Sir, you have said well; and as God will, all must be." This seems to have been intended to prepare the minds of the English for the scene that was soon to be opened.

The cardinal having finished his business at Bruges, (which was very different from his pretended errand,) returned to Calais, August 27th, and resumed the conferences for peace, which he well knew would be unsuccessful. That something, however, might be done at this famous congress, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, the cardinal produced a treaty, prepared by himself, to which the plenipotentiaries of both the belligerent powers consented. By this treaty it was stipulated, 1. That no disturbance should be given to the fishermen of any nation. 2. That no ships of any nation should be taken near the coasts, or in the bays, ports, or rivers of England. 3. That satisfaction shall be given for any English ships that had been taken. 4. That couriers should be permitted to pass unmolested between the Imperial and French courts and Calais. 5. That when the congress broke up, all the members of it, with their retinues, should be permitted to return home in safety †. Wolfey, in concert with the emperor, having detained the French plenipotentiaries at Calais as long as he could, the congress at last broke up, after it had continued about three months to very little purpose.

The cardinal landed at Dover, November 27th, after an absence of almost four months. This long absence was attended with many inconveniencies. As he had carried the great seal with him, all who had any business with it were obliged to repair to Calais; and there was no nomination of sheriffs this year. The king had delegated so much power to his favourite, that he had left little to himself, and that little he could not exercise, without consulting his absent oracle by letters, and receiving his advices, or rather directions ‡. In his capacity of mediator, the cardinal acted a part equally dishonourable and imprudent; by which he destroyed the balance of power between the emperor and the king of

Inconvenience of the Cardinal's absence.

* Hall, f. 88.

† Rym. p. 753.

‡ Strypes's Memorials, vol. i. p. 27-33.

A.D. 1521. France, which it was the interest of the king of England to preserve. He had also affronted his too indulgent master in the most public manner, by placing himself on a level with him, as joint-guarantee of the above mentioned treaty, which was dictated by himself *. But notwithstanding all this, Henry received him with the strongest marks of friendship. So great an ascendant had this artful man gained over the spirit of the proudest prince in the world.

1522.
Death of
pope Leo.
X.

The emperor Charles V. had gained cardinal Wolsey, not only by the great pensions he had settled upon him, but chiefly by the solemn promises he had given him, that he would promote his advancement to the papal throne, with all his power, on the first vacancy. That vacancy happened sooner than either the emperor or Wolsey expected. Leo X. though only in the prime of life, was seized with a fever, of which he died, December 2d, A. D. 1521. As soon as the news of this event had reached England, Henry dispatched Doctor Pace, an able negociator, to Rome, to promote the election of his favourite; and the cardinal put the emperor in mind of his promises. But before Doctor Pace arrived at Rome, cardinal Adrian, bishop of Tortosa, who had been preceptor to the emperor, was chosen, January 9th, A. D. 1522, by one of those finesses which have not been uncommon in the conclave †. How far cardinal Wolsey was displeased with the conduct of the emperor on this occasion, or how far he had reason to be displeased with it, cannot be discovered; but he exhibited no marks of dissatisfaction with that prince in his public measures.

The emperor
arrives
in England.

The civil wars in Spain having rendered the emperor's presence there absolutely necessary, he resolved to visit England in his way thither, still further to ingratiate himself with Henry, and to sooth the cardinal on his late disappointment, with fresh promises and additional pensions. This visit had been even stipulated in the preliminary treaty at Bruges, in which also a marriage had been proposed between the emperor and the princess Mary, the king of England's only child and heiress of his dominions ‡. The emperor accordingly arrived at Dover, May 26th, where he was received by the cardinal, and conducted by easy journies, and with great pomp, to Greenwich, where the court then resided.

* Rym. p. 754.

† Herbert, p. 45.

‡ Id. p. 44.

There he was introduced to the queen his aunt, and to his young cousin and mistress, the princess Mary. Henry seems to have been highly pleased with the honour done him by this visit, and to have exhausted his skill to display his magnificence, and entertain the emperor and his courtiers, with tiltings, tournaments, masking, pageants, dancings, and all the stately and very expensive diversions of the great in those times*.

Though war had not been declared, hostilities had already commenced between France and England. The English merchants complained loudly that many of their ships had been taken by the French; and in particular, that a whole fleet loaded with wine had been seized at Bourdeaux, and the merchants cast into prison. The English had made reprisals, and Henry commanded all the French and Scotch in London to be apprehended and imprisoned. He had also instructed Sir Thomas Cheeney, his ambassador at the court of France, to demand satisfaction for all the injuries that had been done to his subjects, and to propose a truce between Francis and the emperor for two years; and if he received a refusal, to denounce war by a herald, who had been sent for that purpose†. This was the state of affairs when the emperor arrived in England.

On the morning of June 5th, when Henry was arming for a tournament, he received letters from Sir Thomas Cheeney, acquainting him, that he had obeyed his instructions, and that his proposals had been rejected by the king of France; and that Clarenceaux, king at arms, had denounced war against that prince, May 21st, at Lyons, in the following words: "Sir, I am charged to tell you, the king, my sovereign lord, holdeth you for his mortal enemy this day furth, and all your adherents." To which the French king had replied: "I looked for this a great while ago; for sith the cardinal was at Bruges I looked for nothing else. But you have done your message‡." The king immediately communicated this important intelligence to the emperor; and after a short conference, they proceeded to the tournament.

This news did not interrupt the diversions of the court; and on the day after it arrived, June 6th, the

* Hall, f. 94.

† Id. f. 95.

‡ Id.

emperor

Hostilities
between
France and
England.

War de-
clared
against
France.

Treaties.

A.D. 1522. emperor and the king made their public entry into London with prodigious pomp, and were received by the citizens in their best array, and entertained with a great variety of pageants, and a profusion of Latin verses in their praise *. The two monarchs spent their time in feasting, hunting, and other diversions, at different places, while their ministers were employed in forming the articles that had been agreed upon at Bruges, and others, into a definitive treaty, which was signed and ratified by the oaths of both princes, June 19th, at Windsor. This treaty consisted of twenty-one articles. By the first six articles, all the conditions of the emperor's marriage with the princess Mary were settled; both parties binding themselves not to prevent the celebration of it under a penalty of 400,000 crowns. By the other fifteen articles, the plan of their military operations in the war against France was fixed. By one of these last articles (the 13th) it was stipulated, "That both princes appearing before the cardinal of York as judge, in what place he shall choose, shall voluntarily submit to his jurisdiction as legate; and confessing themselves to be bound to observe this treaty, shall require the legate to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against them, if they violate the articles thereof †." A remarkable stipulation, which sets the power and influence of the cardinal at this time in a very strong light. At the same time the emperor signed an obligation, called *the indemnity*, by which he bound himself "to save king Henry harmless for all the sums of money and pensions which were or should be due to king Henry from Francis, (upon former agreements betwixt them,) and now were or should be withheld by the said Francis, upon denunciation of war against him ‡."

Charles V.
courts the
Cardinal,
&c.

The emperor took care to indemnify the cardinal for any loss he might sustain by the war between France and England, of which he had been the author, by granting him an additional pension of 9000 crowns of gold of the sun, yearly, during his life, at London, June 8th ||. Besides this, he renewed and redoubled his assurances of promoting his elevation to the papal throne

* Hall, f. 96, 97.
‡ Ibid.

† Herbert, p. 48.
‡ Rym. p. 769.

on the next vacancy, which from the age and infirmities of pope Adrian, could not be very distant. Charles was too wise to neglect the other English ministers, particularly the earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of England, whom he appointed admiral of all his fleets by a commission dated at London, June 8th *. This was a very flattering compliment, not only to the king and the earl, but even to the whole nation. On Corpus Christi-day the emperor was installed as knight of the garter at Windsor; after which both princes took the sacrament, and swore to the faithful performance of their treaties †.

A.D. 1522.

When Charles V. had spent about six weeks in England, and ingratiated himself with the king, his favourite, and his ministers, he sailed from Southampton, July 6th, with all his fleet, for Spain ‡. The earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of Spain and England, sailed from the same port about ten days before, with an English fleet of thirty ships, to scour the channel, and secure a free passage to the emperor. Having performed that service, he landed with seven thousand men, July 1st, took, plundered, and burned the rich commercial town of Morlaix in Brittany, and returned to his ships the same evening. After this he made several descents upon the coasts, collected much booty, burned many towns and villages, brought his fleet back to England loaded with plunder, and presented himself to the king, July 21st ||. He was most graciously received, as he well deserved, and appointed to command an army which was then raising for the invasion of Picardy.

Maritime expedition.

The national animosity of the English against France was now roused, and nothing was wanting to a vigorous attack of that kingdom but money, which is justly called the sinews of war. Besides his habitual extravagance, Henry had lately squandered prodigious sums on his interview with the king, and his entertainment of the emperor; and his treasury was almost empty. He and his favourite were still unwilling to call a parliament, (the only constitutional method of supplying the wants of a king of England,) but had recourse to other expedients, which have been always unpopular, and seldom effectual. The king demanded a loan of 20,000*l.* from the city of

Loan and benevolence.

* Herbert, p. 49.

† Id.

‡ Hall, f. 99.

|| Ibid. f. 100.

A.D. 1522. London; which, with some difficulty, he obtained, upon granting an obligation, signed by himself and the cardinal, for the repayment. Loans were also demanded from other cities and towns, and even from many opulent individuals, in proportion to what it was believed they could afford to lend *. About two months after this loan, the king issued commissions to take a survey of the whole kingdom, similar to that which had been taken by William the Conqueror, with a view to demand of the laity the tenth of their moveable goods and rents, and of the clergy (over whom the cardinal's power was absolute) a fourth, as a voluntary aid or benevolence. But this dangerous illegal demand met with so much opposition, particularly in London, that the cardinal, with all his power and pride, found it necessary to depart from the rigorous exaction of it, and to content himself with what he could obtain by the milder arts of influence and persuasion †.

Invasion
of France.

By these methods considerable sums were collected, and two armies were raised; one in the north, under the earl of Shrewsbury, against the Scots; the other in the south, under the earl of Surrey, against the French. The earl of Surrey, with an army of sixteen thousand men, landed at Calais about the middle of August; and being soon after joined by a body of Spanish and German troops, entered Picardy, desolated the whole country and defenceless towns, by burning the houses of the peasants and the castles of the noblesse, and destroying every thing they could not carry away. The only military operation in which they engaged was the siege of Hesdan, which they were obliged to raise for want of heavy artillery. After this, the earl dismissed the Spanish and German troops, and conducted his own army back to Calais with a very great booty ‡. The earl, having put strong garrisons into all the towns on the marches, returned to England with the rest of his army, and was very graciously received by the king and cardinal.

Surrey lord
treasurer.

Thomas duke of Norfolk being far advanced in life, resigned the office of lord high treasurer, which he had

* Hall, f. 99.

† Id. f. 102. Stowe p. 515.

‡ Viz. 14,000 sheep, 14,000 black cattle, 13,000 hogs, 600 mares and horses, besides many prisoners. Hall, f. 103.

long held in the late and present reign, into the king's hands; who immediately bestowed it upon his valiant son, the earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of England and Spain, and general of the army; the only English subject who was, at the same time, entrusted with the custody of the treasures, and the command of the forces of the kingdom by sea and land *.

The cardinal still continued in high favour, and received frequent additions of power and riches. On the application of the king, the pope granted him the rich bishopric of Durham *in commendam*; and Henry restored the temporalities, April 30th, and about the same time gave him the wardship of Edward earl of Derby †. His revenues at this time could not be much inferior to those of the king, and were certainly superior to those of several other kings.

1523.
Favour of
Wolsey.

The money raised by the late loan and benevolence was far from being sufficient to support the war against France and Scotland, into which the cardinal had wantonly plunged his country, to promote his own ambitious views. He was constrained, therefore, to advise the king to call a parliament, which met at the Black-friars, London, April 15th. Doctor Tunstall, bishop of London, instead of the cardinal, opened the parliament with a speech; in which he praised the king (who was present) in the most flattering strains, for his great learning, wisdom, justice, and love of his subjects. He told the two houses, that they were called to reform the imperfections of the common law, to correct erroneous judgments, and to make good statutes; but said not one word of a supply, which was the real and only reason of their being called ‡. Sir Thomas More was chosen speaker of the House of Commons; and in his speech to the king was no less lavish of his flattery than the bishop had been ||.

Parliament.

It was not long before the demand of a supply was introduced, and in a very uncommon manner. The cardinal proposed to make the demand in the House of Commons in person, which occasioned a debate in that house, whether he should be admitted or not, and in

Subsidy.

* Rym. p. 777.

† Id 783, 788, 789.

‡ Rolls of Parl. 14 Hen. VIII.

|| Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 28.

A.D. 1523. what manner. At length, the speaker persuaded the house “to receive him with all his pompe, with his maces, his piliars, his poll-axes, his crofs, his hatt, and the great seal too *.” He entered accordingly, in great state, attended by a train of prelates and noblemen; and, in a long harangue, declaimed vehemently against the king of France, for his ambition, his breach of oaths and treaties, by making war on the king’s dearest nephew the emperor, and by sending the duke of Albany into Scotland to excite the Scots to invade England, &c. which had compelled the king to declare war against him: that the expences of this war had been calculated, and amounted to 800,000*l.* which he desired them to raise, by granting the king a fifth of all rents and moveables, to be paid in four years. When the cardinal had finished the harangue, a profound silence ensued, which offended him not a little. The speaker then falling on his knees, excused the silence of the house, by saying, that they were abashed at the sight of so noble a personage, which was enough to amaze the wisest and most learned men of the realm. As for himself, except all the members present could put their thoughts into his head, he was unable to give his grace an answer in so weighty a matter †. The cardinal then retired very much displeased with the house, and particularly with the speaker. After his departure a warm debate took place. Some of the members affirmed, that there was not above 800,000*l.* of cash in the kingdom; and if all the money were in the king’s hands, no trade could be carried on but by barter. The courtiers advanced many plausible arguments to induce the house to comply with the demand, but could not carry their point at that time. The king was enraged at this opposition, and threatened, it is said, some of the leading members with death, if they did not pass his bill ‡. The cardinal, anxious about the issue of this affair, went to the House of Commons a second time, to reason, as he said, with those who opposed the king’s demands. The speaker told him, that they would hear his grace with great humility; but, by the orders of the house, they could reason only among themselves. The cardinal then made a

* Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 29.

† Ibid. vol. viii. p. 30.

‡ Ibid. p. 35.

speech, to prove that the kingdom was so rich and flourishing, that the demanded subsidy might be raised with ease, and then retired *. This speech rather irritated than convinced the opposing members. After long and warm debates, the speaker, by the most earnest intreaties, prevailed on the house to pass the bill, with some slight amendments. The king and his favourite were so much disgusted by the opposition they had met with on this occasion, that no parliament was called for seven years.

The clergy were exempted from the above subsidy; because they had already assessed themselves in convocation at a much higher rate. The clergy of the province of York (who were under the absolute sway of the cardinal) granted the king one half-year of all ecclesiastical revenues in that province, to be paid in five years †. The clergy of the province of Canterbury, in a convocation held in St. Paul's at the same time with the parliament, made a similar grant. One reason they give for their liberality is, their gratitude to the king, for his most learned and never enough to be praised book, which had quite crushed the Lutheran heresy ‡. In this the good men were not a little mistaken.

France was at this time in a most dangerous situation; threatened with great calamities, if not with total ruin. The confederacy formed against it, by the pope, the emperor, the king of England, the Venetians, and all the other states and princes of Italy, seemed more than sufficient to overwhelm it, when it was without a single ally, but the king of Scotland, who was a minor, and possessed little authority over his turbulent nobles. The internal state of the kingdom was still more threatening than all its foreign enemies. Francis, by his expensive pleasures, his profuse donations to his favourites, with his wars in Italy and at home, had exhausted all his treasures, and involved himself in great debts. The troops being ill paid and under little discipline, infested the highways, plundered the unhappy peasants, and filled the whole kingdom with distress and discontent. The court was, at the same time, a scene of riot, and of the most violent factions; while a secret and most dangerous


A.D. 1523.

Grant of
the Clergy.State of
France.

* Hall, l. i.

† Wilkin. Concil tom. iii. p. 698.

‡ Ibid. p. 699.

A.D. 1523.  conspiracy was formed by a prince of the blood, to betray the king and kingdom to their foreign enemies. Of this conspiracy Francis entertained some suspicions, but was ignorant of its extent and maturity*.

Intrepidity of Francis.

In this situation of his affairs, Francis was so far from being intimidated, that he was eagerly engaged in preparing for an expedition into Italy, for the recovery of his dominions in that country. "All the world," said he, "have conspired against me, but I fear them not. The emperor hath no money; the English cannot penetrate far into my kingdom; the militia of the Low Countries can do me little harm. I will march into Italy, subdue my enemies there, and return soon enough to recover what I may have lost in France †." He marched accordingly, at the head of a gallant army; having appointed his mother, Louise of Savoy, regent of the kingdom in his absence. But when he arrived at Lyons, the reports of the conspiracy became so alarming, that he halted, and sent forward the greatest part of his troops, under his favourite Bonivet, admiral of France, into Italy. Soon after this, in the beginning of August, a full discovery of the following plot was made by two gentlemen, to whom it had been communicated under an oath of secrecy.

Revolt of the duke of Bourbon.

Charles duke of Bourbon, prince of the blood, great chamberlain and constable of France, was the richest and most powerful subject in that kingdom. He was brave, generous, and popular, but so haughty and vindictive, that he was commonly called *Charles the Impatient*. Louise of Savoy, the king's mother, captivated with the charms of his person, got hints conveyed to him, that his addresses to her would not be disagreeable. He rejected the proposal with disdain, accompanied with some severe sarcasms on her gallantries. Enraged at this, she irritated the king against the constable. Whatever he asked, however just, was refused. He was treated in general with such neglect, or rather contempt, that he seldom appeared at court, and became violently discontented. At last a process was commenced against him in the parliament of Paris, by the king and his mother, which threatened him with the loss of many great

* Garnier, Hist. Fran. ann. 1523. tom. xxiii. xxiv.

† Ibid. tom. xxiii. p. 482.

estates and almost total ruin. On this his resentment became ungovernable, and he determined to be revenged. He found means to communicate his resolution to the emperor and the king of England, and concluded a secret treaty with these two princes, which had for its object the destruction of the royal family of France, and the dismemberment of the French monarchy. By this treaty the constable was to marry Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's sister; the emperor and the king of England were to invade France from the south and north with two powerful armies, and by an army of mercenaries in another quarter, while Bourbon raised a formidable rebellion in the heart of the kingdom. When the conquest was completed, Provence and Dauphiné, with some contiguous territories, were to be erected into a kingdom for Bourbon, and the other provinces divided between the emperor and the king of England. A cruel conspiracy! (for it deserves no better name;) which reflects as little honour on the two monarchs as on Bourbon, who was hurried on by too violent a resentment of real injuries. If this plot had not been discovered before Francis had passed the Alps with his army, (when it was to be put in execution,) the consequences might have been very fatal to France. Bourbon made his escape out of the kingdom in disguise, and joined the imperial army in Italy. Francis resolved to remain at home, to guard against the approaching invasion*.

These invasions soon took place, as Henry and the emperor had their forces in readiness to have co-operated with Bourbon on his rebellion. The duke of Suffolk, commander of the English army, landed at Calais, August 24th, and with the troops he brought from England, and those he collected from the garrisons of Calais, Hams, and Guisnes, formed an army of about 13,000 men. He marched, September 19th, and the day after joined the imperial forces, and with them invaded Picardy. Meeting with no army to oppose them in the field, they ravaged the open country, took and plundered several towns, passed the rivers Soame and Oyse, and advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants of that capital†. But though

Military
operati-
ons.

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 1, &c. Mem. de Bellay, p. 64, &c. Pasquier, p. 431. Rym. p. 794, 795. T Hall, f. 114, &c.

A.D. 1523. the combined armies met with no enemy able to give them battle, they had several difficulties to encounter. The duke de Trêmeuile, who commanded in those parts, hovered continually near them with a great body of cavalry; beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and harassed them by frequent skirmishes. The season was uncommonly rainy, and the roads almost impracticable. The troops became sickly, discontented, and earnest in their desire to return home. With this desire the commanders complied; the two armies separated on their march, and the duke of Suffolk arrived at Calais in December, with the English forces, very much diminished in their numbers, without retaining possession of one place in the enemy's country. Henry was so much enraged at seeing all his sanguine hopes of conquest blasted, that the duke thought it prudent to remain at Calais till his anger abated. The emperor was equally unsuccessful on his side; and France, which at the beginning of this campaign was threatened with total ruin, at the end of it had not lost a single town, or one foot of territory.

Pope
elected.

Henry and his favourite met with another disappointment at this time. Pope Adrian VI. died, September 14th. As this event had been expected from the age and infirmities of Adrian, proper instructions had been given to the king's ambassadors at Rome to promote the election of cardinal Wolsey. The first dispatches he received from the ambassadors gave him great hopes of success. In a letter he sent to the king with these dispatches, September 29th, he says, "In what train the matters there
" were, at that time, for election of the future pope,
" your highness shall perceive by the letters of your orators, which I send at this time, whereby it appeareth,
" that mine absence from thence shall be the only obstacle (if any be) of the election of me to that dignity*." By another letter to the king, October 1st, he tells him, that he had prepared instructions for the ambassadors, which he desired his highness to sign; and adds, "To the intent
" also, that the emperor may the more effectually and
" speedily concur with your highness for the furtherance hereof, I have devised a familiar letter in the
" name of your grace, to be directed unto his majesty;
" which if it may please your highness to take the payne

* Burnet, Hist. Reform. Records, No. VII.

“ for to write with your own hand, putting thereunto
 “ your secret sign and mark, being between your grace
 “ and the said emperor, shall undoubtedly do singular
 “ benefit and furtherance to your gracious intent and
 “ virtuous purpose in that behalf *.”

A.D. 1523

All this was done, and neither money nor promises were spared; but in vain. Cardinal Julio de Medici was chosen pope, November 19th, and took the name of Clement VII. Thus was cardinal Wolsey again disappointed in his hopes of ascending the papal throne. He bore his disappointment with great composure; and whatever resentment he entertained against the emperor, who had not performed his promises, he, like a prudent politician, concealed it till he could discover it with effect. In his letter to the king, December 6th, with the news of the election, he makes no mention of the emperor; but ascribes his own disappointment to his absence from Rome, and expresses his satisfaction with the choice that had been made in very strong terms. “ As for my part,” says he, “ I take God to witness I
 “ am more joyous thereof, than if it had fortune on
 “ my person †.” It is not improbable that the cardinal dissembled a little on this occasion, and that he was not quite so well pleased as he pretended.

The two late invasions of Picardy had been so expensive and unsuccessful, that nothing of that kind was attempted this year, and the whole campaign in those parts exhibited only a few skirmishes between the garrisons in the English pale and those on the frontiers of France ‡. It is probable, however, that Henry had some other reasons for this inaction, beside the expence and ill-success of the two former invasions; but these reasons cannot be discovered with certainty. The military operations in Italy and the south of France were more important. The Spanish army, commanded by the constable of Castile, invested Fontarabia about the middle of January. This seemed to be a rash, or rather desperate, undertaking. The place was strong, furnished with a sufficient garrison, and abundance of ammunition and provisions; but the garrison was ill-chosen. Don Pedro, hereditary marshall of Navarre, was at the head of a strong body of his countrymen, who with him had fol-

1524.
Military
operations

* Burnet, Hist. Reform. Records, No. VIII.

† Ibid. No. X.

‡ Hall.

A.D. 1523. lowered the fortunes of their exiled sovereign, of whose restoration there was now little or no hopes. The constable of Castile, uncle to Don Pedro, got such tempting offers conveyed to him and his followers, that they had not the fortitude to resist. A treaty was privately concluded, by which Don Pedro and all his troops were to be restored to all their honours and estates in Navarre, on the surrender of the place; and they persuaded, or rather compelled, Frauget, the governor, to capitulate about the middle of February, when the fortifications were intire, and the garrison in want of nothing. Francis was enraged at the shameful surrender of this important place; and as Don Pedro was out of his reach, all his vengeance fell upon Frauget, who was proclaimed a coward, and declared infamous and ignoble*.

continued. The duke of Bourbon having contributed greatly in the last campaign to the expulsion of the French under admiral Bonivet out of Italy, proposed to invade Provence this year, in hopes of being joined by many of his own friends and those of his family, as soon as he appeared at the head of an army. This proposal was approved by the emperor and king of England, who engaged to advance 109,000 crowns, for the first month's pay and subsistence of the duke's army, and to invade Picardy in July; and the emperor engaged to support and pay the duke's army during the rest of the campaign, and to invade Languedoc at the same time†. The duke of Bourbon entered Provence with his army, July 2d, and met with little or no opposition. His scheme was, to march into those parts where his own estates lay, and where he expected to be joined by his vassals; but the emperor commanded him to besiege Marseilles. He invested that place, August 19; but he met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected. The garrison, which consisted of three thousand two hundred men, being joined by nine thousand of the inhabitants, who took up arms, made a brave defence. Neither the emperor nor the king of England invaded France, which permitted Francis to collect all his forces for the relief of Marseilles; and he marched from Avignon towards that place, at the head of forty thousand men, which obliged Bourbon to raise the siege, and retire with great

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 54.

† Ryn. p. 794, 795.

precipitation into Italy †. The inaction of the emperor A.D. 1524.
 During this campaign may be accounted for from his want of money to support another army. It is more difficult to account for Henry's neglecting to invade Picardy, according to his engagement. It appears from a proclamation preserved by a contemporary historian, that he entertained some thoughts of doing this when the season was too far advanced. That proclamation was dated, September 10th, commanding those noblemen and gentlemen to whom it was sent to be in readiness, with their followers, for an expedition into France, but not to march till they received a second command ‡. That command they never received, owing to the advanced season, and perhaps to some other reasons, which it was not thought proper to publish.

If Francis could have been contented with the honour of having defended his dominions against all his enemies, he would have preserved himself and his subjects from many calamities. But finding himself at the head of a gallant army, he could not resist the inclination of marching into Italy, for the recovery of the duchy of Milan on which he had set his heart. Having appointed his mother regent of the kingdom, he set out at the head of his army, and proceeded with so much diligence, that a detachment of his troops entered Milan at one gate, at the same time that the duke of Bourbon entered at another. The duke having reinforced the garrison of the castle, retired with the shattered remains of his army to Lodi. If Francis had pursued them, (as his most experienced generals advised him,) they must either have surrendered, or evacuated the country; and he would have obtained possession of the Milanese almost without bloodshed. But his favourite Bonivet, who had more influence with him than all his other generals, was of a different opinion, and advised the siege of Pavia, which was formed in November, and pushed with great vigour. But finding that all his efforts were ineffectual, he converted the siege into a blockade about the end of this year*.

It is easy to perceive that Henry's animosity against Francis, and his attachment to the emperor, now began to abate. This is evident from his neglecting to invade Picardy according to his engagement, when he

Henry changes his disposition.

† Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 94. Bellay, lib. ii. ‡ Hall, f. 130.

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 109. Bellay, lib. xi. P. Martyr. ep. 805.

A.D. 1524. might have done it with the greatest prospect of success. It is further evident, from his demanding immediate payment of the money Charles had borrowed when he was in England, and of the great sums due by the treaty of Windsor, at a time when he knew he could not pay them *. This change in Henry's dispositions was probably owing to the artful insinuations of his favourite, cardinal Wolsey. But whatever was the cause of this change, the effects of it were too visible to escape the notice of either Charles or Francis. The former became jealous of his great ally, and the latter began to entertain hopes of a reconciliation with his most formidable adversary. To promote this, the regent sent a private agent, one John Joachim, to London, who was well received by the Cardinal, with whom he had several secret interviews †. This being discovered by the papal resident, he sent accounts of it to his master, advising him to make peace with Francis as soon as possible, that he might have the merit of being before the king of England. His holiness took the hint, and concluded a secret treaty of peace with Francis in his camp before Pavia ‡.

1525.
French army weakened.

While Francis blockaded Pavia in the beginning of this year, he sent two large detachments, one of about six thousand men, under the duke of Albany, to invade Naples; and another of nearly the same number, under the marquis of Soluzes, to attempt the recovery of Genoa §. This was a very imprudent measure, by which he encouraged his enemies and weakened his own army. It was further weakened by the departure of 6000 Grisons into their own country, and by some other accidents.

Battle of
Pavia.

When the imperial generals had recovered from the consternation with which they had been seized, and saw with joy that Francis, instead of pursuing them, had engaged in the siege of Pavia, they exerted themselves with great activity in collecting troops from all quarters, and forming an army. The duke of Bourbon, by pawning his jewels, procured a sum of money, with which he levied twelve thousand Landsknechts in Germany, and conducted them into Italy. By the beginning of Febru-

* Guicciardini., lib. xv.

† Herbert, p. 62.

‡ Hall, f. 135.

§ Ibid.

ary they thought themselves strong enough to take the field, and on the 7th of that month approached the French camp before Pavia. Their design was to throw a supply of men, ammunition and provisions into that place, and to hazard a battle, rather than suffer it to be taken before their faces. They spent almost three weeks in this situation, without being able to accomplish their design. In the mean time several councils were held in the French camp, and some of his best commanders earnestly intreated Francis to raise the siege, and retire to Milan; assuring him that the enemy's army would be obliged to disband in a short time for want of pay. But admiral Bonivet, knowing the king's inclination, treated this cautious council with great contempt, as dastardly and dishonourable, and insisted on continuing the siege, which was resolved. La Noy, viceroy of Naples, the duke of Bourbon, the marquis de Piscaire, and the other imperial generals, finding it would be impossible to keep the field much longer, for want of money to pay or subsist their troops, determined to hazard a battle. Very early in the morning of February 24th, (the emperor's birth-day,) they assaulted the French camp, forced their lines, and obtained one of the most decisive victories recorded in history. Admiral Bonivet, mareschal de Chabanis, Richard de la Pole, a pretender to the crown of England, some other generals, with about fourteen thousand of the French army, fell in this fatal action. The king of France, the king of Navarre, several other persons of distinction, and about twelve thousand men, were made prisoners. All the artillery, arms, ammunition, military chest, provisions, and baggage of the vanquished army, fell into the hands of the victors. In a word, the king of France wrote to his mother the day after; "Madam, all is lost, except my honour." And this was no great exaggeration. The imperial generals were astonished at the greatness of their victory, which far exceeded their most sanguine expectations*.

It is easier to imagine than describe the consternation into which the news of this dreadful disaster threw the court and kingdom of France. That kingdom was really in a most deplorable situation. Her king a prisoner;

Consternation of the French.

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 122—129. Guicciardini, lib. xv. Hall, f. 136.

A.D. 1525. her bravest generals and nobles, with the flower of her martial youth, either killed or taken; surrounded with powerful triumphant enemies; without allies, without money, without troops, and almost without hope*. The consternation of the princes and states of Italy was almost equal to that of the French. They saw the balance of power overturned, and themselves exposed to the demands of a victorious army, which could command what it demanded †.

Composure of the emperor. The emperor was at Madrid, expecting every day to hear of the defeat of his army, and the loss of his dominions in Italy, when he received, March 10th, the news of this great victory. Charles, on this occasion, discovered an amazing presence of mind and command of passion. Though he must have felt the most lively transports of joy, on an event so advantageous and unexpected, nothing of that kind appeared in his words or actions. He perused the dispatches with the most perfect composure, lamented the hard fate of his fallen rival, and moralized on the uncertainty of human power and greatness. But it soon became evident that all this was deep dissimulation, and that he felt none of that compassion which he expressed ‡.

Henry received the news of the battle of Pavia, March 9th, by an express from the princess Margaret, governess of the Low Countries. As he was not so accomplished a dissembler as Charles, he did not receive them with the same composure. Public rejoicings were ordered in London and other cities; the king rode in great state to Saint Paul's, where the cardinal said mass, assisted by eleven bishops; after which Te Deum was sung §. Henry's ambition, which had received a check by the ill-success of his two late invasions of France, again revived, and inclined him to take advantage of the great calamity which had befallen the unfortunate Francis. This is evident from the instructions given to Doctor Tunstall, bishop of London, and Sir Richard

* This great calamity was as unexpected as it was great; which should teach the most powerful princes to be cautious of engaging in unnecessary wars. The events of war are always uncertain.

† Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 29, &c.

‡ Sandov. Hist. vol. i. p. 651. Ulloa, Vita del Carlo V. p. 110.

§ Hall, f. 136.

Wingfield, who were dispatched in great haste into Spain. These ambassadors were instructed to urge the full execution of the treaty of Bruges, between the emperor, the king, and the duke of Bourbon. By one article of that treaty, the two monarchs were to invade France with two powerful armies, the one on the south, and the other on the north; that they should meet at Paris, where Henry should be crowned king of France, and the partition of the kingdom settled. By another article it was stipulated, that if any prince were taken prisoner in the course of the war, he should be delivered to that one of the confederates whose dominions he had usurped. The ambassadors were instructed to require that Francis should be delivered to their master; as he had usurped from him, not only Guienne and Normandy, but even the crown of France. To induce Charles and his council to comply with this requisition, they were empowered to engage, that the princess Mary, their master's only child, and heiress of his dominions, should be sent into Spain, at the same time that Francis was sent into England. This, it was hoped, would prevail; as the emperor's ambassadors were then at the court of England, earnestly soliciting the delivery of the princess to their master, to whom she was betrothed. The ambassadors were also furnished with answers to all the objections it was supposed Charles and his council would make to their demands *. They set out before the end of March, and Henry, who was naturally sanguine in his hopes, certainly expected that his demands, with some modifications, would be granted.

To procure money for the intended invasion of France, Henry and his favourite had recourse to a very expeditious, but most unconstitutional method. Toward the end of March commissioners were appointed in every county, to levy the sixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth of those of the clergy, to be paid immediately in money or plate. These commissioners in some places were slighted, in others insulted, and in none obeyed; the whole kingdom seemed ripe for rebellion. Alarmed at this universal resistance, the king issued a proclamation, recalling these commissions, and declaring that he would have nothing from his loving subjects but

A.D. 1525

Illegal
commissions.

* Hall, f. 137. Carte, vol. iii. p. 137.

A.D. 1525. what they chose to give him as a free gift. Commissioners were then appointed to collect a benevolence, as it was very improperly called. But this, though more specious, was no less illegal than the former method, and met with as violent an opposition. The cardinal acted as chief commissioner in London, and employed every art to persuade the wealthy citizens to contribute, but to no purpose; the refusal was obstinate and universal. In Suffolk, the people flew to arms, and with great difficulty were prevailed upon, by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, to disperse. At length, the king and his council, perceiving that these commissions produced much discontent and danger, but little or no money, recalled them; and the weight of the public indignation fell upon the cardinal, who, it was well known, had the chief direction of all affairs, and had boldly undertaken to furnish the king with money on all occasions *.

The cold reception of the English ambassadors in Spain

The English ambassadors met with a very cold reception at the court of Spain, where the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of the king of France, had produced a mighty change. Charles was fully determined to appropriate all the advantages of that victory to himself, and to impart none of them to his ally the king of England, of whose secret negotiations with the regent of France he had received information from his resident in London. All the propositions of his ambassadors therefore were rejected, and they received nothing but reproaches, for his violation of the treaty of Bruges, by neglecting to invade Picardy the preceding year, and for his private negotiations with France. The emperor was now so far from desiring the princess Mary to be sent into Spain, that the ambassadors discovered that he was resolved to break his engagements with that princess, though they had been confirmed by a most solemn oath, and was actually negotiating a marriage with the infanta Isabella of Portugal.

Treaties with France.

This intelligence, which was received toward the end of May, occasioned a total revolution in the politics of the court of England. Henry, whose passions were strong, was greatly irritated at the emperor on many accounts, and the cardinal contributed all in his power to inflame his resentment. He now abandoned all

* Hall, p. 137—142.

thoughts of mounting the throne of France, or dismembering that monarchy; and resolved to exert all his power to preserve it entire, and to procure the deliverance of its captive monarch. Though he dismissed the two French agents who resided privately in London, as soon as he received the news of the battle of Pavia, the regent, very prudently, renewed her application, and gave a commission, dated at Lyons, June 9, to John Brenon, president of the parliament of Normandy, and John Joachim, master of the household, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the king of England *. These ambassadors, the same who had been formerly dismissed, were now very well received, and concluded no fewer than six treaties with Henry and his ministers. 1. A treaty of perpetual peace and amity; in which the contracting parties guaranteed each other's dominions against all states and princes in the world, spiritual or temporal †. This was designed to prevent Francis from ceding any of his provinces to procure his liberty ‡. 2. A treaty, binding Francis and his heirs to pay to Henry and his heirs two millions of crowns, at certain stipulated terms, and 100,000 crowns a year for life, after the above sum were paid §. Nine of the greatest noblemen, and nine of the richest cities in France gave their bonds, as an additional security for these payments. 3. By the third treaty, the king of France engaged to pay to Mary, queen dowager of France, Henry's sister, all the arrears of her dowry ||. 4. A treaty for preventing depredations at sea, and for settling all disputes on that subject ¶. 5. A treaty explaining on what terms the king of Scots was comprehended in the peace **. 6. A treaty for preventing the duke of Albany's return into Scotland during the minority of king James V. All these treaties were subscribed by the French plenipotentiaries at the Moor (a house of the king in Hertfordshire) August 30th ††.

In compliance with one of the articles in the first of the above treaties, Henry wrote a letter to the emperor with his own hand, intreating him to grant the king of

A.D. 1525.

Henry writes to the emperor.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 37.

† Ibid. p. 48.

‡ In this treaty Henry engaged to use all his influence with the emperor to procure the deliverance of Francis on reasonable terms.

§ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 58.

|| Ibid. p. 69.

¶ Ibid. p. 70.

** Ibid. p. 74.

†† Ibid. p. 75.

A.D. 1525. France his liberty on moderate and equitable terms. But little or no regard was paid to this application; and Charles, who had been accustomed to write to Henry with his own hand, and to subscribe himself his loving son and cousin, returned an answer by his secretary, and subscribed Charles *. In a word, all friendly intercourse between the courts of England and Spain was at an end, and their ambassadors were mutually recalled.

The cardinal rewarded. The cardinal had contributed greatly to bring about this peace and alliance between France and England, and he was well rewarded for his labour. The regent of France granted him a bond, November 18th, for 100,000 crowns, for his good offices in that affair, and for 29,000 crowns, as the arrears of his pension, which had not been paid during the late war †.

The cardinal in danger. That mighty favourite, however, was in some danger, at this time, of incurring the displeasure of his too indulgent master, and falling from that towering height of greatness to which he had attained. The clamours against him for the late illegal commissions, and for various arbitrary and oppressive acts in the exercise of his legantine office, were so loud, that they reached the royal ear, and put the king into a violent passion. But the cardinal knew his temper, and took the most effectual way to appease his anger. He made him a present of the magnificent palace he had built at Hampton-court, and wrote him a letter, containing the best apologies he could make for the several things he knew had displeased the king, and expressing the deepest anguish and distress of mind for having offended his grace. In answer to this, the king wrote him a long letter with his own hand, in which he sustained his apologies in some things, recommended greater caution in others, and concluded with these affectionate expressions: "I ensure
" you, (and I pray you think it so,) that there remain-
" eth at this hour no spark of displeasure towards you
" in my heart. And thus fare-you-well, and be no
" more perplexed. Written with the hand of your lov-
" ing sovereign and friend, HENRY R. ‡"

Distress of the king of France. The unfortunate Francis had now remained many months in prison; first in the strong castle of Pizzig-

* Guicciardini, lib. xvi.

† Rym. tom. xiv. p. 100.

‡ Herbert, p. 67.

thone, near Cremona, and afterwards in the castle of A.D. 1525.
 Madrid. Though he panted for liberty with the greatest ardour, the conditions on which it was offered were such as he could not accept without disgrace and ruin. He had offered to give up all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and all other territories in Italy; to relinquish the superiority over Flanders and Artois; to restore the duke of Bourbon and his followers to all their estates and honours; to pay three millions of crowns for his ransom; and being now a widower, he proposed to marry Eleanora, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's sister. These were tempting offers, but they did not satisfy the avarice and ambition of the conqueror, who insisted on the surrender of Burgundy, which Francis firmly determined not to grant; because it would have given his too powerful adversary such a footing in his kingdom, as would have rendered all he retained precarious. Almost despairing of his deliverance, and irritated beyond measure at the severity with which he was confined; the neglect with which he was treated by the emperor, who had not deigned to pay him the compliment of a visit; the agitation of his spirits impaired his health, and threw him into a fever, which threatened his death. The emperor was alarmed at this intelligence, hastened to Madrid, visited his royal prisoner several times, spoke to him in the most soothing and affectionate manner, and gave him the strongest assurances of a speedy deliverance on reasonable terms. This kind treatment revived the spirits and restored the health of the languishing monarch. But, to his unspeakable mortification, when he had recovered his health, he found that the emperor was gone to Toledo, that his confinement was as strict as ever, and all the pleasing prospects of a speedy deliverance vanished*.

While the vanquished prince was suffering thus severely, the victor was not without his cares, perplexities, and fears. In Germany his affairs were in great confusion. The Turks, after they had taken Rhodes, had made some conquests in Hungary, and threatened his hereditary dominions. The reformation had made great progress, and the followers of Luther were become formidable by their numbers, power, and union. The

* Garnier. tom. xxiv. p. 166, &c. Bellay, p. 95. P. Mart. ep. ult. Sandov. p. 665.

A.D. 1525. pope, and all the other princes and states of Italy, he knew, dreaded his power, and waited for an opportunity to combine against him. The king of England, his most powerful ally, had deserted him, and embraced the cause of the captive king with his usual warmth. Barbarossa, who from a pirate had become a powerful prince, obstructed the trade, and insulted the coasts of Spain.—The regent of France, by her prudence and activity, seconded by the spirit and loyalty of the nobles and people, had put that kingdom in a respectable posture of defence. His own coffers were almost empty, his troops, few, ill paid, and widely dispersed. But what filled him with the greatest anxiety, was his fear of losing the person of his royal prisoner, on the possession of which so much depended. He might do this by his death, of which he had lately been in danger, or by his escape, for effectuating which he knew a plot had been formed; and though that plot had been discovered, another might be more successful*. His fears on this head were increased by a late event. Henry D'Albret, king of Navarre, who was also taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, and had been guarded with the most anxious care, had made his escape, by changing clothes with a servant†. Besides all this, he knew that Francis executed a formal resignation of his crown to the dauphin, and had sent it into France with his sister, the duchess of Alençon, who had visited him in his sickness‡. If that resignation should be accepted, he would then have a prince, without territories to resign, or money to pay his ransom. All these considerations determined Charles to conclude an agreement with his prisoner without delay; but in doing this, he still resolved (contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors) to grant him his liberty on the hardest conditions he could extort.

1526.

The impatience of Francis to obtain his liberty shortened the negociation; and the famous treaty, called *The Concord of Madrid*, was signed and confirmed by the oaths of both parties with great solemnity, January 14th, A. D. 1526. This treaty is very voluminous, and consists of many articles; but it will be sufficient to mention a few of the most important, which occasioned those

* Herbert, p. 69.

† Ibid. p. 195.

‡ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 130.

A.D. 1526.

controversies in which the king of England was concerned *. 1. That there shall be a perpetual peace and amity between the emperor and the king of France, their subjects and dominions. 2. That the king of France, within six weeks after he is set at liberty, shall give up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy, with all its dependencies. 3. For the greater security of the performance of the above article, the king, at the moment he is set at liberty, shall deliver to the emperor his two eldest sons, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, as hostages; and if he do not, or cannot perform it within four months, he shall return and deliver himself up a prisoner of war, and the hostages shall be set at liberty. 4. To extirpate all roots of future quarrels, Francis relinquishes all right of superiority over Flanders and Artois, and all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and other territories in Italy. 5. Francis engages to marry Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's eldest sister, and all the terms of the contract are settled. A marriage is also stipulated between the dauphin and the princess Maria, daughter of queen Eleanor. 6. Francis engages to use all his influence with Henry D'Albret, king of Navarre, to relinquish all his rights to that kingdom; and with Charles duke of Gueldres, to constitute the emperor heir to his dominions; and if he could not persuade these princes, he was to give them no assistance. A cruel article, which obliged Francis to abandon his most meritorious allies to the insatiable rapacity of their too powerful neighbour. The two next articles were equally cruel. By the one, Francis engaged to lend the emperor his whole navy, five hundred men at arms, and six thousand foot soldiers, when he went into Italy, against those princes who they both knew were forming a confederacy against the emperor in favour of Francis. By the other, Francis engaged to pay to the king of England all those sums of money which the emperor had promised to pay him, to tempt him to embrace his party against France. It is thus expressed in the treaty, which was adding insult to cruelty. By another article, the most effectual securities are given for the restoration of all their estates and honours, with all the intermediate profits, to Bourbon and his followers,

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 308—326.

who,

A.D. 1526. who, for certain reasons, had been absent from France for some time past. A very modest way of expressing their rebellion against their natural sovereign and their native country. Several other articles of this famous treaty are so severe and extraordinary, that no reader of humanity can peruse them without execrating the grasping unprincely spirit of Charles who could demand them, and pitying the weakness and distress of Francis who could grant them *. Nothing but his extreme impatience of confinement, and a secret, though not very honourable, resolution not to perform some of its most oppressive articles, could have prevailed upon him to give his consent to such dishonourable and destructive terms.

King of
France set
at liberty.

After the conclusion of this treaty, Charles, though he still guarded his prisoner with the most anxious care, loaded him with caresses, carried him several times to visit Eleanora his future queen, gave him always the right hand, called him his dearest brother and most beloved friend, vainly hoping to disarm his resentment and gain his friendship by a few fine words. Francis saw his design, concealed his indignation, and returned all his caresses and compliments with interest. But no two persons ever hated one another more heartily than the two dear brothers †. All the regulations for the exchange of Francis for his two sons being settled, with such precautions as discovered the greatest diffidence on both sides, that exchange took place, March 16th, in a ship moored in the middle of the river Bedassao, which divides France from Spain, and was executed with such rapidity, that the king had not an opportunity of embracing his children, who were going into captivity for his deliverance ‡.

Writes to
the king of
England.

As soon as Francis landed in his own territories, he mounted a Turkish horse, and rode full speed, first to St. John de Luz, and then to Bayonne. There he wrote to the king of England, March 17th, the news of his deliverance, which he ascribed to his generous and friendly interposition; and at the same time sent him his bond for two millions of crowns stipulated by the treaty at the Moor, August 18th, A. D. 1525 §.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 108—126. † Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 225.

‡ Herbert, p. 75. Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 226.

§ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 129.

The king of England and the princes and states of Italy were anxious to know whether Francis intended to perform all the articles of the treaty of Madrid, or not. Because, if he really intended to surrender Burgundy, and to perform all the other articles of that treaty, he could not enter into any confederacy with them against the emperor; and no confederacy that they could form without him, would be able to resist the enormous power of that monarch. To discover the French king's intentions, Doctor Taylor, the English ambassador at the court of France, was commanded to hasten to the place where that prince should first enter his own dominions; and Sir Thomas Cheyney was sent from England to join him there. An abstract of the instructions to these two ambassadors, drawn by cardinal Wolsey, is still preserved, and exhibits a very curious specimen of the cunning and subtilty of that famous minister. The ambassadors are directed to paint in the strongest colours, the high esteem and extraordinary love their master had contracted for Francis at their interview at Ardres, which no intervening events had been able to diminish—to describe in the most affecting manner, the sorrow he had felt for his captivity, and the joy he had expressed at the news of his deliverance—that he had sent them to offer him all the aid and comfort in his power. They were to do this, not in a formal oration, but in a natural way, as flowing from the heart. They are instructed to be very attentive to every word that dropped from Francis and his ministers about the treaty of Madrid, in order to discover their real sentiments and intentions. If they found them hesitating and undetermined, they were to express the greatest surprise and astonishment at the hardness of the conditions of that treaty—to represent that, when the treaty was executed, the emperor's power would become irresistible. “That they should extend and speak at large, “ what great honour, profit, and high renown the “ emperor should attain thereby, if in all parts it “ were observed.. That this would be the ready way “ to bring him to the monarchy of all Christendom.”— If they found that Francis and his ministers were resolved not to execute the treaty in its full extent, but to procure a mitigation of some of the most oppressive articles, they should then propose a treaty of alliance and confederacy for that purpose*.

A.D. 1526.
Ambassadors sent
to Francis.

* Strype's Memorials, vol. i. ch. 5.

A.D. 1526. There was no need for all this artifice to discover the intentions of the king of France, or persuade him to engage in the confederacy against the emperor, to obtain a mitigation of the treaty of Madrid. Before he signed that treaty, he protested, before two notaries, and a few confidential friends sworn to secrecy, that he was under restraint, and that he did not design to perform any of the articles of the treaty he was about to sign, but such as were reasonable *. A wretched subterfuge, to which he was driven by his unhappy circumstances. When he arrived at Bayonne, and the two Spanish ambassadors who attended him pressed him to ratify the treaty of Madrid, agreeable to an article of that treaty, he refused to do it, pretending he could contract no new engagements without the advice of his council, and the consent of his subjects. He told them, that he would immediately call an assembly of the notables to meet at Cognac, and desired them to attend there to receive his final answer. That assembly met at that place in June, and all the members declared with one voice, that the king had no right to dismember the monarchy, by making a cession of Burgundy, to which they would never give their consent; and without their consent, it could not be done. The Spanish ambassadors were present in the assembly when that declaration was made, and insisted, that since the king would not, or could not, surrender Burgundy, he should, as he had solemnly sworn to do, return to his prison in Spain. No direct answer was returned to this requisition, but the treaty of confederacy between the pope, the king of France, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, (which had been concluded with great secrecy a few days before,) was published in their hearing. This amounting to a declaration of war, they demanded passports, and returned to Spain †.

Italian
league.

In the above league of confederacy, the allies engaged to raise and pay an army of thirty thousand foot, two hundred and fifty men at arms, and three thousand light horse, with a certain number of ships of war and galleys. The king of France was to have the county of Ast and lordship of Genoa, with an annuity of 50,000 crowns from Francis Sforza duke of Milan. When the king-

† Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 221, 222.

‡ Garnier, *ibid.* p. 232—235.

A.D. 1526.



dom of Naples was conquered, the pope was to dispose of the crown, and the new king was to pay the king of France an annuity of 75,000 crowns. The king of England was declared protector of this most holy league, and to have a principality in Naples worth 36,000 ducats a year, and cardinal Wolfey a lordship worth 10,000, for his good offices *. Though this league was formed directly against the emperor, by one of the articles it was agreed, that he should be admitted into it as a party, on condition that he approved of the arrangements in Italy, desisted from his demand of Burgundy, and consented to restore the children of France for a reasonable ransom. If he refused to comply with these conditions, (which they perfectly well knew he would refuse,) the other confederates bound themselves to assist the king of France in compelling him by force of arms to restore his children. The king of England was invited to become a party in this league, if he pleased; but this he very wisely declined, contenting himself with the honour of being its protector, which cost him nothing †. This league was notified to the emperor by the ambassadors of France and the other confederates. Charles was greatly irritated, and expressed himself with much asperity against the pope and the king of France. He upbraided the pope with his ingratitude to him, who had raised him to the papal chair, though he was a bastard. He desired the French ambassador, the archbishop of Bourdeaux, to tell his master, that he had behaved basely and dishonourably in violating the treaty of Madrid, and that if he denied it, he would maintain it against him by his person §.


Francis, conscious that his conduct needed an apology, sent a vindication of it to all the courts in Europe. This vindication was drawn by Duprat, chancellor of France, with great art and eloquence, and rested chiefly on the following grounds: That the emperor had first violated the treaty of Noyon, by retaining the kingdom of Navarre, to which he had no right, and which he had engaged to relinquish—That he had enticed Bourbon and his followers to rebel, and supported them in their rebellion—That he treated him, when he was his prisoner,

Francis publishes a vindication.

* Guicciardini, lib. 16. Belcar. lib. 18.

† Herbert, p. 76, 77.

‡ Id. ib.

A.D. 1526.  in a cruel and most ignominious manner—That obligations and oaths extorted by violence from a prisoner are not binding—That he had always declared, that if any unreasonable conditions were extorted from him, he would break them when he obtained his liberty—That it was not in his power to surrender Burgundy; and that he had often told the emperor and his ministers that it was not in his power—That he was willing to pay a great sum of money in lieu of Burgundy; and for the recovery of his dear children *. To this apology the emperor published a severe and passionate answer, and both princes prepared for deciding this quarrel by sharper weapons than the pen.

Treaty.

Though Henry had espoused the cause of the king of France, he was averse to engage in a war, and wished rather to recover his own debt from the emperor, and to assist Francis in recovering his sons, by a negociation. The two monarchs, with this view, concluded a treaty of mutual obligation, August 8th, in which the king of France engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for the recovery of his sons, without comprehending the king of England, and securing the payment of his debt; and the king of England engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for obtaining the payment of his debt, without comprehending the king of France, and procuring the deliverance of his sons for a ransom of one million of crowns of gold †. Both princes, in consequence of this treaty, instructed their ambassadors at the court of Spain, to negotiate with Charles and his ministers, for procuring the deliverance of the children of France, and the payment of the debt due to England ‡. In these negotiations the last months of this year were spent.

Military
operations
in Italy.

It is foreign to the subject of this present work, and would be tedious to the reader, to trace all the motions of the imperial and confederate armies in Italy. It is sufficient to say, that the confederate army, though numerous and well appointed, being commanded by three generals who had equal authority and different views, performed nothing memorable. The duke of Bourbon took the command of the imperial army, July 24th, and pushed the siege of the castle of Milan (in which that army was then engaged), with so much

* Herbert, p. 76, 77. † Rym. p. 189. ‡ Strype. vol. i. p. 67.

spirit, that he compelled Sforza to surrender it by capitulation, which was the most important event in that campaign *. A.D. 1526.

But though Bourbon had obtained possession of the whole dutchy of Milan, of which the emperor had promised him the investiture, he was in great distress and danger. His army had received no pay for several months; he had no money to pay them; and their distress and discontent were become so great, that he dreaded every moment some destructive mutiny. A great reinforcement of sixteen thousand Germans, half naked and half starved, arrived in his camp, which added to his distress and danger, by doubling the demands for money, which he could not answer. The once rich and populous city of Milan, having been long the residence of an army without pay, was become a scene of misery and desolation, from which no more provisions or money could be procured. In this extremity Bourbon acted with great prudence and spirit. He explained to his soldiers the causes of their sufferings, in which he shared as deeply as any of them. He assured them, that he would lead them into the enemy's country, and would enrich them with the spoils of some of the most opulent cities of Italy. Animated by these hopes, they declared their resolution to follow him wherever he pleased to lead them. He marched from Milan, January 20th, at the head of twenty-five thousand brave, or rather desperate men, but without money, without artillery, and without ammunition. They had no other means of procuring provisions but by plundering the countries through which they marched. In their destructive course they approached Placentia, Bologna, and Florence, but found all these places so well prepared for their defence, that they dared not attempt them without artillery. Their patience was now quite exhausted; they broke out into a furious mutiny, which Bourbon appeased with much difficulty, by convincing them that their preservation depended upon their union and perseverance, and by promising them, with greater confidence than ever, a speedy period to all their sufferings, and the accomplishment of all his promises. Having obtained a small sum of money, a quantity of ammunition,

* Guicciardini, l. 17.

A.D. 1527. and three field-pieces, from the duke of Ferrara, Bourbon marched his army directly to Rome, which inspired his troops with the greatest joy, as they there expected the least resistance and the greatest booty. Besides, the Germans in his army were in general Lutherans, who hated the pope as much as they loved his treasures. When Bourbon with his army arrived at Rome, May 5th, he rode among his troops, crying out, "Behold yonder churches and palaces, the receptacles of the wealth of the Christian world; repose yourselves to-night, and to-morrow all that wealth shall be your own." Early in the morning, May 6th, the army approached the walls under the cover of a thick fog, and attempted to scale them in three places. But they were every where repulsed, and were in danger of desisting from the attempt. Bourbon, sensible that every thing depended on the success of that assault, alighted from his horse, seized a ladder, placed it against the wall, and began to mount, when he received a shot in the groin, and fell into the ditch. In his last moments, this brave, accomplished, and unfortunate prince desired those about him to cover his body and conceal his death. It could not be concealed; and the report of it inflamed the fury of his troops to madness. With a dreadful shout of Bourbon, blood, and slaughter, they mounted the walls, and rushed into the city like a torrent, spreading death and destruction wherever they appeared. In a moment this devoted city became a scene of inexpressible misery and horror, and its wretched inhabitants suffered every ill that the rage, avarice, and lust of soldiers could inflict. Their misery did not terminate in a day, but continued several months; the churches, palaces and private houses were stripped of every thing that was valuable, and many crimes were committed too shocking to be recorded*.

Imprisonment of the pope.

The pope and cardinals fled to the castle of St. Angelo, which saved them from the undistinguishing fury of the soldiers. But that fortress being unprovided for enduring a siege which was unexpected, his holiness was soon reduced to the necessity of capitulating, to prevent his perishing by famine. The terms of the capitulation were dictated by his enemies. He engaged to surrender

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 269—279. Guicciard. l. 13.

all the places of strength in his dominions, to pay A.D. 1527.
 400,000 ducats to the besieging army, and to remain a
 prisoner till all this was performed, and the emperor's
 pleasure was known *.

The news of the sacking of Rome, and the imprison-
 ment of the pope, excited horror and indignation in the
 minds of all good Catholics in all parts of Europe. None
 expressed greater surprise and sorrow on this occasion
 than the emperor. He put himself and all his court
 into the deepest mourning, forbid the intended rejoicing
 for the birth of his son, and commanded prayers to be
 put up in all the churches of Spain for the deliverance
 of his holiness. A piece of hypocrisy as shallow as it
 was impious †.

Hypocrisy
 of the em-
 peror.

The concern of the kings of France and England for
 the captivity of the pope was more sincere. There had
 been three treaties concluded between them at London,
 April 30th. 1. A treaty of stricter union and alliance,
 in which it was agreed that Francis, or his second son
 the duke of Orleans, should espouse the princess Mary,
 and that the two kings should have a personal interview
 as soon as preliminaries could be settled. 2. A treaty
 of perpetual peace, the chief article of which was, that
 to remove all grounds of wars and quarrels, Henry re-
 nounced for himself and his successors his title to the
 crown of France, and to all the territories possessed by
 Francis; and that Francis and his successors should pay
 to Henry and his successors 50,000 crowns a-year in
 coin, and 15,000 crowns worth of the salt of Bruage
 a-year, for ever. 3. A treaty of offensive war, in which
 the two kings agreed to send ambassadors to the emperor,
 with their ultimate proposals, for the redemption of the
 children of France, and the payment of the debt due to
 England; and if the emperor rejected these proposals,
 two heralds were to denounce war against him, each
 in the name of his own king. By this treaty too it was
 agreed, that the war should be chiefly pushed in the
 Low-Countries, and all things respecting the numbers
 of troops to be furnished by each king, and the division
 of their conquests, were settled ‡. But the unfortunate

Treaties.

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 269—279. Guicciard. l. 13.

† Sandov. vol. i. p. 22. Sleidan, p. 109.

‡ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 202—227. Herbert, p. 80, 81.

A.D. 1527. turn of affairs in Italy required new counsels, and it now became necessary to make their first and greatest efforts in that country, to prevent their confederates from deserting the common cause. With this view they made another treaty, May 29th, in which they agreed to make Italy the seat of the war, and Francis engaged to send an army of thirty thousand foot and one thousand horse to join the confederate army there; while Henry obliged himself to pay 32,222 crowns a-month for six months, in lieu of the forces he was to have furnished by treaty for the war in the Low Countries *. In consequence of an article in one of the above treaties, Sir Francis Pointz was appointed ambassador to make the concerted propositions to the emperor, and set out for Spain by way of France, May 10th, with Clarenceaux king at arms in his company †.

The cardinal's embassy to France.

As the proposed interview between the two kings would have occasioned too long a delay and too much expence, it was thought better to send the cardinal with unlimited powers to settle all things with Francis, who agreed to meet him at Amiens. This pompous plenipotentiary passed through London in a kind of procession, July 3d, attended by many persons of rank, with a retinue of twelve hundred horse. He arrived at Calais on the 11th, and set out from thence on the 22d. He was met on the frontiers of France by the cardinal of Lorraine, with a splendid train of prelates, lords, and gentlemen, and received into every town with processions, pageants, and all the honours that could have been paid to the greatest monarch ‡. Still further to gratify the vanity of this haughty priest, Francis granted him a power to set all prisoners at liberty in every town through which he passed §. Proceeding by slow journies, he arrived at Abbeville, July 25th, and there spent about a week.

The emperor's offers rejected.

While the cardinal remained at Abbeville he received the emperor's answer to certain propositions that had been presented to him by Francis. The propositions were these four: 1. That Sforza duke of Milan should be restored to his dominions. 2. That Francis would pay the emperor two millions of crowns in lieu of Bur-

* Herbert, p. 83.

† Ibid. p. 83.

‡ Hall, f. 161, 162.

§ Rym. p. 202.

gundy, on which he should receive his sons and his queen Eleanora. 3. That Francis would pay the debts which the emperor owed to the king of England. 4. It was proposed, that the emperor should make some addition to the dowry of queen Eleanora, in consideration of the great sums he was to receive. The emperor's answer consisted of eight declarations, chiefly explanatory of the sense in which he understood and accepted the propositions, with some slight alterations*. The emperor subjoined to these declarations very strong expressions of his regard for cardinal Wolsey, "who (he said) had always been, and still was, one of his best friends." Though he knew him to be his most inveterate enemy. He expressed, in much stronger terms, the great affection and love he bore to his dearest uncle the king of England, for whose sake alone he had made the above concessions, that all the world might know that he esteemed and loved him, and valued his friendship more than that of other princes†. The design of all this flattery of Henry and his favourite is very obvious. As both Henry and Francis were resolved on war, the emperor's proposals were rejected.

The king of France with his whole court arrived at Amiens, August 3d, and the cardinal made his public entry into that city the day after, with prodigious pomp‡. There he continued fourteen days, transacting business with Francis and his ministers, and three treaties were concluded, August 11th. By the first of these treaties it was agreed, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary—that the interview between the two kings should be put off to a more convenient season—and the sums of money to be paid monthly by the king of England, for defraying the expences of the war in Italy, and for the deliverance of the pope, were settled. This treaty was intended to confirm and explain the treaties made in the months of April and May. By the second treaty it was agreed, that whatever privileges the English merchants should lose in the dominions of the emperor in consequence of the approaching war, they should enjoy similar privileges in the dominions of the king of France during the continuance of that war. By the third treaty, the two contracting princes endeavoured to guard against

* Rym. p. 200.

† Ibid.

‡ Hall, f. 162.

A.D. 1527. the inconveniencies they and their subjects might suffer by the captivity of the pope, when he was entirely in the power of the emperor. In order to this, it was agreed, that if the emperor, or the pope during his captivity, called a general council, neither of the kings should obey the call without the consent of the other. It was further stipulated, that if the pope, while he was a prisoner, issued any bulls prejudicial to them or their subjects, they should disregard them; and that in the mean time the church of England should be governed by the cardinal legate, and the Gallican church by the prelates of that kingdom *. These treaties were ratified with great solemnity, and delivered by the king to the cardinal at high mass, in the great church of Amiens †. The cardinal having finished his business, and spent some time in a progress with the court of France, returned to England and waited on the king, by whom he was most graciously received, at Richmond, September 29th.

In the mean time the English plenipotentiary, Sir Francis Pointz, had reached the court of Spain, and having obtained an audience of the emperor, made the following demands in the name of the king his master :—That the emperor should deliver to the king one half of the spoils and prisoners taken at the battle of Pavia, as he had contributed to the pay of the army which had taken those spoils and prisoners:—that he should give up the duke of Orleans, one of the sons of France, to the king:—that he should immediately repay all the sums of money the king had lent him, with the addition of 400,000 crowns which he had forfeited by violating his contract of marriage with the princess Mary;—and that he should restore the pope to his liberty, and indemnify him and his subjects for the losses they had sustained ‡. The emperor acted with his usual caution and prudence on this occasion. He saw plainly that these demands were not made from any expectation that they would be granted, but only to procure a pretence for declaring war against him if they were rejected. He replied therefore with great calmness. That these were matters of great importance; that he would deliberate upon them with his council, and then return an answer. A few days after,

* Rym. p. 205—218.

† Hall, f. 162.

‡ Ibid. f. 163. Herbert, p. 86.

the English ambassador, with the bishop of Worcester and Doctor Lee, the English residents, had a second audience, when the emperor acquainted them, that he had resolved to communicate his sentiments on their demands to his dear uncle, by his ambassador at the court of England, and begged them to wait with patience till he got a return from thence, and then they should receive his final answer *. By this means he prevented an immediate declaration of war, for which he was not prepared, and gained time to make fresh efforts to detach the king of England from an intimate union with France. But the invincible animosity of the cardinal against him prevented the success of these efforts.

The emperor, perceiving that the captivity of the pope gave great offence to all good Catholics, and furnished the kings of France and England with a plausible pretence for declaring war against him, determined to set him at liberty. The rapid progress also of the confederate army in Italy, which was now marching towards Rome, made him hasten to execute that resolution. As he had pretended great sorrow for the captivity of his holiness, so he now pretended (with equal dissimulation) great disinterestedness in giving him his liberty. He demanded, he said, no ransom for his person; but as the army that had reduced him to captivity was turbulent and ungovernable, and had great arrears of pay due to them, it was necessary to procure money to discharge these arrears, to prevent their breaking out into some dreadful mutiny. He sent orders to Moncada, his minister at Rome, to alarm the fears of his holiness, to make him impatient for his liberty, and to extort from him as much money and as advantageous conditions as possible. Moncada acted his part perfectly well, and concluded a treaty with his holiness for his liberty on the following terms:—That he should never take part against the emperor in Italy.—that he should pay immediately 100,000 crowns for the use of the army; the same sum a fortnight after, and 150,000 at the end of three months:—that he should grant the emperor a cruzado in all his dominions, and the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in Spain;—and that he should deliver certain cardinals as hostages, and certain strong towns as a security, for the performance of these condi-

The pope
at liberty.

* Hall, f. 163.

A.D. 1527. tions *. The pope paid the first moiety of the money, delivered the hostages and towns, and was to have been set at liberty, December 10th; but dreading that he would be detained on some pretence or other, he made his escape in disguise the evening before, and took shelter in Orvieto. From thence he immediately wrote to the king of England and to cardinal Wolsey, acknowledging that he owed his liberty to their powerful interposition, expressing the most lively gratitude, and imploring the continuance of their protection.

Divorce: Beside Henry's strong attachment to the church of Rome, of which he had been the champion both by his sword and pen, he had another motive which induced him to espouse the cause of the imprisoned pope with warmth. He had formed a resolution to procure a divorce, if possible, from his queen, Catharine of Spain, the emperor's aunt; and he well knew that nothing could contribute so much to the success of that design as the favour of his holiness. As this divorce engaged almost the whole attention of Henry and his ministers for several years, and produced effects of the greatest importance and altogether unexpected, it is necessary to trace the proceedings in it from year to year with the most anxious care and laborious investigation.

The time
and the
motives.

It is impossible to discover, with absolute certainty, the precise time when Henry resolved to procure a divorce from his queen, or the motives which determined him to form that resolution. It is however highly probable, that he formed it a considerable time before he made it public, and that the motives by which he was influenced, were neither criminal nor dishonourable. Great doubts concerning the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow were generally entertained as soon as it was proposed. His father, Henry VII. who, prompted by his predominant passion, avarice, had formed the scheme and promoted the contract of that uncommon marriage, was afterwards convinced of its illegality, and endeavoured to prevent its accomplishment. With this view he persuaded his son to protest against the contract of his marriage on the very day he was fourteen years of age, and on his death-bed he charged him with great earnestness never to celebrate that marriage †. Warham,

* Guicciard. lib. xviii. p. 467.

† Morison's Apomaxis, p. 13.
archbishop

archbishop of Canterbury, a man greatly esteemed for his A. D. 1527.
 learning and integrity, declared loudly against the celebration of the marriage (when it was debated in council) as incestuous, and contrary to the law of God, with which, he said, the pope could not dispense *. Though Henry's amorous disposition, the charms of the princess, and the persuasions of his counsellors, made him disregard the dying admonitions of his father, and the strong declarations of the primate, yet they could not fail to make an impression upon his mind, which could not be quite forgotten, and would be easily revived. While the queen retained her beauty, continued to bear children, and gave him hopes of a son or sons to succeed him on the throne, his scruples, it is probable, gave him little trouble; but when her beauty faded, infirmities succeeded, and all hopes of issue vanished, he became uneasy; his doubts about the legality of his marriage revived; the dread of leaving a disputable succession increased; and he began to think of a divorce, as the only thing that could relieve him from all these embarrassments. All this happened in the year 1524: for it was in that year, as we learn from a letter of his own to Simon Grinius, that he began to abstain from all conjugal intercourse with the queen, from scruples which he then entertained about the legality of his marriage †. It was in that year, therefore; it is highly probable, that he began to entertain thoughts of a divorce, influenced by the following motives: his scruples about the legality of his marriage; his dread of leaving a disputable succession; and his desires and hopes of having male issue by a lawful marriage. The advanced age and infirmities of the queen might give additional weight to these motives, and make the thoughts of a separation from her less painful; but there is no evidence, or even probability, that he had then set his affections on any other lady.

Though Henry began so early to be disquieted with doubts about the legality of his marriage, it seems to have been a considerable time before he was fully convinced that it was unlawful. Pope Julius II. had granted a dispensation for it, and he had a very high opinion of the papal power, to which he was unwilling to set any

Henry fully convinced of the illegality of his marriage.

* Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 36. and Collection of Records, p. 10.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 39.

A.D. 1725. bounds. Having a taste for theological studies, he applied with great ardour to the study of this question, in which he was so deeply interested. He even composed a book upon the subject, to prove, first, that the marriage of a brother's widow was prohibited by the law of God; and, secondly, that the pope had not power to dispense with the laws of God; and consequently, that his marriage with his brother's widow was unlawful. He proved the first by two laws in Leviticus, and considered the death of his two sons by the queen as the effect of the threatening in one of these laws, that such marriages should be childless *. The second may seem to us a self-evident proposition that needed no proof; but such was the infatuation and bigotry of the times, that it was esteemed by many a most pestilent heresy to set any bounds to the power of the pope in granting pardons and dispensations. Fox, bishop of Winchester, threatened to accuse archbishop Warham of heresy, for denying the pope's power to dispense with the laws of God. But Thomas Aquinas having declared in the most explicit terms, supported by the strongest reasons, against the pope's power of dispensing with the divine laws, Henry embraced the opinion of his favourite author, and became fully convinced that his marriage was unlawful, and resolutely determined to procure the dissolution of it by a divorce †. In this opinion and determination he was confirmed by his favourite Wolsey, his confessor Longland bishop of Lincoln, and other men of learning.

His intention disclosed.

Though Henry had abstained from all conjugal intercourse with the queen for a considerable time, he still continued to treat her with the greatest attention and respect, and to keep his intention of suing for a divorce as secret as possible. But his resolution being now taken, and his plan of proceeding formed, he began to disclose his design with great art and caution. The bishop of Tarbe, and other French ambassadors, who were at London in March this year negotiating a marriage between the princess Mary and the duke of Orleans, started this objection, that the legitimacy of the princess might be called in question, on account of the illegality of her father's marriage with his brother's widow, which might obstruct her accession to the crown ‡. Both the

* Leviticus, chap. xviii. 16. xx. 21.

† Strype, b. i. ch. x. p. 93, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 38.

‡ Hall, f. 55. Heylin, p. 3.

king and Wolsey affected to appear greatly alarmed at this objection; though it is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that it was made in consequence of a concert between the courts of France and England, to furnish Henry with a fair pretence for beginning his process and demanding a divorce. The French, at that time, courted Henry's friendship with the greatest ardour, as the only thing that could preserve their monarchy from destruction, or deliver their king from captivity. In these circumstances, it is not credible that the ambassadors would have started an objection that so nearly affected the honour, peace, and happiness of the royal family, if they had not known that it was agreeable to the king, and a part of his plan.

After some fruitless attempts had been made to persuade the queen to consent to a divorce, the king's secretary, Doctor Knight, was sent to Rome in July, this year, to make application to the pope, who was believed to be the only person who had power to grant what was so much desired. He carried with him letters from the king and the cardinal to the pope, representing the many great services they had done to his holiness and the see of Rome; painting in the strongest colours the king's distress, occasioned by the scruples he entertained about the unlawfulness of his marriage, or rather by his full conviction that it was unlawful; and intreating his holiness, in the most earnest manner, to examine this important cause without delay, and grant that relief which justice required. The cardinal, in his letter, conjured the pope in so earnest and pathetic a strain to grant what the king desired, that he seems to have foreseen that the continuance of his own power and favour depended on the success of that design*. They knew the court of Rome too well, to depend entirely on their letters, and the goodness of their cause, for success. The secretary carried with him a large sum of money, and bills on the bank of Venice for 10,000 crowns; and if the arts of corruption were not sufficiently understood, they might be learned from the directions that were given by the cardinal for the disposal of that money†. Doctor Knight was also directed to communicate all his

Secretary
sent to
Rome.

* Strype, vol. i. p. 83. Burnet's Records, b. ii. No. iv.

† Ibid. No. ix.

A.D. 1527. letters and instructions to Sir Gregory Caffali, the king's resident at Rome, and to act in concert with him in all things.

Applies to the pope. When the secretary arrived at Rome the pope was still a prisoner; but having consulted with Caffali, they found means, by bribing some of his guards, to communicate their business and the king's requisitions to his holiness, and received a most favourable answer. The pope professed the most lively gratitude to the king for all his former favours, and declared, that he depended on him alone for the recovery of his liberty; and that when he recovered it, he would deny him nothing; but that he could do nothing while he was a prisoner that would be esteemed legal.

The negotiations. The English ambassadors concealed themselves with the greatest care, for fear of being discovered and insulted by the Spanish soldiers, while the pope remained in prison: but as soon as he made his escape, they flew to Orvieto, and renewed their solicitations. They found his holiness still in great terror of the imperial army; and he further informed them, that when he was in prison, the general of the observants had charged him in the emperor's name, to take no step in their king's divorce till he had first communicated it to his ministers at Rome. The secretary, Doctor Knight, had brought with him copies of the four following instruments, which he and Caffali most earnestly intreated his holiness to grant:

1. A commission to two cardinals, for hearing and determining the cause in England, whereof cardinal Wolsey to be one.

2. A decretal, wherein the pope should pronounce the marriage void, upon proof of carnal knowledge between prince Arthur and Katherine.

3. A dispensation for the king to marry another.

4. A pollicitation that the pope would not revoke any of these acts.*.

After several audiences, in which they endeavoured to convince the pope of the illegality of the marriage, and to persuade him to grant these acts; and after they had gained the cardinal, with whom he consulted, by a present of 4000 crowns; they obtained two of the acts, the

* Strype, vol. i. p. 89.


commission and dispensation, but considerably changed A.D. 1527.
 from the draughts they had presented*. Secretary }
 Knight being afflicted with the gout, sent them to Eng-
 land by Gambara the papal prothonotary, and followed
 him by slow journeys, leaving Cassali to continue his
 solicitations.

As soon as Henry had determined to be divorced from Anne Bo-
 leyn, he began to look around him for another lady leyn.
 to supply her place. Cardinal Wolsey, it is said, re-
 commended Margaret duchess dowager of Alençon, the
 French king's sister, with a view to render the union of
 these two monarchs more perfect and permanent. But
 a young lady appeared in the court of England this year,
 who made a sudden and complete conquest of the king's
 heart, by the charms of her person and conversation.
 This was the fair unfortunate Anne Boleyn, daughter of
 Sir Thomas Boleyn by a sister of the duke of Norfolk, and
 nearly related to many of the greatest families in Eng-
 land. She was born A. D. 1507, and was carried into
 France A. D. 1515, when she was only in her ninth
 year, by the king's sister, the princess Mary, when she
 was married to Louis XII. on whom she attended till
 that princess returned to England, after the death of her
 husband. Though she was still very young, her person
 and manner were so pleasing, that she was retained by
 queen Claude, the first consort of Francis I. and after
 the death of that amiable and virtuous queen, July 1524,
 she lived with Margaret duchess of Alençon till she was
 brought into England by her father, when he returned
 from his embassy in France A. D. 1527, and soon after
 admitted one of the maids of honour to the queen. It
 was in this situation the king had an opportunity of see-
 ing her, and sometimes engaging her in conversation;
 and he was so much charmed by her beauty, her virtue,
 her vivacity, her easy and sprightly manners, that he re-
 solved to raise her to the throne, and became more im-
 patient to obtain a divorce†.

When the commission and dispensation above men- Embassy
 tioned were brought into England by Gambara, they to the
 were found so defective, that it was thought dangerous pope.
 to proceed upon them,; and it was resolved to send am-

* Burnet, vol. i. b. ii. Records, No. iv, v.

† Burnet vol. i. p. 43, 44.

A.D. 1527.  bassadors to Rome to obtain more ample powers. Doctor Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Doctor Edward Fox, the king's almoner, two of the most learned men in England, were pitched upon for this embassy, and prodigious pains were taken to furnish them with every thing that could contribute to render their negociation successful. These ambassadors set out from London, 10th February, and carried with them the draught of a commission to cardinal Wolsey and another cardinal, to try this great cause in England; in which every clause was inserted that could render it effectual, and prevent the advocacy of the cause to Rome; together with letters from the king and the cardinal, containing every argument and motive that could be conceived to engage his holiness to grant the commission. The cardinal's letter was written with as much earnestness and importunity as if his life had been at stake, As Henry was vain of his learning, and fond of literary fame, he composed a book to prove the illegality of his marriage, which he delivered to the ambassadors to be presented to the pope; and, which was of more consequence, he entrusted them with a great sum of money, to be distributed in the court of Rome. The ambassadors, according to their instructions, went first to the court of France, and procured letters from the king, importuning the pope to grant the request of the king of England; and after a fatiguing journey, they arrived at Orvieto, March 20th, A. D. 1528*.

Declaration
of war.

Though the war was still carried on in Italy, the plenipotentiaries of France and England continued their negociations at the court of Spain for obtaining a peace, and a mitigation of some of the articles of the treaty of Madrid. But about the beginning of this year, all hopes of peace vanished; the two kings recalled their ambassadors, and declared war in form against the emperor, by their respective heralds, January 22d, A. D. 1528†. Charles in his answer to the English herald, spoke in respectful terms of his royal master, and regretted the loss of his friendship, which he imputed to the resentment of cardinal Wolsey, who was offended

Strype, vol. i. p. 90, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 51, 52. Records, *ibid.* No. xi.

† Rym. tom. xiv. p. 200. Herbert, p. 83. Guicciard. p. 471.

with him because he had refused to make him pope by force of arms. In his speech to the French herald he expressed himself with great asperity against Francis; declaring that he had violated his most solemn oaths, and acted in a manner unbecoming a gentleman. This produced a challenge to single combat from Francis, which was accepted by Charles, and made a mighty noise for some time, but at length came to nothing *.

When the emperor's ambassador received the news of this declaration of war, he prepared for his departure: but he was detained by Wolsey, who wrote him a letter, assuring him that the herald had exceeded his powers, and that he should be punished for it on his return. The herald obtained an authentic copy of this letter, which he laid before the king, together with three letters in the cardinal's own hand, commanding him to declare war. Henry was so much enraged at the duplicity and presumption of his favourite, that it was with great difficulty he was appeased; and it is probable that the impression it made upon his mind was never entirely effaced †.

A.D. 1528.
Duplicity
of the cardinal.

If this war had been prosecuted with vigour, according to the plan proposed, of invading Flanders by a French army on one side, and an English army on the other, it would have involved the emperor in great perplexity. But it was exceedingly unpopular in England, and almost the whole nation exclaimed against it, and against the cardinal, the author of it, who, they said, sacrificed the peace and prosperity of his country to gratify his own resentment. Beside this, the king's attention was so entirely engrossed by the affair of his divorce, that he listened with pleasure to some pacific proposals that were made to him by Margaret governess of the Low Countries, and a truce for eight months was concluded, June 8th, to which the king of France acceded with great reluctance, June 24th ‡.

Truce.

When the English ambassadors, Gardiner and Fox, were admitted to an audience of the pope at Orvieto, March 23d, they found him ill accommodated, ill attended, and in great dread of the imperial army. Having delivered the king's letters and the cardinal's, he read

Negotiation

* Memoires de Bellay, tom. i. p. 103. Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 330, &c. † Hall, f. 171, 173. Herbert, p. 90.
‡ Rym tom. xiv. p. 258, &c.

A.D. 1528. them, and then broke out into the strongest expressions of gratitude to the king, and of his earnest desire to oblige him. They then presented the king's book, and entered into a long conversation on the object of their embassy; in which they removed some unfavourable impressions the pope had received of the lady Anne Boleyn, and of the sincerity of the cardinal in his desire of the divorce. At last they produced the copy of the commission to cardinal Wolsey, and another cardinal to be named by the pope, which they most earnestly intreated him to grant, and recommended cardinal Campegius, as the properest person to be joined with Wolsey; leaving the commission with him for his consideration*.

continued. The English ambassadors had several other long conferences with the pope, in the presence of the cardinals and other learned men; in which they entered upon the merits of the king's cause, the illegality of his marriage, the insufficiency of the dispensation of Julius II. to render it lawful, and the necessity of granting the commission in the form required. In the preamble of that commission it was gently hinted, that some people denied that the pope had power to dispense with the laws of God: but they soon found that this was a topic not to be insisted upon; for though Clement was much dispirited by his late captivity and his present distress, he still retained so much of the spirit of his predecessors, that he would hear no reasoning on the limits of his power. But though the popes of those times impiously claimed the power of dispensing with the laws of God, they had the modesty to acknowledge that former popes might have been deceived and imposed upon by misinformation, and that the dispensations and other bulls which they had granted upon wrong suggestions were null and of no force. The ambassadors therefore set themselves to prove, that the dispensation for their king's marriage was granted upon wrong suggestions, and consequently was null and void, and the marriage unlawful. The suggestions on which it was granted were these two: 1. That the marriage was necessary to prevent the most cruel and bloody wars between the kingdoms of Spain and England. 2. That it was most earnestly desired by Henry prince of Wales. The first of these was unquestionably

Argu-
ments of
the am-
bassadors.

* Strype, p. 91-94.

false, because the two nations and the two royal families were then in the most perfect amity, and had no ground of quarrel. The second could not be true, because Henry was then only in his twelfth year, and could not so much as give his consent, and he had protested against the projected marriage on the very day he had completed his fourteenth year*.

These arguments, the importunity of the ambassadors, but especially the progress of the French and their confederates, who had invaded the kingdom of Naples, prevailed upon the cautious and timid pontiff to take some steps which seemed to promise Henry success in this great cause. Soon after the confederate army, commanded by Lautric, had invested the city of Naples, in which the imperial army had taken shelter, the pope believing the war to be near at an end, and that the imperialists would be driven out of Italy, granted the English ambassadors almost whatever they desired. By a bull dated at Viterbo, June 6th, he appointed cardinal Wolsey and cardinal Campegius his legates *a latere* in England, with the most ample powers to judge and determine the affair of the king's marriage†. As the affairs of the confederates still continued to wear a favourable aspect, and it was expected they would soon make themselves masters of the city and kingdom of Naples, the pope proceeded a step further, and on July 13th he signed a solemn pollicitation, that he would never revoke the commission he had given to the legates, nor advocate the cause to Rome. By the importunate solicitations of the ambassadors, he granted, about the same time, or soon after, a decretal bull, annulling Henry's marriage with queen Catherine, and permitting him to marry any other lady‡. This bull was committed to Campegius to be carried into England.

Henry and his ministers now imagined that they had surmounted all difficulties, and entertained the strongest hopes of obtaining the desired divorce in a very short time. But they were much mistaken. The pope had other views, of which they were entirely ignorant. Though he publicly professed the most inviolable attach-

Bulls obtained.

Duplicity of the pope.

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 25. Burnet, vol. i. p. 52.

† Rym. tom. xiv. p. 295.

‡ Herbert, p. 101. Burnet, vol. i. p. 54, 55.

A.D. 1528. ment to the kings of France and England and their confederates, and the most implacable resentment against the emperor, yet he privately negotiated a reconciliation with that prince, and resolved to do nothing effectual in favour of the king of England that might prevent the success of that negotiation. He was confirmed in this resolution by the unfortunate turn the affairs of the confederates had taken before Naples, when their army was threatened with destruction by famine and the pestilence. Though he had granted, therefore, the above bulls, to cherish the hopes of the king, and excite the fears of the emperor, and make him more desirous of an accommodation, he took the more effectual measures to prevent their execution. With this view he directed Campegius (who was entirely under his influence) to pretend great reluctance to undertake so long a journey on account of his age and infirmities; and when this difficulty was overcome by the importunity, the promises, and certain other more powerful arguments of the English ambassadors, he travelled so slowly, that he did not arrive in England till the month of October *.

Campegius arrives in England.

Though Henry had been much disgusted with Campegius for his affected delays, he prepared to give him a most magnificent reception, which he, being much afflicted with the gout, declined. When he had rested some days, and was a little recovered, he was carried in a chair, accompanied by cardinal Wolsey and a splendid train of nobles, to an audience of the king at Bridewell. At this audience his secretary made an elegant narangue in Latin, in which he painted the cruelties committed by the imperial army at the sacking of Rome in the strongest colours, and concluded with a flattering address to the king as the saviour of the church and deliverer of the pope. To this harangue Doctor Fox made a modest reply in the same language †. When the assembly was dismissed, the two cardinals had a private conference with the king, in which Campegius, it is said, exhorted him to live in love and harmony with his queen, and desist from prosecuting for a divorce. This exhortation was equally unexpected and disagreeable. But Henry's circumstances at this time obliged him to

* Burnet, p. 54, 55. Herbert, p. 107. Strype, Records, No. xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi.

† Hall, f. 179.

bear many things that were very unpleasant to his proud A.D. 1528.
impatient spirit.

To mitigate the king's displeasure and revive his hopes, Campegius shewed to him and the cardinal the decretal bull which annulled his marriage with the queen, and permitted him to marry any other lady. But when he was desired to commit this bull to Wolsey for a few days, that he might shew it to some of the king's confidential counsellors, he absolutely refused, and could not be prevailed upon by the most earnest intreaties to part with it, or shew it to any other. This greatly irritated and disconcerted both the king and the cardinal. They apprehended that some deception was intended, and determined, if possible, to get possession of that bull, which would have effectually secured their success, and put it out of the power of the pope to disappoint them. With this view, the cardinal wrote to Sir Gregory Cassali, commanding him to wait upon the pope, and prevail upon him to send an order to Campegius to shew the decretal bull to some of the king's confidential servants; and he desires him to plead this cause with as much earnestness as if he was pleading for the salvation of his soul *. But the pope proved as obstinate as Campegius. For though John and Vincent Cassali (in the absence of their brother Sir Gregory, who was confined by sickness at Bononia) importuned him in the most earnest manner, and employed every argument that could work upon his hopes and fears, and renewed their arguments and importunities several different days, he remained inflexible. Of all this John Cassali wrote a long account to cardinal Wolsey, dated at Rome, December 15th, and sent it by his brother Vincent †. The two Cassalis, in the course of their application to the pope, discovered his negotiation with the emperor, and that it was this that made him so resolute in refusing to comply with the king's request.

Refusal of
Campe-
gius and
the pope to
part with
the decre-
tal bull.

Henry and his ministers were in no little perplexity at this time. On the arrival of Campegius, the king's divorce became the subject of almost every conversation, and was in general so unpopular, that they dreaded insurrections in several places. To prevent these the king made a speech to an assembly of nobles, prelates, the

Speech of
the king.

* Burnet, Records, No. xvi.

† Ibid. No. xvii.

A.D. 1528. mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens of London, and many other persons of note, in the hall of his palace of Bridewell, November 8th. In this speech he declared, with the most awful solemnity, that the troubles of his conscience about the unlawfulness of his marriage, and the dread of leaving a disputed succession, and not any dislike to his queen, whom he highly praised, were the motives which had determined him to have the lawfulness of his marriage fully tried and finally decided. He intreated all who heard him to quiet the minds of his subjects, in their several countries, by informing them of what he had now said; declaring, that if any of them after this presumed to impute his conduct to unworthy motives, or attempted to raise disturbances, they should be severely punished *. This speech, with some other precautions that were taken, preserved the public tranquillity.

The cardinals wait on the queen.

A few days after this, the two cardinals waited upon the queen, and intimated to her the commission they had received from the pope to try the validity of her marriage. Campegius was the speaker on this occasion, and exhorted her, it is said, to retire from the world, and enter into a religious life. The queen answered with great composure, that she was the king's lawful wife, and not at her own disposal. That she could take no step without the advice of the emperor her nephew, from whom she expected protection; and that she could not look upon them as unbiassed judges in her cause. Then turning to cardinal Wolsey, she spoke with greater asperity, reproaching him as the first mover of this matter, and the great author of all her troubles, from his hatred to the emperor, because he had refused to make him pope by force of arms; and from his resentment against her, because she had often reproved him for his pride, lewdness, and other vices. The cardinal denied that he had been the first mover of the king's scruples about his marriage, and that he was resolved to act the part of an upright impartial judge †. Campegius sent an account of this conversation to the pope, and desired further instructions; which his holiness was in no haste to send, as his great object was to gain time to finish his treaty with the emperor.

* Hall, f. 180. Stowe, p. 541.

† Hall, f. 181.

Henry, impatient of these delays, and anxious about the success of his application to the pope for the decretal bull, sent Sir Francis Brian and Mr. Peter Vannes to Rome in the beginning of December, with instructions to dissuade the pope from agreeing with the emperor; to offer him a guard of two thousand men for the protection of his person; and if nothing else could prevail, to threaten, that if he did not do the king justice without delay, he and his subjects would withdraw their obedience from the see of Rome. They were also directed to consult with the most learned men in the court of Rome about the practicability of several schemes for granting the king relief, particularly if the pope could give him a dispensation to have two wives, and if the issue of both would be legitimate *. These schemes were suggested by Campegius, with no other view but to feed the king with vain hopes, and to keep him in good humour with those who were deceiving him.

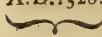
A.D. 1528

Amiballa-
dors sent
to Rome.

With the same insidious view the pope sent his protonotary Gambara into England, with a letter of credence to cardinal Wolsey, dated at Rome, December 15th. The letter contained nothing but unmeaning professions of friendship to the king and him, and a desire to give entire credit to what the bearer would communicate, though he knew he would not tell them one word of truth. Gambara acted his part perfectly well. He assured them, in the most solemn manner, that his holiness was now determined to grant the king whatever he desired, and to do for him not only what he could do in justice and equity, but whatever he could do in the plenitude of his power. That he had so deep a sense of the king's merits, and the obligations he had laid on him, that if the resignation of the popedom might do him any service, he would readily resign it. The king and the cardinal were greatly elated by these assurances; and in order to take advantage of the favourable disposition of the pope, they resolved to send Doctor Stephen Gardiner, their most active and able negociator, immediately to Rome to finish the business. But all this was mere delusion. There was no truth in Gambara's declarations, and his real errand in England was to see Campe-

The pope
deceives
the king.

* Burnet, p. 62.. Records, No. xix.

A.D. 1528. gius burn the decretal bull, about the pope was under the most terrible apprehensions, often saying to his confidants, that if by any accident it was made public, and came to the emperor's knowledge, he would be utterly ruined *.

1529.
The pope
falls sick.

When Doctor Gardiner was at Lyons on his way to Rome, he received intelligence that the pope had fallen sick when he was at mass, January 6th; that it was believed he was dying, and that many of the cardinals had cast their eyes on cardinal Wolfey to be his successor. Of all this he informed the cardinal by an express; and soon after it was reported that the pope was dead. This once more roused Wolfey's ambition, and revived his hopes. He wrote, February the 6th, to the English ambassadors at Rome, to exert all their activity and art to promote his election†. The king at the same time instructed them, "first to offer the cardinals good reasons to convince them of Wolfey's fitness for the papacy. But "because human frailty is such that reason doth not always take place, you must promise promotion and "sums of money, with other good rewards; and that "all the good preferments the cardinal hath, shall be "shared among those who procure his election†." Such were the arts employed, in those times, in the election of the successors of St. Peter.

Letters
sent to
Rome.

The pope's recovery soon put a stop to these intrigues; but his relapse in the beginning of March revived them. When cardinal Wolfey heard of this relapse, which was represented as very dangerous, he wrote long letters to Doctor Gardiner, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Gregory Cassalis, and Mr. Peter Vannes, the king's residents at Rome, in which he discovers the most extreme anxiety about his own advancement and the king's divorce, and suggests the most artful methods for obtaining these ends. He directs them to take care that the bishop of Verona, or some other trusty friend of theirs, should be always with his holiness, and embrace every opportunity of speaking favourably of the king's cause; that they should endeavour to get access to him in his sickness, and urge him with the most earnest importunity to grant a decretal bull, or at least a more ample commission to the legates; and even to tell him, that if he delayed to do this

* Burnet, p. 61, 62, 63. † Ibid. Records, No. xx.

justice to a prince who had done so much for him and for the church, he could not expect the salvation of his soul. At the same time the two legates, Wolsey and Campegius, wrote a very long, eloquent, and affecting letter to the pope, in which they endeavoured, by the most earnest intreaties and most powerful arguments, to prevail upon him to grant a decretal bull, dissolving the king's marriage, and permitting him to marry another lady, which would put a period to this most dangerous dispute. All these letters were sent to Rome with the greatest possible expedition *.

When the pope had recovered, and began to do business, the English ambassadors were admitted to an audience, and employed the strongest arguments and most earnest intreaties to prevail upon his holiness to grant the decretal bull. But all their arguments and intreaties were ineffectual. They received a positive refusal, accompanied indeed with many strong expressions of friendship for their royal master, which they well knew to be of no value. In a word, the ambassadors, who were men of ability, and had good intelligence, discovered that the pope was fully determined to desert his confederates, and unite himself with the emperor, and that whatever he might pretend, he never would do any thing effectual to promote the king's divorce, but every thing to feed him with vain hopes, as he had hitherto done. Of this they informed both the king and the cardinal by letters dated at Rome, May 4th †. The cardinal's answer to these letters was dated May 21st, and sent by Doctor Bennet, who was directed to remain at Rome to assist Sir Gregory Cassalis and Mr. Vannes in counteracting the emperor's agents, and endeavouring to prevent the avocation of the cause to Rome. Brian and Gardiner were commanded to return home, where their services were wanted.

Henry was now sensible of the error he had committed in relying on the delusive promises of the pope by Gambara, and resolved that the two legates should proceed without delay to execute their commission. The great hall of the Black-friars being properly fitted up for holding their court, the two cardinals took their seats with great pomp, May 31st; their commission was read, the

A.D. 1529.

Letters
from
Rome.The le-
gates hold
their court.

* Burnet, Records, No. xxii, xxiii. xxiv. † Ibid. No. xxv.

A.D. 1529. clerks were sworn to the faithful discharge of their duty, and an order given to summon the king and queen to appear in court, June 18th, to which they adjourned. On that day the king appeared by two procurators, and the queen in person, and protested against the legates as partial incompetent judges, affirming that the cause was avocated to Rome, and craving time to bring proof of the truth of that affirmation. They gave her to the 21st of June, to which they adjourned. As the former adjournment was far too long, this was evidently much too short to answer the purpose for which it was demanded. Both the king and queen appeared personally in court, June 21st; "but she persisting in her former wilfulness, and in her appeal; which also by the said judges was likewise refused; and they minding to proceed further in the cause, the queen would no longer make her aboad to hear what the said judges would fully discern, but incontinently departed out of the court; wherefore she was thrice preconisate, and called estoons to return and appear; which she refusing to do, was denounced by the judges contumax, and a citation decerned for her appearance on Friday next*." But the queen never appeared after this in that court. The legates held several sessions in the month of July, in which they examined a great number of witnesses, to prove that prince Arthur's marriage had been consummated, of which as much evidence was produced as could be expected of such a matter, at so great a distance of time †.

Their
court ad-
joined.

The cause being now ripe for a decision, a session was held, July 30th, in order, as all the world imagined, to pronounce a definitive sentence. The court was crowded with noblemen and gentlemen, the king was in an adjoining apartment, impatiently expecting to hear that a sentence of divorce was pronounced, when Campenius declared, that the courts at Rome were adjourned on that day, and therefore he and his colleague adjourned that court to October 1st. It is impossible to describe the surprise and indignation of the audience. The duke

* As it is impossible to reconcile the accounts given by historians of the queen's behaviour June 21st, I have related it in the words of the king, in a letter to his ambassadors at Rome, dated June 23d. Burnet, vol. i. Records, No. xxviii.

† Herbert, p. 113, &c.

of Suffolk, in a storm of rage, beat with violence on the table, and said, he now saw the truth of the old saying, that no legate ever did good in England. Then he and the duke of Norfolk, with the other noblemen and gentlemen, retired with precipitation, leaving the two cardinals in their chairs of state, staring at one another. When Henry was informed of what had happened, he could hardly restrain his fury; but being ignorant of what was done at Rome, and still hoping to obtain a sentence in his favour at the next meeting of the court, he became more calm, and behaved with more temper than could have been expected.

Henry had not only been cruelly deceived by the pope, but also by Campegius, an old, profligate, unprincipled debauchee, who spent his days in hunting, gaming, and feasting, and his nights in the company of courtezans. He had made him so many presents, and so many promises, that he imagined he had entirely gained him to his interest. But he was quite mistaken. He took his presents, and betrayed his secrets. He even found means to pilfer from his cabinet some love-letters that passed between him and Anne Boleyn, and sent them to Rome, where they still remain. His own great favourite, cardinal Wolsey, had acted in a very mysterious manner during the late trial. Though he was one of the proudest men alive, took place of all men, and the lead in all affairs, he permitted Campegius, who was a younger cardinal, and his inferior in all respects, to conduct the whole process, and do what he pleased. Beside this, he gave the king no hint of the intended adjournment of the court, of which he could not be ignorant, and suffered that blow to fall upon him without any warning. These things excited strong suspicions in the king's mind that Wolsey deceived him; and though he concealed his suspicions for some time, they weakened his confidence in him, and their effects soon appeared.

Deceit of
the pope
and cardinals.

While the two legates were holding their courts in England, the English residents at Rome were labouring with great zeal to prevent the avocation of the cause, which the emperor's agents were soliciting with equal zeal. For some time the pope appeared exceedingly perplexed and undetermined, and by that artful conduct he encouraged the hopes of the king, and excited the fears

The king's
cause avo-
cated to
Rome.

A.D. 1529. fears of the emperor, to retard the resentment of the former, and to procure better conditions from the latter in the treaty that was then negotiating. But as soon as his holiness received intelligence that the treaty with the emperor was concluded at Barcelona, July 3d, he began to talk in a more determined tone, and told the English ambassadors, that he could not in justice refuse to grant the avocation. They then redoubled their efforts to procure a delay of what they could not prevent, in hopes that the cause would be determined in England before the avocation was issued. Doctor Bennet, on his knees, and with many tears, assured him, that the king and kingdom of England would be lost as soon as the cause was avocated. He conjured him at least to delay till he had written to the king and received his answer; but in vain. The pope stood firm, and actually signed the avocation, July 18th, and the day after sent it away with a letter to cardinal Wolsey *. The ambassadors had taken care to inform their royal master from time to time of every step they had taken, and of all the fears they entertained, which prepared him for receiving this unwelcome news.

Henry discontented with Wolsey.

Henry, to divert his chagrin occasioned by the adjournment and avocation of his cause, set out on a progress, accompanied by lady Ann Boleyn, in the beginning of August. The two cardinals followed him, and were admitted to an audience at Grafton, at which the king so far constrained himself, that he received and treated them both with civility, and dismissed Campegius without any expressions of resentment for the treacherous and ungrateful part he had acted. The cardinals retired that night to Towcester, and Wolsey returned next morning to Grafton to wait upon the king; but a message was sent him to go and accompany Campegius to London; and after this repulse he never was permitted to see his indulgent master, with whom he had been so long on such a friendly and familiar footing *. It was now visible to the whole court that Henry was discontented with his favourite, and no endeavours were wanting to increase his discontent.

The king in great perplexity.

The king was in very perplexing circumstances at this time, and had many things to irritate and disquiet his

* Burnet. p. 75, 76. Records No. xxx.

† Hall, f. 183.

mind. The pope, for whom he had been a most zealous champion, and from whom he had received the most solemn assurances of favour, had first deluded, then abandoned, and at last insulted him, by citing him to appear at Rome and plead his cause, and threatening him with all the thunders of the church if he disobeyed. Cardinal Campegius, on whom he had heaped favours, presents, and promises, and in whose professions he had placed an entire confidence, he was now convinced, had deceived him from first to last; and he strongly suspected that his own great favourite Wolsey, who had been raised by him from the dust, honoured with his warmest friendship for many years, and loaded with dignities and riches, had joined in the deceit. His queen, by her invincible opposition to his will, her affectation of popularity, and her joy at the avocation of his cause, had increased his dislike to disgust, if not to hatred; and yet he saw no way of procuring a divorce from her, or of obtaining the lady he loved. In this situation he formed various projects; but as none of them promised success, they were all relinquished.

The king of France having lost all hopes of recovering his two sons from the emperor by the force of his arms, which had been unfortunate, had for some time past been negotiating a peace with that prince, and the negotiation had been managed by two female politicians, Margaret governess of the Low Countries, the emperor's aunt, and Louisa of Savoy, the king's mother. These two singular plenipotentiaries, after many conferences, concluded a perpetual peace between the two monarchs at Cambray, August 5th, A. D. 1529. By this peace four articles of the treaty of Madrid were a little mitigated. In particular, the emperor agreed to accept of two millions of crowns instead of Burgundy, as a ransom for the two French princes. The allies of both parties were comprehended in this peace, and among others the king of England, who acceded to it, though no attention had been paid to his interest in the negotiation. On this occasion Henry behaved with great generosity to his unfortunate ally the king of France. To enable him to pay the great ransom for his sons, he assigned to him a debt of 290,000 crowns due by the emperor, and made him a present of a jewel called the *fleur de lys*,

A.D. 1529. *de lys*, which the emperor's father had pledged to Henry VII. for 50,000 crowns*.

Doctor
Cranmer's
advice.

As the king returned from his progress, the court remained one night at Waltham, and Doctor Gardiner and Doctor Fox, the king's secretary and almoner, were lodged in the house of one Mr. Cressy, with whom Doctor Thomas Cranmer of Cambridge, (who will be often mentioned,) then resided. After supper, the conversation, as usual, turned on the king's divorce. The two courtiers desired to know Doctor Cranmer's sentiments on that subject, and what he thought should be done in the present state of that business. He at first declined to give his opinion on so high a matter. But being warmly pressed, he said, that rather than spend any more time in fruitless solicitations at Rome, he thought it would be better to propose this plain question to the most learned men and chief universities in Europe—"Do the laws of God permit a man to marry his brother's widow?" If their answers were in the negative, as he imagined they would be, the pope would not dare to pronounce a sentence in opposition to the sentiments of all these learned men and learned bodies. When the court returned to Greenwich, the secretary and almoner waited upon the king, and communicated the hint suggested by Cranmer, with which he was mightily pleased; and having ordered him to be sent for, he was no less pleased with his appearance and conversation. He immediately retained him in his service, placed him in the family of Sir Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, father of lady Ann Boleyn, and engaged him to write a book in favour of the divorce, and afterwards employed him in the execution of his own scheme†.

Fall of
cardinal
Wolsey.

Cardinal Wolsey, who had so long enjoyed the unbounded confidence and favour of his sovereign, now saw the clouds gathering around him, and began to dread a storm; but it proved more sudden and more severe than he apprehended. By the whispers of the courtiers, and particularly of lady Ann Boleyn, the king's displeasure against him was daily more and more inflamed, and a design was formed to bring him down

* Herbert, p. 131—134.

† Burnet, 79, 80. Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 4, 5.

from the towering height to which he had ascended. A.D. 1529.
 The cardinal, on the first day of the term, October 9th, rode with his usual pomp to Westminster to open his court of chancery; and on the same day the king's attorney presented an indictment against him in the king's-bench, on the statute of provisors, 16 Richard II. for procuring a bull from Rome appointing him *legatus a latere*, contrary to the statute, by which he had incurred a *præmunire*, and forfeited all his goods, and even his liberty, to the king †. A few days after this, Henry sent the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk to the cardinal to demand the great-seal, which he refused to deliver on a verbal message; but when they afterwards produced a written order, he obeyed, and put the seal into their hands, October 17th, which the king delivered to Sir Thomas More on the 25th of the same month †. The two dukes, at the same time that they received the great-seal from the cardinal, delivered to him a very unpleasant message from the king, commanding him to remove from his palace in Westminster, called York-place, (afterwards Whitehall,) and go to Ashur, a house near Hampton-court belonging to his bishopric of Winchester, to which he had lately been advanced §.

These severe and heavy blows following one another so quickly, seem to have stunned the unhappy cardinal, and deprived him of that fortitude of which he stood so much in need. He was astonished, and not without reason, that the king's friendship for him, which had been so warm and of such long duration, had vanished in a moment, and had been succeeded by so violent an animosity as these proceedings indicated. He knew the king's temper too well to imagine that any opposition he could make would answer any good purpose, and therefore resolved to make none. But before he left York-place, he ordered an exact inventory to be taken of all the furniture, plate, &c. in that palace, of which the following is a short description, given by one who had assisted in taking that inventory: "In his gallery were set divers
 " tables, upon which were laid divers and great stores of
 " rich stuffs; as whole pieces of silk of all colours, vel-
 " vets, sattins, mufts, taffaties, grograms, scarlets, and

* Herbert, p. 124. Fiddes' Life of Wolsey, p. 496.
 Rym. tom. xiv. p. 349 Fiddes, p. 497.

A.D. 1529. “ divers rich commodities. Also there were a thousand
 “ pieces of fine hollands, and the hangings of the gal-
 “ lery with cloth of gold and cloth of silver, and rich
 “ cloth of bodkin of divers colours, which were hang-
 “ ed in expectation of the king’s coming. Also on one
 “ side of the gallery were hanged the rich suits of copes
 “ of his own providing, which were made for the col-
 “ leges of Oxford and Ipswich; they were the richest
 “ that ever I saw in all my life. Then had the two
 “ chambers adjoining to the gallery, the one most com-
 “ monly called the Gilt Chamber, wherein were set two
 “ broad and long tables, whereupon was set such abun-
 “ dance of plate of all sorts, as was almost incredible
 “ to be believed, a great part being all of clear gold;
 “ and upon every table and cupboard where the plate
 “ was set, were books importing every kind of plate,
 “ and every piece, with the contents and weight there-
 “ of*.” In a word, the goods, plate, and furniture of
 that palace were estimated at 500,000 crowns, equiva-
 lent to 500,000*l.* of our money. A striking proof of
 the magnificent spirit, as well as of the immense wealth,
 of this extraordinary man!

When the cardinal had set every thing in order at
 York-place, he took his barge at the privy stairs, fol-
 lowed by a numerous train of attendants, and sailed
 down the river, which was almost covered with boats and
 barges, crowded with the citizens of London, expecting
 to see him carried to the Tower†. They were disap-
 pointed. He landed at Putney, and mounting his mule,
 set out on his journey. But he had not gone far, when
 he was accosted by Mr. Norris, a gentleman of the
 court, with a most gracious message from the king; as-
 suring him that he stood as high as ever in the royal fa-
 vour. This unexpected message threw his spirits into so
 violent an agitation, that, forgetting both his age and
 dignity, he sprung from his mule, fell on his knees in
 the mire, and holding up his hands, uttered some extra-
 vagant expressions of joy and gratitude*. But he soon
 recovered from this unseemly perturbation, and con-
 versed calmly with Mr. Norris, who delivered him a
 ring which the king had been accustomed to send him, as
 a token to give credit to the bearer. It is impossible to dis-

* Cavendish’s Life of Wolsey, p. 79.

† Srowe, p. 547.

cover what induced Henry to send this message; whether it proceeded from some remains of affection, or was a mere artifice to prevent his making any defence in the prosecution commenced against him, on the statute of provisors. The cardinal arrived at Ashur the same evening, and found the house almost quite unfurnished, and very unlike the magnificent mansion he had left *.

The king granted the cardinal, by letters patent, a power to appoint two attornies to appear and answer for him in all courts of justice †. He accordingly constituted John Seuse and Christopher Genney his attornies, who appeared before him, October 28th, and protested in his name, "That he did not know that the impetration of the bulls from Rome was to the contempt and prejudice of the king, or against any statute. As to the particulars wherewith he was charged by master attorney, he confest them all true; and so submitted himself to the king." Upon which the court pronounced this sentence: "That he was out of the protection, and his lands, goods, and chattels forfeit, and his person might be seized ‡." The cardinal might have made a much better, and even effectual defence, by producing the king's letters patent, authorising him to accept the bulls from Rome §. But his knowledge of Henry's violent vindictive temper, and his hopes of being received again into favour, determined him to make no opposition.

A.D. 1529.
The cardinal's goods forfeited.

After a long intermission of seven years, a parliament was now called, which met November 3d. One of the objects of calling this parliament, or at least of those who advised the calling it, seems to have been to complete the ruin of cardinal Wolsey, and effectually prevent his returning again into favour, which his enemies greatly dreaded. With this view, a committee of the House of Lords presented to that house, December 1st, a very long address to the king against the cardinal; accusing him, "That presuming to take upon him the authority of the pope's legate *a latere*, he hath committed notable, high, and grievous offences, as contained in certain articles here following ||." The articles

Parliament.

* Stowe, p. 348. Cavendish, p. 81.

† Rym. tom. xiv. p. 348. ‡ Herbert, p. 125.

§ Cavendish, p. 83.

|| Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 42.

A.D. 1529. were no fewer than forty-four; some of them trifling, some greatly exaggerated, if not untrue, few of them of great importance, and none of them very highly criminal. They are far too long to be here inserted; the following one, which is the sixth, may serve as a specimen:

“Whereas your grace is our sovereign lord and head,
 “in whom standeth all the surety and wealth of this
 “realm, the said lord cardinal, knowing himself to have
 “the foul and contagious disease of the great pox broken
 “out upon him in divers places of his body, came daily
 “to your grace, rowning (whispering) in your ear, and
 “blowing upon your most noble grace with this peril-
 “ous infective breath, to the marvelous danger of your
 “highness, if God of his infinite goodness had not bet-
 “ter provided for your highness. And when he was
 “once heald of them, he made your grace to believe
 “that his disease was an imposthume in his head, and
 “none other thing*.” The last article concludes with
 this requisition: “Please it your royal majesty, there-
 “fore, of your excellent goodness, towards the weale
 “of this your realm, and subjects of the same, to set
 “such order and direction upon the said lord cardinal
 “as may be to the terrible example to others, to beware
 “so to offend your grace and your laws hereafter: and
 “that he be so provided for, that he never have any
 “power, jurisdiction, or authority hereafter, to trou-
 “ble, vex, and impoverish the commonwealth of this
 “your realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the
 “great hurt and damage of every man almost, high
 “and low†.” This address was sent to the House of
 Commons, and their concurrence desired. But there the
 cardinal found a powerful advocate in his own steward,
 the famous Thomas Cromwel, afterwards earl of Essex,
 who, from the very lowest station, rose to the highest
 honours and offices in the state, by the mere force of his
 extraordinary talents and virtues. Being a member of
 the House of Commons, he defended his fallen master
 with such strength of argument and power of eloquence,
 that the address was rejected‡. There is some reason
 to suspect that the king was not so very fond of this ad-
 dress, and did not wish to be precluded from recalling

* Parl. Hist. p. 44.

† Ibid. p. 55.

‡ Cavendish, p. 82.

his former favourite. This much at least is certain, that he was so far from being offended with Mr. Cromwel for defending his unhappy master, that he immediately engaged him in his own service *. A.D. 1529.

This very parliament, about the same time, made an act unspeakably more unjust, oppressive, and cruel, than any thing of which they had accused the cardinal. The king had borrowed great sums of money from a prodigious multitude of his subjects of all ranks, for the repayment of which he had given bonds and other legal securities. The parliament very generously made the king a present of all the money he had borrowed from his subjects, and declared his bonds and securities to be of no value. The king thanked his two houses in the politest terms for their generosity, and graciously accepted their valuable present; while his creditors were left to console with one another, and put up with their losses as well as they could. The preamble to this iniquitous statute is one of the most extravagant pieces of flattery that ever was composed. In it they give a mournful description of the confusion, poverty, distress, and misery of all other nations, and draw a very flattering picture of the riches, and prosperity of England during his grace's reign; never reflecting that only a few days before they had accused cardinal Wolsey of having taken the direction of all affairs, and thereby brought the nation to the very brink of ruin †. None of Wolsey's admirers ever paid him so great a compliment as this parliament, which conspired his ruin. Remarkable statute.

In the mean time the cardinal was very wretched, and unhappy at Ashur. Finding himself unable to support his attendants, he dismissed a great number of them, November 5th; and as he had been a very indulgent master, both he and they shed a flood of tears at parting, and some of the gentlemen who could support themselves refused to leave him ‡. His mind was violently agitated by alternate hopes and fears, occasioned by a succession of kind messages and cruel demands from the king. Sir John Russel was sent in great secrecy from the court at Greenwich, November 6th, with a Distress of the cardinal.

* Herbert, p. 129.

† Rolls of Parliament, A. D. 1529.

‡ Cavendish, p. 81, 82.

A.D. 1529. most comfortable assurance that the king was not really offended with him; and a few days after, judge Shelley came with a command to surrender to the king York-place, which belonged to the see of York. He was greatly shocked at this illegal demand; but after reasoning long with the judge, he at last complied. "Thus," says Cavendish, (his gentleman usher,) "my lord continued at Ashur, receiving daily messages from the court, some good and some bad, but more ill than good*." The design of the cardinal's enemies at court, in procuring so many harsh messages to be sent him, was, as we are told, either to provoke him to do some rash thing that might irritate the king against him, or to throw him into some disease that might occasion his death, which they most earnestly desired. In this last cruel design they nearly succeeded. At Christmas he fell so dangerously ill, that his attendants believed him to be dying †.

1530.
The cardinal's sickness and recovery.

The news of the cardinal's sickness seems to have excited the king's compassion, of which he was not very susceptible. He commanded his physician, Doctor Butts, to go and visit him; who, on his return to court, told the king that he was dangerously ill, and that if he did not receive some comfort from his majesty, he would be a dead man in four days. "God forbid," said Henry, "that he should die; for I would not lose him for 20,000*l*. I pray you go to him, and do your best care of him." The doctor honestly replied, that all his care would signify nothing, if his majesty did not send him a gracious message. The king took a ring from his finger, charged with a ruby, on which his own picture was engraved, commanding the doctor to deliver it to him, and assure him that he was not offended with him in his heart, with many other kind expressions. Lady Anne Boleyn too, at the king's desire, took her tablet of gold that hung at her side, and delivered it to the doctor, with many gentle and loving words. When Doctor Butts delivered these tokens and messages, "The cardinal," says one who was present, "advanced himself in his bed, and received the tokens very joyfully; giving him thanks for his pains and good comfort."

* Cavendish, p. 86.

† Ibid.

From that moment his hopes revived, his disease abated, A.D. 1530.
and in a few days he was out of danger *.

While the cardinal resided at Ashur, he neglected nothing that he thought might contribute to the recovery of the king's favour. His chief reliance seems to have been on the good offices of Doctor Stephen Gardiner, who had formerly been his secretary, and was now secretary to the king. The letters he wrote to that gentleman in this interval, it must be confessed, do him no honour. They plainly discover that he did not possess that firmness and fortitude of mind that became a great man in his circumstances; they betray an excessive fondness for riches, power, and royal favour, and an extreme dejection and abasement of spirit on the loss of them; in a word, they prove that cardinal Wolsey, with all his great talents, was a mere man of the world, who placed his supreme felicity in the smiles of royalty and the sunshine of a court, and when these were taken from him he had nothing left †.

Henry having by this time seized all the cardinal's goods and chattels, the income of his bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices, his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, with all their furniture and revenues, his pensions, his clothes, and even his very tomb, seems to have proposed to carry his prosecution of him no further. He granted him therefore a free pardon, February 12th, A. D. 1530, of all treasons, murders, rapes, and all other crimes and misdemeanors, in the most ample manner that could be devised. Five days after this, February 17th, the king and the cardinal entered into indentures, by which the cardinal surrendered to the king the revenues and patronage of his bishopric of Winchester and abbey of St. Alban's, with all his other rents and pensions at home and abroad; and the king granted to the cardinal the revenues, patronages, lands, and houses of his archbishopric of York, and York-place, with a pension of 1000 marks a year out of the bishopric of Winchester. About the same time the king sent him a present of 3000*l.* in money, and in plate

Cardinal's
dejection.

Favours to
the cardinal.

* Cavendish, p. 87, 88. Grove's Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey, vol. iv. p. 325, 326.

† Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 115, 116. Records, No. xxxi, xxxii.

A.D. 1530. and furniture, &c. to the value of 3374*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* and gave him leave to reside at Richmond*.

The cardinal goes to the north. The cardinal's enemies at court were greatly alarmed at these favours, which had been granted without their knowledge. They were particularly apprehensive of his residing at Richmond, so near the court; and therefore they exerted all their arts to procure an order for his removal to so great distance as might prevent his having an interview with the king, which he desired and they dreaded above all things. They at length prevailed. An order was sent to him, by his friend Mr. Cromwel, to go and reside in his archbishopric of York. This was a severe blow to the cardinal, who still flattered himself, that if he could obtain an audience of the king, he would regain his favour. He therefore intreated Cromwel to procure him leave to reside in his bishopric of Winchester, which was not at so great a distance. But this could not be obtained, and the duke of Norfolk desired Cromwel to tell him, that if he did not get away immediately into the north, he would come and tear him in pieces with his teeth. "Then," said he, "Tom, it is time for me to be gone." And that zealous and faithful friend having got him 1000 marks, and a most gracious message from the king, he set out with one hundred and sixty attendants, a long train of waggons, containing his plate, furniture, &c. and proceeding by easy journies, he arrived at Peterborough, where he celebrated the feast of Easter. He spent the summer and harvest at Southwell and Scrooby-houses, (belonging to his see) which he repaired; and there, by his affability and hospitality, he gained the esteem and love of people of all ranks. About Michaelmas he came to his castle of Cawood, seven miles from York †.

His behaviour here. In this situation the cardinal behaved with decorum and propriety. He received all those who came to visit him with condescension, and treated them hospitably. Here, as he had done at Scrooby, he went to some neighbouring church every Sunday, where he said mass, and one of his chaplains preached. After service he invited the clergy and most respectable parishioners to dinner, and distributed alms to the poor. The clergy of

* Rym. p. 366—376.

† Cavendish, p. 91, 92, 93. Grove, vol. iv. p. 334.

his cathedral he treated in the kindest manner; telling A.D. 1530.
 them he was come to live among them as their friend
 and brother. He could not, however, overcome his
 taste for magnificence; and though he was in want of
 money, he employed three hundred labourers and arti-
 ficers in repairing his castle of Cawood. His hospita-
 lity, popularity, and buildings, were greatly magnified
 and misrepresented to the king, to excite his jealousy.
 Of this his friend Cromwel informed him, and gave him
 many prudent advices, which, if he could have follow-
 ed, his enemies would probably have forgot to fear and
 persecute him. It is said by some historians, that the
 king's design in all he had done against his favourite,
 was to bring him to consent to pronounce the sentence
 of divorce, without regard to the court of Rome; and
 that when he obstinately refused to do it, he resolved to
 ruin him *. But of this I can find no evidence.

The clergy of York, highly pleased with their metro-
 politan, waited upon him in a body, and begged "that
 " he would come to be installed in his cathedral, ac-
 " cording to the custom of his predecessors." To this,
 after taking some time to consider, he consented, on
 condition that it should be done with as little pomp as
 possible; and the Monday after All Saints was appointed
 to be the day of the instalment. As soon as the news
 of this was made public, the noblemen, gentlemen, and
 clergy of the country around sent great quantities of pro-
 visions of all kinds to York, and preparations were made
 for a most magnificent feast. But this solemnity was
 prevented by a very unexpected event †.

On the Friday before the intended instalment, the earl His death.
 of Northumberland, accompanied by Sir Walter Walfsh,
 a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and a number
 of horsemen, arrived at Cawood, took possession of the
 castle, and going up stairs, was met by the cardinal, who
 embraced him, believing he had come to pay him a
 friendly visit. The earl then said, with a faltering
 voice, "I arrest you of high treason." And the cardi-
 nal, in great surprise, after some hesitation, submitted.
 On Sunday the earl set out with his prisoner for the
 earl of Shrewsbury's, steward of the king's household,
 at Sheffield-park, where they were directed to remain

* Grove, vol. iv. p. 334, 339.

† Id. *ibid.*


A.D. 1530. till further orders, and arrived there on the third day, November 9th. The earl, his lady, and family, received the cardinal with every mark of respect, and treated him with the greatest tenderness. Here he remained about two weeks, waiting for orders from court; towards the end of which time he was seized with a flux. At length, Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, arrived, with twenty-four of his guards, to conduct him to London. The earl of Shrewsbury was at great pains to communicate this news to the cardinal so as not to alarm him, and employed Cavendish, who told him he brought him good news, that the king had sent Sir William Kingston to conduct him into his royal presence. "Kingston!" cried the cardinal; and clapping his hand on his thigh, gave a great sigh. The earl then entered, and told him, that he had letters from his friends at court, which assured him that the king had the sincerest friendship for him, and was determined to shew him favour. Sir William Kingston was then introduced, fell on his knees, and refusing to arise from that posture delivered the king's commendations to his grace, assured him of his royal favour, and said, that his majesty had commanded him to obey him in all things. The cardinal, who perfectly understood the court language, replied, "I know what is designed for me; I thank you, Sir, for your good news; I am a diseased man, but I will prepare to ride with you to-morrow." On the third evening he reached Leicester-abbey, where he was received by the monks with lighted torches, to whom he said, "I am come, my brethren, to lay my bones amongst you." Being lifted from his mule and carried up stairs, he was put to bed, where, after languishing two days, he expired, November 29, A. D. 1530, in the sixtieth year of his age. In his last conversation with Sir William Kingston, among other things, he said, "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Let me advise you to take heed what you put in the king's head, for you can never put it out again. I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together

“ther to perswade him from his will and appetite, but A. D. 1530.
 “could not prevail †.”

Thomas Wolsey rose from an humble station to greater His character.
 wealth and power than any British subject ever attained. His revenues, it is said, were equal to those of the crown. For almost twenty years he not only directed all the affairs of England in church and state, but had also very great influence in all the affairs of Europe. He was courted, preferred, and pensioned by the emperor, the king of France, and several other princes; flattered by divines, historians, and poets, in strains approaching to blasphemy; and served by lords, knights, and gentlemen of the first rank, who bore offices in his family. His revenues he never hoarded, but expended in building noble palaces, magnificent colleges, in promoting arts and learning, and in supporting a princely establishment. This power I will not say he never abused; but few ministers have possessed so much power for so great a length of time, and abused it less. England, during his administration, was the umpire of Europe. His abilities were certainly great, his diligence indefatigable, and he must have something peculiarly agreeable and captivating in his address, who so suddenly gained, and so long preserved the affection of so capricious, so impetuous, and so fickle a prince as Henry VIII. His morals were far from being suitable to his clerical character and high station in the church. His spirits fell with his fortunes, and he never could subdue his passion for pomp and power, or relinquish his hopes of royal favour, which he solicited in such an abject manner as degraded and sunk his character. His fall was fortunate to his country in one respect, as it removed one of the strongest props of the papal power, which soon after fell to the ground in England.

During the whole of this year, 1530, Henry was Decrees of universities.
 employed in prosecuting the plan suggested by Doctor Cranmer, and collecting the opinions of universities and learned men, at home and abroad, in favour of his divorce. In this service a considerable number of the most intelligent and active men in England were engaged; and they were so successful, that in the course of this year they obtained decrees of ten of the most fa-

* Cavendish, chap. 19, 20.

A.D. 1530.  mous universities in Europe against the legality of the king's marriage; viz. of Oxford and Cambridge in England; of Paris, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, and Thoulouse, in France; and of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, in Italy *. They prevailed also on several men of learning to publish books in favour of the divorce, and procured the written opinions of many doctors of the civil and canon law to the same purpose †. Henry's agents in Switzerland and Germany were no less active and successful. They applied to the protestants as well as papists, and both, in general, declared for the divorce. All these decrees, books, and opinions, procured with much difficulty and labour, and at no small expence, were transmitted to England.

Applicati-
on to
Rome.

No prince in Europe was a greater admirer of the unlimited power of the pope than Henry VIII.: he had written in defence of it; and though he was greatly displeased with Clement VII. he could not think of contradicting his own writings, by withdrawing his obedience to the holy see. He resolved therefore to make some further attempts at the court of Rome. By his influence, a considerable number of great men, both of the clergy and the laity, sent a most humble and earnest address to the pope, dated July 13th. In this address they beseech and conjure his holiness, in the most pathetic language, to do justice to their distressed and injured sovereign, by pronouncing the sentence of the divorce, which all the most famous universities and most learned men in England, France, and Italy had declared to be just and necessary; intimating, in very plain terms, that, if he refused to do this, they would find a remedy in another way. This address was signed by two archbishops, four bishops, two dukes, two marquisses, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven knights and doctors ‡. The king commanded his ambassadors, the Earl of Wiltshire and Doctor Cranmer, who were at Bononia, where both the emperor and pope resided, to second and enforce the address. The ambassadors acted their part with great zeal and ability; and the pope returned an artful and smooth answer, which gave no satisfaction §. Doctor Cranmer boldly challenged all the

* Rym tom. xiv. p. 390—400. Burnet, vol. i. p. 85—65. † Ibid.

‡ Parliament Hist. vol. iii. p. 68—73.

§ Ibid 75—79.

learned men of the papal court to a dispute on the question of the king's marriage, but none of them chose to accept the challenge *. Henry was so much pleased with this, and with the report made of him by the earl of Wiltshire, that he appointed him his sole ambassador to the emperor; and the pope, as a mark of his respect, and to please the king, made him his plenipotentiary for England †.

Henry now despairing of any success at the court of Rome, brought the great affair of the divorce before his parliament, which met January 7th, A.D. 1531. On the 30th of March, the lord chancellor, attended by twelve peers, came to the house of commons, and made a speech, explaining the king's motives for desiring a divorce from his queen; and then produced a box, containing the decrees of universities, and the books and opinions of learned men on that subject. Sir Bryan Tuke opened the box, and took out twelve writings sealed, the decrees of twelve universities, which he read, translated into English. There were, besides, above one hundred books and writings, which there was not time to read. The chancellor then said, "Now you in this house may report in your countries what you have seen and heard; and then all men shall openly perceive that the king hath not attempted this matter of will or pleasure, as some strangers report, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and surety of the succession of this realm. This is the cause of our report hither to you, and now we will depart ‡."

1531.
Parliament.

Still further to inform his subjects, and secure their attachment, Henry caused several small books, on the unlawfulness of his marriage, to be printed, published, and distributed in all parts of the kingdom. The queen's party, which was not inconsiderable, imitated this example, and wrote, and circulated, several treatises on the other side of the question. The divorce now appeared important and interesting to every subject, and there were very few who did not engage warmly in the contest. The men of all ranks were in general (as we are told by a contemporary historian) on the king's side, and the women on the queen's §.

Books on
the divorce.

* Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. p. 9.

† Ibid. ‡ Hall, f. 195. &c.

§ Hall, f. 195. Burner, vol. i. p. 97—105.

A.D. 1531.

The queen
inflexible.

The king sent several lords of his privy council to the queen at Greenwich, May the 31st, to communicate to her the decrees of the universities, and the opinions of learned men, on the unlawfulness of their marriage, and to persuade her to quiet the king's conscience, by consenting to the divorce. "I pray God, (said she,) send his grace a quiet conscience, and this shall be your answer: that I say I am his lawful wife, and to him lawfully married; and by the order of the holy church I was to him espoused as his trew wife, although I was not so worthy; and by that point I will abide, till the court of Rome, which was privy to the beginning, have made thereof a determination and final ending *. The king was so much irritated at this answer, that he never saw the queen after.

Alliances.

As Henry had been at great pains to satisfy his own mind, and to convince his subjects of the unlawfulness of his marriage, and the necessity of a divorce to prevent a disputed succession, he was at no less pains to increase the number and secure the attachment of his allies, especially those who were not friendly to his two great opponents, the pope and the emperor. In particular he cultivated the friendship of the king of France with the greatest diligence, and laboured, by many good offices, to engage him warmly in his cause. Doctor Cranmer, the king's ambassador to the emperor, now in Germany, was very active in procuring the opinions of learned men for the divorce, and in conveying hints to the protestant princes, that they might hope for assistance from the king of England against the emperor †.

1532.

The clergy
humbled.

As the greatest opposition to the divorce in England was expected from the clergy, the king found it necessary to humble them, by diminishing both their wealth and power. The whole clergy of England were involved in a præmunire, and put out of the king's protection, for submitting to the legantine power of cardinal Wolsey. Those of the province of Canterbury redeemed their persons and goods this year, by paying the king 100,000*l.*; and those of the province of York 18,000*l.* ‡. In the deed by which they granted this money to the king, they were brought to acknowledge

* Hall, f. 200.

† Memorials of Cranmer, b. i. ch. 3.

‡ Burnet, p. 105—111.

him to be the supreme head of the church of England, A.D. 1532.
 which gave him much more authority over them than he or his predecessors had before possessed. The laity of all ranks, who had long been fleeced and oppressed by their spiritual guides, discovered great satisfaction with these transactions; and the clergy seeing themselves no longer protected by the pope or supported by the people, were obliged to submit. Henry not only humbled his own clergy, but he showed the pope, that he had it in his power either to deprive him of all the revenues he derived from England, or to continue these revenues as he pleased. The parliament made an act, prohibiting the payment of the first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics to the pope, and gave the king a power to suspend the whole or any part of that act, or to confirm it by his letters patent. This act was communicated to the court of Rome; but as it did not produce the desired effect, it was confirmed by letters patent the year after, July 9th *.

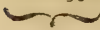
Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, perceiving that things tended to a total breach with the church of Rome, Sir T. More resigns.
 to which he was much attached, resigned his high office, May the 16th; and on the fourth day after, the king delivered the great seal to Sir Thomas Audley, speaker of the House of Commons †.

The kings of England and France concluded a treaty of more intimate alliance at London, June the 23d, in which they stipulated to assist one another with a certain number of forces, in case the emperor made war upon either of them ‡. Still further to increase the mutual friendship of the two monarchs, a personal interview, between Calais and Boulogn, was proposed and agreed upon, for which great preparations were made in both kingdoms. Francis intreated Henry to bring lady Ann Boleyn with him to the interview, to which he consented; and that she might appear there with greater dignity, he created her marchioness of Pembroke, and made her a grant of 1000*l.* a-year in land, September 1st. About the same time he sent letters to many prelates, noblemen, and gentlemen, to meet him in their

* Burnet, p. 106.—III. Records, No. xli. Rolls of Parliament, 23 Hen. VIII.

† Rym. tom. xiv. p. 431.

‡ Ibid. p. 435.

A.D. 1532.  best array, at Canterbury, September 26th, to attend him to the continent; and with a numerous and splendid train he embarked at Dover, October 11th, and landed at Calais the same forenoon. The two kings met in a valley near the marches, October 21st, and proceeded to Boulogn, where Francis entertained the king and court of England in the most magnificent manner four days, and on the fifth the two kings, with their attendants, set out for Calais, where Henry entertained the king and court of France, with equal magnificence, the same number of days. At one of the disguisings, (as they were called) the marchioness of Pembroke danced with the king of France without her masque, and displayed the charms of her person to great advantage *. After the dance he entered into conversation with her, presented her with a valuable jewel, and assured her that he would exert all his power and influence to accelerate the divorce, and her elevation to the throne †. Henry attended his royal guest, October 30th, to the same place where they had met, and there they took leave of one another with the strongest professions of sincere and inviolable friendship. Being detained by storms and contrary winds at Calais, the king and his suite did not land at Dover till November 14th.

Objects of
the inter-
view.

The two kings had published, with great ostentation, that the design of their interview was, to concert measures for raising a powerful army for a joint expedition against the Turks, who had invaded Hungary, and threatened Italy. In this, however, they were not believed, and certainly were not sincere. Their real intention was to alarm the emperor and the pope, that the former might no longer oppose, and that the latter might be induced to grant Henry's divorce, and to give Francis permission to tax his clergy, which he had refused. Henry, it is said, endeavoured to persuade Francis to assume the supremacy of the Gallican church, by which he would acquire a great accession both of wealth and power; but Francis rather inclined to gain the pope than to withdraw from his obedience, and was then negotiating an interview with his holiness, who was discontented with the emperor, and wished to prevail upon

* Hall, f. 106—110.

† Garnier, Hist. de France, tom. xxix. p. 459—471.

Henry to come to that interview. In a word, the views ^{A.D. 1532.} of the two monarchs did not exactly coincide, which counteracted their friendly dispositions, and rendered their meeting of little or no effect*.

The king of France, it is said, at the interview, encouraged Henry to marry the marchioness of Pembroke, who had been so long the object of his love, without delay. However that may be, it seems to be certain that the marriage was celebrated in great privacy some time in the month of November, soon after the return of the court from Calais. Doctor Rowland Lee officiated; the duke of Norfolk, the father, mother, and brother of the royal bride, were the only witnesses. Though Doctor Cranmer had about that time returned from Germany, and stood high in the king's favour, he knew nothing of this marriage till about two weeks after. If he had been consulted, it is probable he would have advised to delay it till after the divorce. The ground on which Henry now proceeded to it was this, that as the most famous universities and most learned men in Europe had declared that his former marriage had been unlawful, null, and void from the beginning, he was as much at liberty to marry as if he had never been married†. This might be sufficient to satisfy his own mind, but was not sufficient to stop the mouths of others, or to prevent a prodigious clamour, when the marriage was made public.


William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, having died in August 1532, the king determined to raise Doctor Cranmer to that high station, and sent his commands to him to return immediately into England. When Henry communicated his intention to him on his arrival, he earnestly intreated to be excused; and in this we have good reason to believe he was sincere. He had married a lady in Germany, and had brought her privately into England. He had imbibed the principles of the reformation, and had great scruples about taking the oath of canonical obedience to the pope; and he knew, that though Henry had quarrelled with the pope about the divorce, he was still firmly attached to the tenets of popery. In a word, he foresaw many dangers and dif-

The king's marriage.

1533.
Cranmer made archbishop.

* Garnier, Hist. de France, tom. xxiv. p. 459—471.

† Hall, f. 209. Burnet, p. 126.

A.D. 1533.  faculties from the imperious spirit of the king, and the critical state of affairs. But as Henry would admit of no excuse, he complied, and was consecrated, March 13th, by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph *.

Sentence of divorce.

One of Cranmer's first cares after his advancement to the primacy, was to put an end to the long contested question of the divorce. With this view, he wrote a letter to the king, April 11th, humbly beseeching him to grant a commission to him, as primate of all England, to try that cause, and pronounce a definitive sentence. In consequence of this requisition, the king gave him a commission, "to proceed in the said cause, and to the examination and final determination of the same †." The archbishop, attended by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many divines and canonists, opened his court, May 10th, in the monastery of St. Peter at Dunstable, within six miles of Ampthill, where the queen resided. To this court both the king and queen had been summoned. The king appeared by proxy, but the queen made no compearance; and after two other citations, she was declared contumacious. All the evidences that had been taken in the former trial, the determinations of the convocations of Canterbury and York, the decrees of universities, and the opinions of learned men, were laid before the court. These were read and considered at two subsequent meetings, and at last, May 23d, the archbishop, with the consent of all his assessors, pronounced a sentence of divorce, dissolving the marriage which had so long subsisted between the king and queen, and declaring that it had been null and void from the beginning ‡. In a court held at Lambeth, May 28th, the primate pronounced judgment on the king's marriage with the marchioness of Pembroke, declaring it to be good and valid §. The queen was crowned at Westminster, June 1st, with extraordinary pomp ¶.

The pope reverses the divorce.

Henry, sensible of the boldness of the steps he had lately taken, directed his ambassadors every where, and particularly at the imperial court, to take all possible

* Burnet, p. 128. † Collier, vol. ii. Records, No xxiv.

‡ Wilkin, Concil. tom. iii. p. 757—760. Rym. p. 462.

§ Burnet, p. 11. Records, No. xlvii. ¶ Hall, f. 212—217.

pains to vindicate him, by explaining the motives of his conduct. In those courts that were little interested these explanations were well received; but the emperor answered dryly, "that he would consult with his council what was proper to be done." The news of the late transactions in England excited the most violent commotions in the court of Rome. The cardinals of the imperial party pressed the pope to avenge the insults that had been offered to his rights and dignity, by launching the loudest thunders of the church against the king and the primate, for presuming to determine a cause that was depending before his holiness. But the pope was restrained by his policy from complying with their requests and his own passions. The king of France, in order to gain the pope to his party, had proposed a marriage between Henry duke of Orleans, his second son, and Katharine de Medicis, niece to his holiness. Clement, who is well known to have had the aggrandizement of his family more at heart than the honour of the holy see, dared not to offend Francis, by treating the king of England, his most powerful ally, with severity, for fear of breaking off the proposed match. The pope therefore proceeded no further at this time, than to reverse the sentence of divorce pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, and to threaten the king with excommunication if he did not restore things to their former state before September next *.

The king endeavoured at this time to prevail upon the former queen to submit to the sentence of divorce. With this view he sent the lord Mountjoy to intimate the sentence to her, and to acquaint her that she was thenceforward to enjoy only the title and revenues of princess dowager of Wales. He was authorised to employ both threats and promises, of which he was not sparing. In particular, he promised, that if she complied with the king's will, her daughter would be put next in the succession to the issue of the present queen; and if she did not comply, she would be excluded. But nothing could prevail. The unhappy degraded queen still maintained that she was the king's only lawful wife, and that she would retain that character till she was deprived of it by the pope, before whom the cause was depending.

Queen Catherine inflexible.

* Burnet, p. 133.

A.D. 1533. This firmness, which was called obstinacy, drew some harsh treatment upon her, which was cruel and ungenerous *.

Embassy.

There was nothing Henry more earnestly desired, than to carry the king of France along with him in his quarrel with the court of Rome. He was far from being pleased, therefore, with the news of an intended interview between that prince and the pope. To prevent this, if possible, he sent a splendid embassy to France, consisting of the duke of Norfolk, lord Rochford, Sir William Pawlett, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Francis Bryan, who were instructed to dissuade Francis from the interview, or at least to prevail upon him to delay it, till the pope had done their master the king of England justice in the affair of the divorce. The ambassadors came up with the king and court of France on their way to Marseilles, July 1st, and having delivered their message, Francis answered, That he was too far advanced to break or put off the interview, but that he would take the same care of his master's interests as of his own, and pressed them to accompany him, and assist at the negotiations. Lord Rochford returned to England for instructions, and Henry recalled his ambassadors; but at the earnest intreaty of Francis he sent the bishop of Winchester, Sir John Wallop, and Doctor Bonner, to Marseilles, to be present at the interview †. With his ambassadors he recalled his natural son the duke of Richmond, who had been about a year at the court of France.

The pope made his public entry into Marseilles with great pomp in the beginning of October, and soon after had the pleasure to marry his niece, the famous Katharine de Medicis, to Henry duke of Orleans; and she became the consort of one, and the mother of three successive kings of France. On this favourable occasion, Francis was far from neglecting the concerns of his ally the king of England; and he at length prevailed upon the pope to promise, that if Henry would send a proxy to Rome, he would judge his cause in consistory, from which he would exclude the cardinals of the imperial party. But the English ambassadors, knowing that their master would not submit to send a proxy, were not sa-

* Burnet, p. 132.

† Herbert, p. 168, 169.

tified; and they directed Doctor Bonner to procure admittance to the pope, and make the appeal he had been commissioned to make, under their direction. Bonner was a bold and forward man, ready to do any thing to procure promotion. With some difficulty he got access to his holiness, November 11th; and after a short apology, briskly told him, that he was appointed by his sovereign, the king of England, to appeal from him to the next general council, produced the appeal, and required it to be read. The reading of this instrument, which was long, and contained many severe expressions, greatly irritated the pope, who could not help discovering his anger both by his words and gestures. At the conclusion he told Bonner, he would consult the consistory, and would give him an answer next day. The answer was, That the appeal was illegal, and merited no regard *. The pope set out for Rome a few days after, very ill pleased with the great champion of the church and defender of the faith.

Francis was exceedingly chagrined at the unfortunate turn this affair had taken, and determined to make another effort to prevent a total and final breach between his two allies. With this view he immediately dispatched John de Bellay, bishop of Paris, to London, to endeavour to persuade Henry to make some advances towards a reconciliation with the pope. That prelate executed his commission with great zeal. After several conferences he brought Henry to consent, that if the pope would supersede passing sentence against him, he would supersede withdrawing from the obedience of the holy see, till impartial judges had examined his cause. He refused, however, to give this proposal in writing, till he knew that it would be accepted. Though it was now in the depth of winter, the bishop took a journey to Rome, where he arrived before any decisive step had been taken. He laid the king's proposal before the pope and cardinals, by whom it was accepted, on this condition, That an authentic instrument of it, together with full powers to some person to appear and act in the king's name, should be produced on or before a certain day fixed, most probably the 20th of March. The courier did not

A.D. 1533.

1534.
The pope pronounces the king's first marriage good.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 134. vol. iii. p. 86—99. Records, No. xxiii.

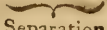
A.D. 1534. arrive at the appointed day. The consistory met, March 23d, at which the pope and twenty-six cardinals were present. The cardinals of the imperial party complained that they had been abused and deceived, and insisted with great vehemence on proceeding immediately to pronounce a final sentence. The bishop of Paris pleaded earnestly for a delay of only six days, in favour of a prince who had done so much for the church of Rome, and had waited patiently no less than six years. He represented, that the courier might have been retarded by contrary winds, the overflowing of rivers, or other accidents; and assured them, that he would certainly arrive in a few days. The pope was irresolute, the majority were for proceeding; and neglecting several forms which would have required three consistories at least, they pronounced a sentence, declaring the marriage of Henry and Queen Catherine good and valid, and the issue of it legitimate. All the imperialists in Rome were transported with joy, which they expressed by firing cannons, by lighting up bonfires, and crying in the streets, ‘The Emperor and Spain,’ as if they had obtained a great victory; while the friends of France and England were overwhelmed with astonishment and despair. Two days after, the courier arrived with every thing that was desired or expected. The pope and cardinals then saw the grievous error they had committed, which they would gladly have repaired. But it was irreparable. The sentence had been pronounced with too much solemnity, and made too public, to be reversed*.

Reflection. There are few passages in our history more worthy of attention than this event. Both Henry and the pope sincerely wished for a reconciliation; all who desired it thought it certain, and all who feared it, believed it to be unavoidable; and yet the court of Rome, whose interest was so deeply concerned, by one false precipitate step rendered it impracticable. Those who believe in an over-ruling providence, and think the reformation of religion hath been a blessing to England, will gratefully acknowledge its influence on this occasion. This great revolution was brought about by those who were its greatest enemies.

* *Memoires de Bellay*, tom. ii. p. 390–394. Burnet, vol. i. p. 135. vol. iii. p. 86–99.

Though

Though Henry had entertained hopes of a reconciliation with the court of Rome, and was both surprised and enraged at the sentence pronounced against him, he was not unprepared for this unexpected rupture. He had very wisely carried the parliament, the convocation, and the great body of his subjects along with him in every step he had taken in his contest with the court of Rome, and they were all now ripe for a total breach with that court. In a session of parliament that commenced, January 15th, A. D. 1534, several acts were made, which greatly diminished, or rather quite annihilated, the power and revenues of the pope in England. The act against paying first-fruits to the pope was confirmed, with great additions, regulating how archbishops and bishops were to be chosen and consecrated, without making any application to, or receiving any bulls from Rome*. By another act, all appeals to Rome were prohibited†. By a third, the payment of Peter-pence, and all payments to the apostolic chamber for dispensations and other writings, were discharged‡. By these laws, great sums of money were annually lost to Rome and saved to England, and the English were delivered from much vexation and trouble, as well as expence, in prosecuting their causes in a foreign court, and in procuring from thence dispensations, pardons, and a prodigious variety of other writings. In the same session of parliament an act was made, confirming the king's divorce from Queen Catherine, and his marriage with Queen Anne, and settling the succession to the crown on his issue male by his present or any future queen; and failing them, on the princess Elizabeth, (of whom Queen Anne had been delivered, September 7th, A. D. 1533,) who about twenty-five years after mounted the throne of England§. In the next session of his parliament, which commenced November 3d, the supremacy of the church of England, with all its rights and emoluments, were annexed to the crown, which completed the separation of the kingdom of England from the church and court of Rome||. A separation which hath been of unspeakable advantage to the former, and of

A. D. 1534.

 Separation
 of Eng-
 land from
 Rome.

* Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.

† Ibid. c. 19.

‡ Ibid. c. 21.

§ Ibid. c. 22.

|| Ibid. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

A.D. 1534. no inconsiderable loss to the latter. By another act, the parliament granted the king and his successors, as supreme heads of the church, not only the first fruits that had been formerly paid to the pope, but also a tenth of the annual revenue of all ecclesiastical benefices, both regular and secular *.

Maid of
Kent.

In that session of this parliament which met in January, that famous impostor commonly called the Holy Maid of Kent, who had made a mighty noise by her pretended revelations for two years past, was found guilty of high treason, with six of her accomplices. This young woman, whose name was Elizabeth Barton, was subject to hysterical fits, in which she uttered many strange incoherent expressions. Richard Masters, parson of the parish of Aldington, in which she lived, taught her to counterfeit trances, and instructed her what to say in these trances, and to affirm that these things were revealed to her by the Holy Ghost. Her pretended prophecies were published by Masters, Doctor Bocking, a canon of Canterbury, and others, who were admitted into the plot, and by such as were deceived. One Deering, a monk, published a book of her revelations and prophecies, which all tended to exalt the power of the pope and clergy, and to denounce the vengeance of Heaven on all who disobeyed them. In particular, she declared, that if the king divorced Queen Catherine and married another wife, he should not be king a month longer, but should die a villain's death. The monks and some of the secular clergy made the pulpits ring with these dangerous predictions, which made the king to command Barton, Bocking, Masters, Deering, and other six of her most active accomplices, to be seized. They were examined in the Star-chamber, confessed the whole plot, and were ordered to read their confessions the next Sunday at Paul's Cross immediately after sermon. They were then committed to the Tower, where they were tampered with to deny their former confessions. This induced the king to lay the affair before his parliament, and Barton, with six of the chief conspirators, were attainted of high treason, and soon after executed. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, with five others, were found guilty of misprision of treason, their persons imprisoned, and

* Statutes, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 2.

their goods confiscated. Sir Thomas More was in danger of the same fate, but was preserved from being accused, by the influence of archbishop Cranmer and secretary Cromwell *. The discovery of this infamous attempt to impose upon the nation, brought a great load of odium upon the monks, by whom it had been contrived and abetted, and made them meet with less pity in the distress in which they were soon after involved. A.D. 1534.

To secure the submission of all the people to the act of succession, all the members of both houses took an oath, on the last day of the session, March 30th, "that they shall truly, firmly, and constantly, without fraud or guile, observe, fulfil, maintain, defend, and keep, to their cunning, wit, and uttermost of their powers, the whole effects and contents of this present act †." A schedule containing the subscriptions of all the members was annexed to the act, and all the subjects of lawful age were appointed to take a similar oath when required; and all who refused to take it were to be deemed guilty of misprision of treason. Commissioners were immediately appointed to administer this oath in all parts of the kingdom, and it was generally taken, both by the clergy and laity; though by many of the former with much reluctance ‡. But two persons of great reputation for their piety, virtue, and learning, bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, refused to take it; and as it was apprehended that their example would influence others, great endeavours were used to overcome their scruples. They were not unwilling to take that part of the oath which related to the succession, but refused to take the other part of it, which expressed an approbation of the king's divorce, and second marriage; and persisting in this refusal, they were both committed to the Tower of London in April, and very harshly treated in their confinement §. In that session of parliament which began on November 3d, they were not only excepted in an act of grace that then passed, but were attainted of misprision of treason, and all their estates, rents, and goods confiscated ||. The humane archbishop Cranmer, after

Fisher and
More im-
prisoned.

* Burnet, p 149—154.

† 24 Hen. VIII. c. 22.

‡ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 487—528.

§ Burnet, vol. i. p. 155, 156.

|| Rolls of Parliament, 26 Henry VII.

A.D. 1534. he had laboured earnestly to bring these two eminent persons to comply and take the oath, laboured with no less earnestness to save them from these sufferings, but in vain. The king determined to crush all opposition*.

Laws.

By one act of the session of parliament in November, the papal power was totally abolished, the king's title of supreme head on earth of the church of England was recognized and annexed to the crown, and it was declared, "that the king, his heirs and successors, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner spiritual jurisdiction or authority ought or may lawfully be reformed," &c. † By another act it was declared to be high treason to deny or dispute any of the king's dignities or titles‡. This law was designed to secure the king's new title of supreme head of the church, and to punish any who dare to impugn it; and it was soon applied to that purpose. By the last act of this session, the parliament granted the king a tenth and fifteenth, to be paid in three years §.

1535.
New title.

Henry assumed the new title of supreme head on earth of the church of England in great state, in the presence of the whole court, January 15, A. D. 1535, and commanded that it should be added to his other titles in all courts, deeds, and writings ||. This was far from being an empty title, but brought him a great accession both of power and revenue, and he availed himself of it to its utmost extent, and maintained it with so much jealousy, that he spared none who called it in question.

Fisher and
More be-
headed.

Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were still prisoners in the Tower, in consequence of their having been attainted of misprision of treason. The king was irritated against them for their opposition to his divorce and second marriage, and for their correspondence with the Maid of Kent. He knew their attachment to the court of Rome, and that all his subjects who were zealous for the continuance of the papal power, had fixed their eyes upon them as patterns proper for their imita-

* Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 28.

† 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

§ Rolls, 26. Hen. VIII.

‡ Ibid. c. 13.

|| Rym. tom. xiv. p. 549.

tion. He determined therefore to make them acknowledge his supremacy, or to make them suffer, that none who opposed it might expect impunity. The two prisoners, sensible of their danger, declined giving any opinion of the king's supremacy, and avoided as much as possible all conversation on that subject. But it was often introduced by those who visited them, with a design to discover their sentiments; and in spite of all their caution, they sometimes dropped expressions, which sufficiently indicated their disapprobation of the supremacy. These expressions were carefully remembered, and produced in evidence against them. Richard Rich, the king's solicitor, is said to have used many infamous arts to betray them into a discovery of their sentiments, and afterwards became the principal witness against them on their trial. Pope Pius III. who succeeded Clement the VII. knowing that Bishop Fisher's sufferings were owing to his attachment to the see of Rome, in order to reward his zeal, and encourage him to perseverance, created him a cardinal; imagining that Henry would not dare to proceed to extremity against a member of the sacred college. But in this infallibility he was mistaken. The bishop was brought to his trial, June 17th, and being found guilty of high treason for denying the king's supremacy, he was beheaded the 22d of June, in the eightieth year of his age. Ten days after, his friend Sir Thomas More was tried for the same offence, and being found guilty, was beheaded July 6th, in his fifty-third year. His pleasant facetious humour did not forsake him in his last moments: "Assist me," said he to a friend, when he was mounting the scaffold, "and let me shift for myself to get down." The executioner asking his forgiveness, he granted it, and told him with a smile, "you will get no credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." After he had laid his head on the block, he called to the executioner to stop a little till he had put his beard aside, "for that," said he, "hath committed no treason*." These two illustrious sufferers would have been more generally lamented, if they had not been such cruel persecutors when they were in power. Sir Thomas More, in particular, abandoned the just and liberal ideas of toleration he had published in his *Utopia*,

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 354, &c. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 200.

A.D. 1535 and became ardent in the pursuit, and unrelenting in the punishment of heretics, as the favourers of the reformation were then called. But such, at the same time, was his fondness for wit, that on some occasions it overpowered his persecuting zeal. A heretic, named Silver, being brought before him, he said, "Silver, you must be tried by fire." "Yes," replied the prisoner; "but you know, my lord, that quicksilver cannot abide the fire." He was so pleased with this repartee, (which in these circumstances discovered great presence of mind,) that he set the man at liberty*.

The pope
displeased.

The news of cardinal Fisher's execution excited a prodigious flame in Rome, and all the ill names recorded in history were bestowed on Henry. The pope was so much enraged, that he ordered a great number of bulls to be prepared against him: by one, he and all his accomplices were to be summoned to appear at Rome in ninety days, to answer for their conduct; by another the king and all his ministers were excommunicated; by a third, his subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance; by another, the kingdom was laid under an interdict, &c. † But finding no Catholic prince, at that time, who had leisure, inclination, and power to render these bulls effectual, by dethroning the excommunicated king, and seizing his dominions, he prudently suppressed them.

The king's
precau-
tion.

Henry having received intelligence of the pope's resentment and designs, took the most prudent precautions to prevent their success. He instructed his ambassadors in the courts of France, Germany, and Scotland, how to vindicate his conduct, in withdrawing his obedience to the see of Rome, in assuming the supremacy of the church in his own dominions, and in punishing those who refused to acknowledge his supremacy, particularly Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, for whose execution he was severely censured‡. To encourage and strengthen the enemies of the emperor, his most formidable adversary, he sent ambassadors, in conjunction with the court of France, to negotiate an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany. But the cruel persecution of those who had embraced the principles of the

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 354, &c. Strype's Memor. vol i. p. 200.

† Herbert, p. 184. ‡ Strype's Memorials, b, i. chap. xxxii.

reformation both in France and England, retarded these A.D. 1535. negotiations. To secure the internal tranquillity of his dominions, and the submission of his own subjects, he employed various means. All the bishops were strictly enjoined to preach against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, and in favour of the king's supremacy, and to command all their clergy to preach in the same strain. The justices of the peace in every county were directed to keep a strict eye upon the clergy, and to dilate all those who neglected to obey these injunctions, or did it in a slight illusory manner. Several treatises on the same subject were published with the same view *. That the great accession of power which the king had acquired over the clergy, both seculars and regulars, by his being declared supreme head of the church, might be exercised in the most effectual manner, he delegated it to his most active and able minister Thomas Cromwell, secretary of state, first with the title of vicar-general, and afterwards with the higher title of lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters †. In consequence of this commission, Cromwell in a short time, and with less difficulty than could have been imagined, dissolved all the numerous orders of monks and friars in England, who were the most zealous partisans of the pope, the most determined enemies of the king's supremacy, and of all reformation. Of this great achievement a more particular account will be given in the second chapter of this book.

Catherine, the divorced queen, after languishing some time, died at Kimbolton, January 8th, A. D. 1536, in the fiftieth year of her age. A few days before her death, she sent the following letter to the king, written by one of her female attendants :

1536.
Death of
queen Ca-
therine.

“ My most dear lord, king, and husband,

“ The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot
“ chuse, out of the love I bear you, but advise you of
“ your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before
“ all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever;
“ for which you have cast me into many calamities, and
“ yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all,

* Strype's Memorials, b. i. chap. xxxvi.

† Burnet, p. 181.

A.D. 1536. “ and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary our daughter; beseeching you to be a good father to her, as I have heretofore desired. I must intreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they being but three; and to all my other servants a year’s pay, beside their due; lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things. Farewel *.”

Henry, it is said, felt some compunction when he perused this letter. He took no little care, however, to get possession of her jewels and other effects, which were valued at no more than 5000 marks: and he paid little or no regard to her last will and testament †. He had treated her rather harshly after her divorce; and his sorrow for her death, it is probable, was neither very violent nor very lasting. If that event had happened a few years sooner, it would have given joy both at the court of Rome and the court of England, and would have prevented the rupture between them. Pope Clement often wished her in her grave.

Negotia-
tion.

The emperor Charles V. earnestly desired to dissolve that intimate union which now subsisted between the kings of France and England: and as the ostensible ground of his quarrel with the last of these princes was removed, by the death of his aunt, queen Catherine, he thought this a proper opportunity to make advances towards a reconciliation. He caused his resident, therefore, at the court of England, to suggest to the English ministers, that his master was not averse to a reconciliation, upon the conditions, “ that the king would be reconciled to the pope; that he would aid the emperor against the Turk; and that, agreeably to the treaty 1518, he would assist him against the French, who threatened Milan.” To this it was answered, “ That the breach of amity proceeded from the emperor; which if he will acknowledge and excuse, the king is contented to renew it simply. As to the conditions proposed: First, The proceedings against the bishop of Rome have been so just, and so ratified by the

* Herbert, p. 188.

† Strype’s Memorials, vol. i. p. 240—243. Records, No. lxi, lxx, lxxi.

“ parliament

“parliament of England, that they cannot be revoked. A.D. 1536.
 “Secondly, As for aid against the Turk, when Christian
 “princes shall be at peace, the king will do therein as
 “to a Christian prince belongeth. Thirdly, For aid
 “against France, he cannot resolve on that till the
 “amity be renewed with the emperor; so that being an
 “indifferent friend to both, he may freely travel, either
 “to keep peace between them, or to aid the injured
 “party *.” This very sensible and spirited answer (probably suggested by secretary Cromwell) plainly proves that Henry had now resolved against a reconciliation with the court of Rome, and determined to preserve that complete sovereignty over all his subjects which he had obtained.

The last session of that long parliament which was Parliament first assembled November 3d, A. D. 1529, met at Westminster, February 4th, this year, and made several important acts. By one act, the parliament dissolved all the small monasteries and nunneries in the kingdom, which had not each above 200*l.* a year of clear income, and gave all their churches, houses, lands, plate, furniture, and goods of all kinds, to the king. The number of monasteries dissolved by this act was three hundred and seventy-six; the yearly rent of their lands was about 32,000*l.* which was much below their real value; and their cattle, plate, and furniture, at a very low valuation, amounted to 100,000*l.* †. By another act, Wales was more intimately united to England, and its inhabitants subjected to the English laws, or rather admitted at their own request to the privilege of being governed by them ‡.

The negotiations with the Protestant princes of the Smalkaldic league in Germany still continued; and about this time these princes presented the following propositions to the English negotiators: 1. That the king should embrace the Augustan confession of faith, altered in some things by common consent, and defend it with them in a free council, if it should be called. 2. That neither party should consent to a council without the other. 3. That the king should join their league, and

Negotiations.

* Herbert, p. 188.

† Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 117.

‡ Herbert, p. 190.

A.D. 1536. become its head and defender. 4. That the vulgar opinion of the pope's supremacy should be rejected for ever. 5. That if any of the contracting parties should be invaded for religion, the others should give no aid against him. 6. That the king should give 100,000 crowns for the defence of the league, and 200,000 if the war continued long. To these propositions this answer was returned: That the king approved of them in general with some amendments; that he accepted of the title of head and defender of the league, and would advance the money required, as soon as all the conditions were settled. He desired them to send commissioners to treat of these conditions, and some of their learned men to confer with his divines on the doctrines and ceremonies of the church *. But when things were in this train, a surprising and unexpected event happened, which put a stop to these negotiations, and greatly discouraged all the promoters of reformation both at home and abroad.

The queen
sent to the
Tower.

Henry was a prince of strong impetuous passions, but at the same time fickle and capricious; passing suddenly from one extreme to another, from the warmest love to the most violent hatred, and he stuck at nothing to gratify the prevailing passion. He had surmounted many difficulties to obtain the hand of his beloved Anne Boleyn, and had lived with her in great conjugal felicity from the marriage till about the beginning of this year, when he was captivated by the charms of a young beauty of his court, Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf-hall, in Wiltshire. This new passion extinguished all his former love to his queen, which was succeeded by the most furious jealousy. The courtiers soon discovered this change in the king's affections, which gave great pleasure to the partisans of the pope, and no less pain to the friends of reformation, of which queen Anne was a zealous promoter. The queen herself was not ignorant of the king's passion for Jane Seymour, who was one of her maids of honour; but she was altogether ignorant of his jealousy of her own conduct, till it broke upon her like a clap of thunder. On the first day of May there was a grand tournament at Greenwich, at which the king, queen, and all the court

* Herbert. p. 192.

were present. In the midst of the diversion the king ^{A.D. 1536} rose suddenly from his seat, went out, mounted his horse, and rode off, with only six persons in his company. This abrupt departure of the king excited universal surprise; but whether it was premeditated, or occasioned by any incident that then happened, is uncertain. It is indeed related, that the queen dropped her handkerchief, and that it was taken up by one of the gentlemen in the tournament, which inflamed the king's jealousy.

“ Trifles light as air,

“ Are to the jealous, confirmation strong,

“ As proofs of holy writ.”

However that may be, the lord Rochford, the queen's brother, three gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, Norris, Weston, and Brereton, and Smeton, a musician, were arrested early next morning and sent to the Tower. At the same time the queen was confined to her chamber. When she was informed of the cause of her confinement, she made the most solemn protestations of her innocence, and earnestly intreated to be permitted to see the king. But that was not granted. In the afternoon of the same day she was conducted to the Tower, by her uncle the duke of Norfolk, who was one of her greatest enemies on account of religion. When she entered that prison she fell upon her knees, and prayed that God might so help her, as she was innocent of the crime for which she was imprisoned *.

The unhappy queen, who on the day before had been ^{Her behaviour.} attended by a splendid and obsequious court, and now found herself forsaken by all the world, shut up in the solitude of a prison, accused of a heinous crime, and threatened with a violent death, was so much affected by this great reverse of fortune, that she fell into hysterical paroxysms, which weakened both her mind and body. When she was in this deplorable situation, seized with alternate fits of weeping and laughing, very insidious arts were used to betray her into a confession of her guilt. She was assured that her brother, and the other gentlemen confined on her account, had confessed, and

* Hall, f. 227. Stowe, p. 572. Herbert, p. 194. Burnet, vol. i. p. 196, &c.

A.D. 1536. told a free and full confession was the only thing that could appease the king's anger and save her life. Naturally frank and ingenuous, and having no friend to put her upon her guard, she discovered all the indiscretions she could recollect, which amounted only to certain levities in her behaviour and words, which were imprudent indeed, and unbecoming the dignity to which she was advanced, but very remote from the crime of which she was accused. All these discoveries were carried to the king, and served only to increase his suspicions and inflame his wrath*. When she had recovered a little from her first consternation, and attained to some composure of mind, she wrote a most moving letter to the king, which, for the force and justice of the expostulations it contains, and even for the elegance of its language, is truly admirable†. But nothing could make any impression in her favour, on the cruel and obdurate heart of Henry.

Means used to procure evidence.

Great efforts were used to prevail upon the gentlemen who were imprisoned on the queen's account, to confess their guilt and her's. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, had been long about the king's person, and possessed a considerable degree of his esteem and favour. Henry sent for him, and promised him his life, liberty, and fortune, if he would confess his own guilt and that of the queen. Norris, who was a gentleman of spirit and honour, rejected the proposal with disdain, declaring his own innocence, and his full conviction that the queen was an innocent and good woman, and that he would suffer a thousand deaths rather than accuse an innocent person. Mark Smeton, the musician, had not the same fortitude. Upon a promise of life, (which was not performed,) he confessed that he had been guilty with the queen at three different times. A confession that was very improbable, and which few or none believed‡.

Her hard treatment.

Such was the unfeeling severity of Henry to his unhappy queen, that he excluded all her relations and

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 197—199.

† The reader will find a copy of this letter in the Appendix. It must be confessed that the authenticity of this letter is not absolutely ascertained, as the original is not preserved. But a copy of it, it is said, was found among secretary Cromwell's papers. Herbert, p. 194.

‡ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 118.

friends from seeing her in her confinement, and placed none about her but her open or secret enemies.—This was a circumstance which distressed her greatly, and of which she complained bitterly. She often inquired for her father and mother and other near relations, but received no satisfactory answer. She earnestly intreated that her almoner might be admitted to visit her only for an hour, and it was denied. Though many loved and pitied her, yet so well was the stern and furious spirit of the king known, that none dared to open a mouth, or offer a petition, in her favour. Henry seems to have apprehended an application of that kind from archbishop Cranmer; and therefore sent him an order to remain at Lambeth, and not approach the court till his presence was required. The good archbishop, however, ventured to write the king a letter, in which he did not indeed assert the queen's innocence, (which would probably have cost him his head,) but suggested several things that made it appear very wonderful that she was guilty*. He would, no doubt, have written in much stronger terms, but he well knew it would have only inflamed the king's rage, and ruined himself, without saving the queen.

The lord Rochford and the other four prisoners were first tried, May 12th, in Westminster-hall, and were all found guilty on little or no evidence: for such was the terror, the irresistible authority and vindictive spirit of the king had universally inspired, that no jury dared to acquit a prisoner he desired to see condemned. The only thing proved against lord Rochford was, that one morning he had come into the queen his sister's bedchamber before she was up, and in speaking to her, in presence of her maids, had laid his hands upon the bed. This was interpreted by the court to be a slander of the queen, which by a late act had been declared high treason. A cruel stretch of a most cruel statute! Rochford, Weston, Brereton, and Norris, were beheaded. At their death they all vindicated their own and the queen's innocence. Smeton was hanged, and at his execution he had acknowledged he deserved his death; meaning,

Trials and
executions.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 200. Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 280, &c.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 201. vol. iii. p. 119.

A.D. 1536. most probably, for his false accusation of the queen, by his confessing a crime of which he was not guilty *.

The
Queen's
trial.

The queen was brought to her trial, May 13th, in the king's hall in the Tower. Her own unnatural uncle duke of Norfolk, (whose zeal for popery had made him one of her greatest enemies,) presided as lord high steward, and was attended by twenty-five other lords; so that one half of the peers of England, then fifty-three, were not present at this extraordinary trial. The queen was brought into the court, attended only by a few women who had been placed about her, having been denied an advocate. She made a curtsy to her judges, and behaved with great dignity and composure. Her indictment was then read; charging her "with having procured her brother and the other four to lie with her, which they had done often; which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her." To this it was added, but not attempted to be proved, "that she conspired the king's death." She pleaded, Not guilty. All the evidence that was produced to prove this dreadful, and very improbable indictment, was a declaration of a lady Wingfield, who was in her grave, said to have been made by her a little before her death. How this declaration, or affidavit, was authenticated, we are not informed. On this evidence, if evidence it can be called, was the amiable, the lately admired and beloved queen of England, found guilty of high treason by the peers of the realm, and sentenced to be either burnt or beheaded as the king should direct. When she heard this terrible sentence pronounced, she lifted up her eyes and hands to heaven, and said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this death!" Then turning to her judges, she said, "My lords, I will not say your sentence is unjust; nor presume that my opinion should be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe you have reasons and occasions of suspicion and jealousy; but they must be other than those that have been produced here in court; for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have been always a faithful and loving wife to the king." After she

* Earnet, vol. i. p. 201. vol. iii. p. 119.

had said this, and much more, in vindication of her own innocence, she expressed great concern for the condemnation of her brother and the other gentlemen, and wished that her death might suffice for the whole. She then took her leave of the court, and retired. The lord mayor and aldermen of London, and some others who had been admitted to be spectators of this trial, went away with a full conviction of the queen's innocence*.

This unhappy princess had still another trial to undergo. Henry, not contented with her blood, determined to deprive her of the honour of having been his lawful wife, and to illegitimate her infant daughter. He knew that the earl of Northumberland had courted her, and endeavours were used to persuade that nobleman to acknowledge a pre-contract and promise of marriage. But the earl acted an honourable part, and swore before the two archbishops, and took the sacrament upon it, that there never had been any contract or promise of marriage between him and Anne Boleyn †. But the queen herself was prevailed upon, most probably to escape the flames, to acknowledge before archbishop Cranmer, May 17th, that there was a lawful impediment to her marriage with the king; upon which a sentence of divorce was pronounced, and her marriage declared to be null and void, from the beginning ‡. If any regard had been paid to justice or law, this sentence would have saved the queen's life: for if she had never been the king's lawful wife, she could not have been guilty of high treason by having intercourse with other men; and that was the crime for which she was condemned to die. But Henry on this occasion not only sacrificed the life of his queen, and the legitimacy of his child, but trampled upon all law and justice, to gratify his passions.

Little time was allowed the unhappy queen to prepare for the last scene of this cruel tragedy. In that awful interval she retained her usual serenity, and even cheerfulness, and spent several hours of the day in private devotion, or with her almoner, who was then admitted. She recollected with great concern her unkindness to the princess Mary, fell on her knees to lady Kingston, and

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 201. vol. iii. p. 119. † Herbert, p. 195.

‡ Collier, vol. ii. p. 117. Burnet, vol. i. p. 285.

A.D. 1536. refused to rise till she promised to wait on that princess, and ask her pardon*. On the morning of her execution, May 19th, she conversed composedly with Sir William Kingston lieutenant of the Tower, and expressed some impatience for the fatal moment. "I suppose (says Sir William, in a letter to Cromwell) she will declare herself to be a good woman, for all men but for the king, at the hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the good Lord, to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her innocency always to be clear. I have seen many men, also women, executed, and they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death †." About eleven o'clock she was brought to a scaffold erected on the green in the Tower. By order, all strangers had been turned out of the Tower, and there were none present but the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, (the king's natural son,) chancellor Audley, secretary Cromwell, and the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London. When she mounted the scaffold, her looks were cheerful, and she never appeared more beautiful. Observing some about her weeping, she said, "Be not sorry to see me die thus, but pardon me from your hearts, that I have not expressed to all about me that mildness that became me, and that I have not done all the good that it was in my power to do ‡." Then turning to the spectators, she said, "I am come here to die, and not to accuse any man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused. I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler and more merciful prince was there never; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and sovereign lord. If any person will meddle in my cause, I require them to judge the best ||". Her maternal tenderness for her daughter, it is probable, induced her to speak in this strain; and as this was the speech that was published by government, we have reason to suspect, that some things were omitted, and that the encomiums upon the king were heightened. However that may be, it is agreed on all hands, that after a very short

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 204.

† Burnet, vol. iii. p. 120.

‡ Herbert, p. 195.

§ Hall, f. 228.

speech, and some pious ejaculations, her head was cut off at one blow with a sword, by the executioner of Calais, who had been brought over for that purpose. Little regard was paid to her remains, and not so much as a coffin provided. Her body was put into a chest made for holding arrows, and instantly buried in the chapel in the Tower.* A.D. 1536.

Thus perished Anne Boleyn, whose beauty raised her to a throne, from which the charms of another lady threw her down, and brought her prematurely to her grave. She was naturally gay and sprightly, and her education in the court of France confirmed that natural disposition. While Henry viewed her with a lover's eyes, her frankness and gaiety were agreeable; but when he had set his affections on another object, they appeared in a very different light. Her elevation had excited envy, her zeal for the reformation had created her many powerful enemies, some of them her own near relations. When these enemies perceived that the king's affections were alienated from her, they industriously informed him of every imprudent action and unguarded expression into which her natural gaiety had betrayed her, which inflamed his jealousy into rage, and made him determine her destruction. In a word, if Henry had never contracted a criminal passion for Jane Seymour, we never should have heard of the indiscretions, much less of the crimes, of queen Anne Boleyn. Nothing but her beauties and virtues, her piety, humility, and charity, would have been recorded†.

Her character.

It might have been imagined, that Henry would have been greatly affected by the cruel fate of one who had long been the object of his fondest affections; or that a regard to decency would have made him appear, at least, to lament her sufferings. But that was not the case. He wore white as mourning for her one day, and on the next he married her rival Jane Seymour, and in a few days after, at Whitsuntide, presented her to his whole court as his royal consort‡. The clearest indication that could be given of the cause of his late queen's

The king's marriage.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

† In the last nine months of her life she distributed 14,000*l.* to the poor. Burnet, vol. i. p. 194.

‡ Hall, f. 228.

A.D. 1536. calamities, and of the power of his own ungovernable passions.

Princess
Mary re-
conciled.

The princess Mary, and her friends, thinking this a proper time to attempt a reconciliation with her father, she wrote him a very humble and submissive letter, earnestly praying to be admitted into his presence, and received into his favour, which she at length obtained, but on very hard conditions. She was obliged to write and subscribe a paper, which, among others, contained the two following articles: “*Item*, I acknowledge the king’s highness to be supreme head in earth under Christ of the church of England, and do utterly refuse the bishop of Rome’s pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction, within this realm, heretofore usurped. I do also utterly renounce and forsake all manner of remedy, interest, and advantage, which I may by any means claim by the bishop of Rome’s laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence. *Item*, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the king’s highness and his laws, without other respect, recognize and acknowledge, that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty and my mother, the late princess dowager, was, by God’s law and man’s law, incestuous and unlawful*.” It was with much reluctance, and after a long struggle, that she was brought to make these acknowledgments in this authentic manner. But as nothing less would satisfy, she at last complied.

Parliament.

A new parliament met at Westminster, June 8th, and was opened with a speech by the lord chancellor Audley, full of the grossest flattery. After representing in strong terms how unhappy the king (who was present) had been in his two former marriages, which (said he) would have deterred any other man from engaging again in matrimony; “yet this our most excellent prince, on the humble petition of the nobility, and not out of any carnal lust or affection, had again condescended to contract matrimony†.” This was certainly a very bold stroke, when all the world knew that he had been only one day a widower. It is surprising how the illustrious company who heard it kept their

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 208.

† Journals of the House of Lords, vol. i. p. 84.

countenances. If Henry had been possessed of any delicacy, he must have taken it as a cruel reproach and insult. But it was so well taken, that Richard Rich, Speaker of the House of Commons, repeated it; and striving to outstrip the chancellor in flattery, he compared the king to Solomon for wisdom, to Sampson for strength, and to Absalom for beauty *.

A.D. 1536.

Act of succession.

Many laws were made in this parliament; but it is only necessary to mention here, the act for regulating the succession, for which this parliament had been chiefly called. By that act the divorces of the king from his two former queens are confirmed, and their issue illegitimated, and declared incapable of inheriting the crown; which is entailed on the king's issue by his present queen, and failing of them, on his issue by any future queen; and failing of heirs of his own body, he is empowered to appoint and declare his successor, by letters patent, or by his last will †. Such an ascendant had Henry gained over the minds of his subjects, that his will was a law, or very soon was made a law, by his obsequious parliaments. The article in this act relating to the two divorces is remarkable. After enumerating at great length the grounds of the king's divorce from queen Catherine, it proceeds thus: "That whereas a marriage heretofore was solemnized betwixt the king's highness and the lady Anne Boleyn, that since that time certain just, true, and lawful impediments of marriage, unknown at the making of the said acts, (settling the crown on her issue,) were confessed by the said lady Anne before Thomas lord archbishop of Canterbury, by which it plainly appeareth, that the said marriage betwixt his highness and the said Anne was never good nor consonant to the laws: and therefore his highness was lawfully divorced from the said lady Anne ‡." Whether the parliament knew the impediments of marriage, which they pronounced to be just, true, and lawful, or not, we are not informed; but if they did know them, they did not think it prudent to let the world and posterity know them. There is something mysterious in this manner of proceeding.

* Journals of the House of Lords, vol. i. p. 84.

† Herbert, p. 199.

‡ Ibid.

A.D. 1536.

Thomas Cromwell had been received into the king's service on the fall of his former patron cardinal Wolsey, and had been successively appointed master of the jewel house, secretary of state, keeper of the privy seal, and at last the king's vicegerent in spirituals, a new office of great dignity and power. In all these offices he had acquitted himself with great activity, prudence, fidelity, and success, by which he had acquired so much of the king's confidence and favour, that he was in reality his prime minister. Though he was a man of low birth, Henry thought proper to raise him to the peerage by the stile and title of Lord Cromwell, and he was introduced into the House of Peers, July 19th, the last day of the parliament *. This promotion was disagreeable to some of the ancient nobility, and to all the lords, bishops, clergy, and others, who were averse to any reformation in the church.

Insurrection in Lincolnshire.

Immediately after the parliament was dissolved, lord Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in spirituals, engaged in a very unpopular business, the dissolution of all the smaller monasteries, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, which had been granted to the king by parliament. The demolition of so many churches and religious houses, and the dispersion of about 10,000 monks and nuns, raised a mighty ferment. The popish clergy, and particularly the monks and friars, inflamed the passions of the people, by assuring, that this was only a prelude to the demolition of all other monasteries and churches, and the abolition of all religion. The first gatherings of the malcontents were in Lincolnshire in September. They were headed by Doctor Mackerel, prior of Barlings, who took the name of Captain Colbler. They did not immediately proceed to hostilities, but sent a humble remonstrance to the king, containing strong expressions of their loyalty, and praying for a redress of their grievances, which were these: 1. The demolition of the monasteries: 2. The employing persons of mean birth to be his ministers: 3. Levying subsidies that were not necessary: 4. Taking away four of the seven sacraments: 5. That several bishops subverted the ancient faith, &c. To this petition the king returned a spirited answer, vindicating his own conduct in all the

* Journals, vol. i. p. 101.

particulars of which they complained, commanding them A.D. 1536.
 to deliver up their leaders, and to return to their own
 homes, to preserve themselves, their wives and chil-
 dren, from ruin *. The duke of Suffolk, who had been
 dispatched against them at the head of some troops, sent
 them this answer; and finding them more numerous and
 determined than he expected, he entered into a nego-
 ciation with them. Being assured by some gentlemen
 who were among the insurgents, and pretended to have
 joined them to retard their progress and distract their
 counsels, that if a general pardon was offered, they
 would disperse; he prevailed upon the king to publish
 such a pardon, which had the desired effect. They made
 their submission, October 19th, and then separated †.

A still more formidable insurrection broke out in Pilgrimage of Grace.
 Yorkshire and the northern counties about the same
 time, and on the same account. This was at first excit-
 ed and directed by Robert Aske, a man of courage
 and prudence, who gave his undertaking the specious in-
 viting name of The Pilgrimage of Grace. The influ-
 ence and persuasions of the clergy, especially of the
 monks, friars, and nuns, who had been turned out of
 their houses, wrought so much on the ignorance, super-
 stition, and compassion of the people, and such prodigi-
 ous numbers flew to arms and joined this martial pil-
 grimage, that they amounted at last to forty thousand.
 To unite them more firmly, they took an oath and made
 a declaration: "That they entered into the pilgrimage
 " of grace for the love of God, the preservation of the
 " king's person and issue, the purifying the nobility,
 " and driving away all base-born and evil counsellors;
 " and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do
 " displeasure to any, nor to kill any for envy, but to
 " take before them the cross of Christ, his faith, the
 " restitution of the church, and the suppression of he-
 " retics and their opinions †." They painted on their
 banners the five wounds of Christ, wore on their sleeves
 a device of the same kind, and priests before them car-
 rying crucifixes, by which arts their zeal was much in-
 flamed. As they advanced, they restored the monks to
 their monasteries, and persuaded or compelled all the

* Hall, f. 228. † Hollingshed, p. 941.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 229.

A.D. 1536. gentlemen who did not fly, to join them. The archbishop of York and lord d'Arcy surrendered the castle of Pomfret, into which they had retired, and took the above oath. They failed in their attempts on Skipton castle, defended by the earl of Cumberland; and on the castle of Scarborough, defended by Sir Ralph Evers; but they took the town of Hull, and the city of York*.

Truce.

The king and his ministers had been so much engaged with the insurgents in Lincolnshire, that those in the north met with little opposition for a considerable time. The earl of Shrewsbury ventured to raise his followers without waiting for orders, for which he craved the king's pardon, who was so far from being offended, that he appointed him commander in chief in the four northern counties, and directed the earl of Derby to join him, with his friends and vassals. The marquis of Exeter, and the earls of Huntington and Rutland, with their followers, took the field also against the rebels; and the king sent the duke of Norfolk, October 20th, to take the command of his army, which was still far inferior in number to that of the insurgents. The two armies approached each other at Doncaster, October 26th, with only the river Don between them, which was so swelled by rains, that neither of them dared to pass it in the face of the other. The duke, to gain time till certain reinforcements, which he expected, joined him, proposed a treaty; in which it was agreed, that the insurgents should send a petition to the king by Sir Ralph Elcker and Master Bowes, (who had been taken prisoners at Hull,) and that the duke also should go to court to second their petition, and that there should be a cessation of hostilities till he and their messengers returned †.

Negotiation.

This agreement was very advantageous to the royalists, who wanted only time; but very fatal to the rebels, who, having expended all their money, wanted every thing. Accordingly many of them, ready to perish with cold and hunger, deserted, and returned to their own homes. When the duke arrived at court, he found the king preparing to set out, to join an army he had commanded to rendezvous at Northampton, November 7th. But he convinced him that this was not

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 229. Herbert, p. 206.

† Ibid.
necessary;

necessary; that the insurgents were distressed and discontented, and daily deserting; and that a little patience and policy would put an end to the insurrection without danger or bloodshed. The truth seems to have been, that the duke, who was the head of the popish party at court, though he acted with great honour and fidelity to the king, had a tenderness for the insurgents, and that he would have been very well pleased if they had obtained some of their petitions, particularly the disgrace of his great rival lord Cromwell. However that may be, the king took his advice, and was in no haste to dispatch him and the two messengers. A long and distinct answer was prepared to the petition presented by Elcker and Bowes, shewing the unreasonableness of their asking, and the impropriety of the king's granting, what they required. A general pardon, with the exception of six named and four unnamed, and a commission to the duke and several others, to meet with three hundred of the insurgents at Doncaster, to settle the conditions of peace, passed the seals, and were sent down with the duke in the beginning of December. We can only guess at the king's reasons for admitting so many of the insurgents to this negociation. It was probably to give his own commissioners an opportunity of gaining or dividing them. While the duke remained at court, great numbers of the insurgents had deserted; others had obtained permission to retire, on their promise to return when called; and their army was now much diminished, and in great distress*.

Lord Scroop, lord Latimer, lord Lumley, lord d'Arcy, Sir Thomas Percy, Robert Aske, and about three hundred persons in all, met with the duke of Norfolk and the other king's commissioners, December 6th, at Doncaster. When the duke produced the general pardon, they expressed great dissatisfaction with the exceptions it contained; and when they produced their demands, they were found to be the same with those in their petition, which, it appeared from the king's answer, could not be granted. The duke, who earnestly desired a pacification, wrote a pressing letter to the king, to send him a general pardon without any exceptions, and a promise that the next parliament should be held in the north.

* Herbert, p. 206, &c.

A.D. 1536. The king complied with his request, and the insurgents accepted of these conditions, and disbanded, in hopes of having every thing settled to their own mind in a parliament held in their own country*. There are few examples in history of two such formidable insurrections in the same country at the same time, suppressed without any action, or a single drop of blood spilt in the field. It was also a most fortunate circumstance for Henry at this dangerous crisis, that the king of Scots was then in France, and that the emperor and the king of France were engaged in such violent wars, that his rebellious subjects could receive no assistance from Scotland or the Continent.

1537.
Insurrec-
tion and
executi-
ons.

Though peace was thus outwardly restored, the king and his ministers knew, that the fire was rather smothered than extinguished, and that internal discontents still prevailed. The duke of Norfolk was commanded to remain in the north with his troops, to preserve the peace of the country. The wisdom of this measure soon appeared. Another insurrection broke out in Cumberland in the beginning of this year. Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, at the head of eight thousand men, besieged Carlisle, but were repulsed by the citizens, and soon after defeated by the duke of Norfolk, who, departing from his former moderation, hanged no fewer than seventy of his prisoners by martial law. Sir Francis Bigot attempted to surprise the town of Hull, but was taken and executed. The lord d'Arcy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his lady, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Robert Aske, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley, who had been very active in the great insurrection, and had taken the benefit of the general pardon, being suspected of forming new plots, were apprehended and sent prisoners to London. The lord d'Arcy and lord Husley (who had been concerned in the Lincolnshire insurrection) were tried by their peers in Westminster Hall, found guilty, and beheaded. The above-named gentlemen and lady, with three abbots and a prior, were all condemned and executed. Lady Bulmer was burnt in Smithfield, and Robert Aske was hung in chains on one of the towers of York. Sixty persons, who had been concerned in an insurrection, or rather a

* Herbert, p. 207.

riotous tumult, in Somersetshire, were tried and put to death*. These numerous executions excited great terror, and suppressed that general spirit of revolt which at this time prevailed in England. Whether it could have been suppressed or not at a less expence of blood, we have not the means of judging.

Queen Jane Seymour's natural disposition was more agreeable to the humour of her royal husband, than that of his two former queens, being not so grave as queen Catherine, nor so gay as queen Anne. Not long after her marriage she afforded him the prospect of legitimate issue, which of all things in the world he most earnestly desired; and on October 12th she was safely delivered of a prince at Hampton Court. The king was transported with joy at this event, and all his loyal subjects shared in his joy; as by the birth of a prince they were delivered from the danger of a disputed succession, one of the greatest calamities that can befall a nation, with which they had long been threatened. The prince was baptized with extraordinary pomp, October 15th, and named Edward. Archbishop Cranmer and the duke of Norfolk were the godfathers, and the princess Mary godmother; and the king, to shew his affection, created him Prince of Wales a few days after his baptism †.

But the joy occasioned by the birth of the prince was soon checked, and converted into mourning, by the death of the queen, who expired, October 24th, twelve days after her delivery. Happy in this, that she did not survive the love of her too inconstant consort, who appeared to be greatly affected by her death ‡.

The negotiations for an alliance and confederacy between the king and the protestant Princes of Germany, still continued, but advanced very slowly. The objects which the contracting parties had in view were not the same. The Protestant princes, it is true, wished to strengthen their confederacy by the accession of so great a prince; but their chief object seems to have been, to promote the reformation of religion, and to bring the church of England to a conformity in doctrine and worship with their own churches. But this was far from being Henry's intention. He was an enemy to the poli-

A.D. 1537.

Prince Edward born.

The queen dies.

1538. Negotiation.

* Stowe, p. 576. Hall, f. 232. Burnet, p. 234.

† Strype's Mem. vol. ii.

‡ Ibid.

A.D. 1538. tical power, but not to the religious rites and tenets of the church of Rome; and his only object in desiring an alliance with the German prince was, to raise up enemies to the emperor, to prevent his making any attempt on England, of which the pope had made him a present. Knowing that the confederates were to have a meeting in March this year at Brunswick, he sent an ambassador to that meeting, to inquire who had joined the confederacy; whether their league was for general opposition to the emperor, or limited to religion only; and whether they designed to send him a great legation, with some of their divines, and particularly Melancthon, as they had once promised. The ambassador was informed, that twenty-six cities, and twenty-four princes, of which the king of Denmark was one, had joined the confederacy; that their league was limited to the cause of religion; that they could not send their great legation and their divines till they were better informed of the sentiments of the king of England, and knew what points of their confession he disapproved; but that they would send an ambassador and two or three learned men to converse with the English divines, and procure more perfect information of the king's sentiments, and the state of religion in England. Accordingly, Francis Bargart and two men of learning were sent. They were received with civility, and certain bishops were appointed to confer with them. These conferences continued several months, and they came to an agreement in some things, but in others they could not agree, particularly concerning the communion in one kind, private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy, from which the bishops would not depart. The German deputies returned home with no very favourable account of the state of religion in England, which had put a stop to the negociation*.

Pope's
bulls.

The suppression of the late insurrections, and the birth of a son and heir to his dominions, were two very fortunate events for Henry, and they happened at the most convenient season. Things now began to wear a threatening aspect on the continent. The pope, after many fruitless efforts to extinguish the flames of war between the emperor and the king of France, had at last succeeded, and a ten years truce was concluded between them, June

* Herbert, p. 212. Strype, vol. i. b. i. c. 43.

28th, by his mediation; and these two monarchs had a personal interview, July 15th, in which they appeared to be perfectly reconciled. This encouraged the pope to publish the bulls which he had prepared three years before, excommunicating and deposing Henry, in hopes that these two princes would put them in execution. But these two great rivals had not such confidence in one another as to embark in a joint enterprize of that kind, and the one would not permit the other to make so great a conquest. Beside, Henry's authority was so firmly established by the suppression of the late insurrections, and the birth of an heir, that the success of any attempt against him was very doubtful*.

A.D. 1538.

Another formidable enemy to Henry appeared upon the stage about this time. This was Reginald Pole, fourth son of Margaret countess of Salisbury, daughter of George duke of Clarence, second brother to Edward IV. and consequently the king's near relation. He early discovered a taste for letters, and was educated at Henry's expence at Paris and at Padua, and designed for the highest preferments in the church. But in Italy he imbibed opinions, and formed connexions, which determined him to take a decided part against his king, his relation, and benefactor, in his controversies with the court of Rome. He wrote a treatise "of the Unity of the Church," and sent it to Henry; and afterwards published it to the world, in which he condemned his divorce and second marriage in the strongest terms, and even exhorted the emperor to avenge the injury that had been thereby done to his aunt, and to the authority of the pope. Henry, concealing his resentment, invited him into England, to explain some parts of his book, which he pretended he did not understand. But Pole very prudently declined putting himself in the power of a prince he had so highly offended. The pope, to inflame his zeal and increase his influence, made him a cardinal, and appointed him his legate *a latere* in Flanders, that he might foment divisions, and excite insurrections in England, by corresponding with his numerous and powerful friends. In this he was very active and too successful. Two of his own brothers, and several other persons of rank, were drawn into a conspiracy, which

Cardinal Pole.

* Herbert, p. 216.

A.D. 1538. was discovered, and proved their ruin. Henry Courtney, first-cousin to the king; the marquis of Exeter, and earl of Devonshire; Henry Pole lord Montacute, and Sir Jeffery Pole, the cardinal's two brothers; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny, and Sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, and knight of the garter; with several persons of inferior rank, were made prisoners, November 3d, and soon after tried and found guilty of high treason. They were all executed, except Sir Jeffery Pole, who, it is said, betrayed and accused his confederates *. This was a great discouragement to the popish party. They knew not whom to trust, and saw how dangerous it was to plot against a government so vigilant and so vindictive. Two priests and a mariner were condemned and executed on the same occasion, for managing, as it is probable, the correspondence between the cardinal and the conspirators †. It is impossible to discover with certainty the object of this conspiracy, or the crimes for which these noblemen and gentlemen suffered. The accusations against them, we are told, were great; and that they had a design to promote and maintain one Reginald Pole, the king's enemy beyond sea, and to deprive the king of his crown ‡. This makes it probable that they were suspected at least of a design to raise the cardinal to the throne, by a marriage with the princess Mary, for which they would have easily obtained a dispensation from the pope.

1539.
Parliament.

A new parliament met at Westminster, April 25th, A. D. 1539, and was opened with extraordinary pomp. The king and all the members of the two houses rode in state, two and two, from the palace to Westminster Abbey, heard the mass of the Holy Ghost, and returned in the same state and order to the parliament chamber §. This parliament, which commenced with so much pomp, proceeded with the most abject servility, and enacted, both in spirituals and temporals, whatever the king and his ministers pleased to dictate. By the act of the six articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute, they established the most absurd and pernicious tenets of popery, authorized a persecution of those who denied them, more

* Hall, f. 233. Stowe, p. 576. Herbert, p. 216.

† Hall, Stowe, *ibid.*
Hist. vol. iii. p. 141.

‡ Herbert, p. 216. Parliament.
§ Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 502.

cruel in some respects than the Spanish inquisition*. By A.D. 1539. another, they granted the king all the lands, rents, buildings, jewels, money, gold and silver plate, furniture, goods and chattels of all kinds, of all monasteries, abbeys, nunneries, priories, houses of friars, colleges, free chapels, hospitals, chantries, and houses of religion, dissolved or to be dissolved. By this prodigious grant the king obtained possession of the lands which had belonged to six hundred and forty-five monasteries, ninety colleges of priests, one hundred and ten hospitals, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels. The yearly rents of these lands amounted to 161,100l.† But this was not one-half, probably not one-third, of their annual value, as their former owners had been accustomed to let their lands at very low rents, and to levy large fines on the renewal of their leases. The value of the jewels, money, plate, cattle, furniture, &c. belonging to these religious houses was immense; and the whole, if it had been properly managed, was sufficient to have rendered the crown independent of the country. But Henry was as profuse as he was rapacious, and the very next year was reduced to the necessity of asking a subsidy from his subjects. By another statute, they gave the same force and authority to royal proclamations as to acts of parliament, thereby rendering all future parliaments, for the purpose of making laws, unnecessary‡.

This parliament discovered as great forwardness in gratifying the resentment, as the avarice and ambition of the king. A bill was brought into the House of Peers by Thomas lord Cromwell, (who had now the highest seat in the house assigned him by a special act,) May 10th, for attainting the late marquis of Exeter, lord Montacute, Sir Edward Nevil, and others, which passed both houses with great rapidity§. Next day lord Cromwell produced in the house a tunic of white silk, with the arms of England on the fore-part, and the device of the late insurgents in the north on the back-part, which had been found among the clothes of the countess of Salisbury by the lord admiral||. Upon this, Margaret countess of Salisbury; Gertrude, marchioness of Exeter;

Attain-
ders and
executi-
ons.

* Herbert, p. 219. † Herbert, p. 218. Statutes, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13. ‡ Journals, 31 Hen. VIII. § Ibid.

|| Herbert, p. 219. Hall, f. 234.

A.D. 1539. Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley; and cardinal Pole, son to the countess; were attainted of high treason, though no particulars of their guilt, or of the proceedings against them, are recorded in the Journals. The two knights were executed, the marchioness was pardoned, and the countess was respited*.

Prepara-
tions for
war.

The report of so many executions, and of the dissolution of so many monasteries in England, made a mighty noise on the continent. Not only the pope, but both the emperor and the king of France, were shocked at the violence of these proceedings; and as these two princes seemed to be perfectly reconciled, Henry began to be apprehensive of an invasion. To be prepared for such an event, he went to Dover, and ordered the fortifications of it to be repaired; visited the sea-coast, and directed bulwarks to be erected in various places; commanded his fleet to be made ready for sea, and sent commissions into every county to array all the men capable of bearing arms. He reviewed the militia of London, May 8th, which made a most splendid appearance†. The parliament was adjourned, that the members might be present at this fine show. But this was a false alarm. These princes had other objects in view, and were not prepared for such an undertaking.

The king's
marriage.

Henry had now been more than a year a widower, and in that time had been engaged in several treaties of marriage, particularly in one with the duchess dowager of Milan, and in another with Mary of Guise, who married his nephew James V. of Scotland. Lord Cromwell wished to see him united with a Protestant princess, and recommended Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves, who was reported to be a beauty, of which he knew Henry to be a great admirer. Cromwell was then a mighty favourite, having been lately admitted a knight of the garter, and created earl of Essex, and his recommendation was too successful. The preliminaries were soon adjusted, though one difficulty occurred. There had been a treaty of marriage begun between the lady Anne and the prince of Lorraine; and it became a question how far that treaty had proceeded. But the duke of Cleves and his ministers affirmed, that there had been no contract or espousals; and of this they promised to pro-

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 652.

† Hall, f. 235.


duce sufficient proof; on which the terms of the king's marriage with her were settled. She was brought over from Calais by the earl of Southampton with a fleet of fifty sail, and landed at Deal, December 27th, and by slow journies, and with a degree of expence and pomp unknown in modern times, conducted to Greenwich, where the royal nuptials were solemnized, January 6th, with extraordinary festivity and splendor *.

A.D. 1539.

But in the midst of all these outward appearances of joy and triumph the king was devoured by inward chagrin and discontent. Impatient to see his future queen, he had gone incognito to Rochester, January 2d, and had a sight of her without his being known. But she appeared to him very different from what she had been represented by her picture, and the descriptions he had received of her person; and he expressed his aversion and disgust to those about him in very strong but indelicate terms. He made himself known to her however, and received her with civility and even seeming kindness. But her conversation did not compensate for the deficiency of her personal charms. She understood no language but her native German, had no knowledge of music, in which he delighted, and he perceived that she would prove a very insipid companion. He entertained some thoughts therefore of sending her back unmarried. But upon further consideration, this appeared to be a very dangerous measure in his present circumstances. The emperor had lately passed through France, had spent some time with the king at Paris, and he strongly suspected that these two monarchs had formed some designs against him at the instigation of the pope. He knew that many of his own subjects were disaffected, and he entertained strong suspicions of the designs of his nephew the king of Scotland, who had lately assumed the title of Defender of the Christian Faith. To have sent back the sister of the duke of Cleves, and the sister-in-law of the elector of Saxony, the most powerful prince in the Smalcaldic league, would have deprived him of all hopes of an alliance with that league, and left him exposed to the assaults of his most formidable neighbours, without a single ally. He resolved therefore to proceed to the marriage, though with extreme re-

1540.
Henry dis-
contented.

* Hall, f. 238—242. Herbert, p. 223.

A.D. 1540.  reluctance. But his aversion and dislike became greater after marriage than it had been before. Being asked by Cromwell next morning, if he now liked the queen better than he did before; he answered: "Nay, much worse; for that having found by some signs that she was no maid, he had no disposition to meddle with her*." He carefully concealed this secret for some time, and continued to treat her, in public, with every proper mark of attention and regard.

Parliament.

The parliament, after two prorogations, met at Westminster, April 12th. This was the first session of the English parliament to which no abbots or priors were summoned, as all their monasteries were now dissolved, and their baronies annexed to the crown, which very much diminished the number and the influence of the spiritual lords in that assembly. The session was opened with a speech by the lord chancellor Audley, in which he acquainted them that this parliament had been at first called, and was now again assembled, to promote the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the happiness of the kingdom.

A subsidy. It soon appeared, that the parliament was assembled at this time for a very unexpected purpose, of which the chancellor took no notice. That purpose was to obtain a subsidy; though the same parliament had been told about a year before, that if they granted the king all the monasteries, (which they did,) neither he nor any of his successors would have occasion to demand any subsidies from their subjects†. A bill however for granting the king one tenth and one fifteenth was brought into the House of Commons early in the session. This must have excited great surprise. What was become of all that wealth so lately granted to the crown, which was to enrich it for ever, and put an end to all subsidies? This most shameful demand was not rejected; we are not even certain that it met with any opposition. This we know, that the bill was brought into the House of Lords, May 10th, read only once, and passed with the assent and consent of all who were present, and so was expedited and concluded‡. Party rage hath often clogged the wheels of government, and created opposition to

* Herbert, p. 222.

† Coke's 4 Institute, f. 44.

‡ Journals, vol. i. p. 135.

the most salutary measures. But in this reign it had a contrary effect, and procured the most unapimous consent to the most exorbitant demands. This seems to have been owing to the great power and awful character of the king, and to the earnest desire of each of the two parties, the Protestants and Papists, to gain him to their side, which they knew could only be done by a blind compliance with his will. The clergy were no less complaisant and generous to the king than the laity. The convocation of Canterbury made him a free gift of four shillings in the pound of all their ecclesiastical revenues, and the convocation of York followed their example *. But though these grants passed in the parliament and convocation with great seeming unanimity, they were far from being agreeable either to the clergy or the laity; and they brought a great load of popular odium upon Cromwell, to whom they were imputed.

Henry's avarice was not yet satiated, nor the parliament weary of granting: for at the same time they dissolved the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and granted all their houses, lands, and goods, to the king †. The reasons assigned for this, we are told, were these: "Because they drew yearly great sums out of the kingdom, supported by the usurped power of the pope, had lost the island of Rhodes to the Turks, and because their revenues might be better employed ‡."

These measures, though they were approved by parliament, were exceedingly unpopular, and excited universal murmurs against the king and his favourite Cromwell. But Cromwell was no longer a favourite. He had been the proposer and promoter of the late joyless marriage of Anne of Cleves; and Henry, who was naturally fickle and impetuous in all his passions, began, about this time, to cast an amorous eye on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, which gave that duke, and the other heads of the popish party, great influence at court. By their whispers and misrepresentations of Cromwell's words and actions, the king's friendship for him was quite extinguished, and he abandoned him to the malice of his enemies. He was accused of high

Knights of
St. John
dissolved.

Cromwell
imprison-
ed.

* Wilkin. Con. vol. iii. p. 850.

† Herbert p. 224.

‡ Journals, p. 136.

A.D. 1540. treason at the council-board, June the 10th, by the duke of Norfolk, and immediately committed to the Tower*.

Cromwell
attainted. Thomas lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, knight of the garter, lord chamberlain, and the king's vicegerent in spirituals, who a few weeks before had a place assigned him by act of parliament above all the spiritual and temporal peers of England, was carried from his seat in the council chamber Westminster, through the streets of London to the Tower, at three o'clock in the afternoon, June 10th, forsaken by all his friends, and followed by a prodigious crowd of people, hissing and cursing the fallen minister. The violence of Henry's passions was so well known, that none dared to plead the cause of one who had become the object of his anger, except the archbishop of Canterbury. That humane and generous prelate, though he knew his danger, wrote a long letter to the king, in which he enumerated the great and good qualities of the degraded minister, and represented in very strong terms the great improbability, or rather impossibility, that one who loved the king as he loved his God, who had served him so long with so much fidelity, zeal, and success, who depended so entirely upon him, and had received so many benefits from him, could be guilty of high treason. He even went so far as to say, "He was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had †." But this letter had no effect. Cromwell's destruction was determined. A bill of attainder against him for high treason was brought into the House of Lords, June 17th, which is thus slightly mentioned in the Journals; "To-day was read the bill of attainder of Thomas earl of Essex ‡." On the 19th of June this bill was read a second and a third time, and passed, with the common consent of all who were present, not one contradicting, and sent to the commons §. We have not the least hint in the Journals of any witnesses having been examined, or of there having been any debate on this bill, in the House of Lords. It seems to have met with opposition in the House of Commons, though we know not the particulars; for

* Journals, p. 143.

† Journals, p. 145.

‡ Herbert, p. 223.

§ Ibid. p. 146.

we hear no more of it till June 29th, when among other bills returned from the commons, is mentioned, "A bill of attainder of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, for the crimes of heresy and high treason, formed anew by the commons, and passed, with a provision annexed; which bill was read a second and third time, and the provision concerning the deanry of Wells was read three times, and passed. At the same time was returned with it the bill of attainder that had formerly been sent to the House of Commons †." It appears therefore to have been the bill of the commons that finally passed both houses. The preamble to that bill begins thus: "That the king having raised Thomas Cromwell from a base degree to great dignities and high trusts, yet he had now, by a great number of witnesses, persons of high honour, found him to be the most corrupt traitor, and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign ‡. It was the king then, or rather the prevailing party in his council, that found Cromwell to be so great a traitor, and that on the testimony of witnesses that are not named. Then a long enumeration of his heresies and treasons follow in the act, and they are such as these: That he had permitted people to go out of the kingdom without being searched; that he had given some commissions without the king's knowledge; that he had dispersed books, licensed heretical preachers, checked informers against heretics, and infected many of the king's subjects with heresy; that being a man of low birth he had amassed a great estate, and treated the nobility with contempt. For these and some vain passionate speeches he was attainted to suffer the pains of death for heresy and treason, as should please the king*.

After this act of attainder had passed both houses, and received the royal assent, Cromwell wrote several letters to the king imploring mercy. With one of these, it is said, he was much affected, commanded it to be read to him three times, and seemed to be on the point of relenting. But the charms of Catherine Howard, and the importunities of Norfolk and Gardiner, at length prevailed; all thoughts of mercy were stifled, and an or-

Cromwell
beheaded.

* Journals, p. 149.

† Burnet, p. 278.

‡ Ibid.

A.D. 1540. der given for beheading him on Tower-hill, July 28th, which was executed *. Thus fell Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, a sacrifice to the passions of a capricious tyrant, to whom he had been too obsequious. He was certainly one of the greatest and most extraordinary men of the age in which he flourished, and (if we may believe that excellent prelate archbishop Cranmer, who was a very capable judge, and knew him well) one of the wisest and most upright ministers that had ever served a king of England. His astonishing rise, from one of the lowest ranks in society to a very uncommon degree of honour, power, and riches, without the advantage of education, seems to be a sufficient indication of his abilities; and the very accusations brought against him by the ingenuity and malice of his enemies, are such, that they afford a strong presumptive proof of his prudence and integrity.

Commis-
sion to try
the king's
marriage.

As soon as Henry had got his minister attainted, he proceeded to get his queen divorced; and he found his parliament as obsequious in the one as they had been in the other. A motion was made in the House of Lords, July 6th, by the chancellor, lord Audley, "That an humble address be presented to the king, that he would be graciously pleased to grant a commission to the convocation of both provinces, to try the validity of his present marriage, and that application be made to the commons for their concurrence." This motion was unanimously approved. A deputation was sent to the commons, who readily agreed to join in the address. The whole House of Lords, with about twenty of the commons, immediately went to court, and being admitted into the royal presence, the lord chancellor said, "That the two houses of parliament wished to mention a matter of great moment to his majesty, and humbly prayed, that his most excellent serenity, out of his inestimable goodness, would grant them his permission." To which the king replied, "That he had so good an opinion of his two houses of parliament, that he was convinced they would not propose any thing that was iniquitous, dishonest, or unreasonable; and therefore he permitted them to speak with impunity, and promised to hear them benignly

* Burnet, p. 284.

“ and favourably.” The lord chancellor then presented the above address. To which the king made answer, “ That though the matter was of very great moment, yet he could not deny them, nor refuse to commit the affair of his marriage to the convocation of both provinces; in which he believed there were as many grave, learned, honest, and pious men as in any part of the world, and did not doubt but their decision would be just, equitable, and holy; and commanded letters patent to be made out for that purpose. He further called God to witnesses, that he would conceal nothing that could contribute to discover the truth; and that he had nothing at heart but the glory of God, the good of the kingdom, and the freedom and majesty of justice.” Then the nobles, after no more than a most humble salutation, retired *. This was a very splendid piece of political mummery, and was, no doubt, conducted with all becoming gravity.

On the same day, July 6th, the promised commission passed the seals, and was next morning presented to the convocation at Saint Paul’s. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, made a long harangue to both houses; in which he enumerated the various doubts that were entertained concerning the validity of the king’s marriage. The convocation then appointed a committee of six bishops and twelve members of the lower house, to examine witnesses, and to procure all the information they could, and to lay it before the next meeting, between six and eight o’clock next morning, to which they adjourned. The committee spent that afternoon in taking the evidence of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the other great officers of the crown, and two of the king’s physicians. Next morning the bishop of Winchester laid all the evidences, with certain instruments relating to the marriage, before both houses. The convocation, after spending a considerable time in reading these instruments and evidences, and deliberating on the merits of the cause, adjourned to three o’clock in the afternoon. At that meeting the archbishop of Canterbury, with the assent of all the members of both houses, pronounced the sentence of divorce; declaring the marriage of the king and Anne of Cleves unlawful, and that both parties

A.D. 1540.

The king’s divorce.

* Journals, vol. i. p. 153.

A.D. 1540. were at liberty to marry elsewhere. The convocation then appointed the former committee to prepare an instrument of the divorce in due form, to be presented to the king, and adjourned to the next day. The committee, on that day, July 9th, laid before the convocation the instrument of the divorce; containing the grounds on which the sentence was founded, which were these: 1. Because there had been a treaty of marriage between the lady Anne and the prince of Lorrain, which perhaps proceeded to a contract, and renders your majesty's marriage with that lady doubtful and perplexed. 2. Because your majesty was betrayed into that marriage by flattering descriptions of the lady's beauty, which were false. 3. Because your majesty never gave your entire hearty consent to that marriage, but entered into it with great inward reluctance. 4. Because your majesty had not consummated, and neither will nor can consummate that marriage by the *carnalis copula*. 5. Because it will be a great advantage to the kingdom, that your majesty be set at liberty to contract a marriage with some other lady. For all these causes together, and for each of them separately, the convocation declared the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves unlawful, null, and void; and that he was at liberty to contract another marriage*. How trivial, or rather how ridiculous, are the causes assigned for their sentence by this venerable assembly! How surprising the unlimited ascendant that this prince possessed over the minds of his subjects in parliament and convocation! He could desire nothing of these great assemblies, however unreasonable, that they did not grant with perfect unanimity and seeming alacrity.

Confirmed
by parliament.

This sentence of the convocation was reported, July 10th, to the House of Lords first, by archbishop Cranmer and the bishop of Winchester, and the lords sent these two prelates to communicate it to the House of Commons. It was very agreeable to both houses; for on Monday, July 12th, a bill for annulling the king's marriage was brought into the House of Lords, and the next day passed that house, and was sent to the com-

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 851—855. Strype, vol. i. Records, p. 306—315.

mons, who passed it with equal expedition *. This bill, ^{A.D. 1540.} with many others, received the royal assent, July 24th, the last day of this parliament, in which (as we learn from the last article in the Journals) there had not been any difference of opinion on any subject in the House of Lords during the whole session †. A thing that could not have happened if there had been any freedom of debate.

When these transactions (which had been carefully concealed from her) were communicated to the divorced queen, by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Southampton, she was not so much affected as might have been expected; and when they told her that the king designed to declare her his adopted sister, to grant her 3000*l.* a year for her honourable support, and to give her precedency of all the ladies of the court, except his queen and daughters, she seemed to be perfectly satisfied. At Henry's desire, she even wrote to her brother and her family, assuring them that she had been well used in England, where she resolved to remain; that she was perfectly pleased with her situation, and intreated them not to be offended at any thing that had happened ‡.

If Henry was impatient to be divorced from one lady, ^{King's} he was no less impatient to be united to another. His marriage with Catherine Howard, daughter of lord Edmund Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfolk, was celebrated privately, and the exact date of it is not known; but she was presented, August 8th, to the whole court as queen §. The king was so much charmed with his new consort, that he commanded his almoner to compose a form of thanksgiving to God, for the felicity he enjoyed in her society; and on All-saints-day, when he received the sacrament, he publicly gave thanks to God for the happy life he now led, and hoped to lead, with his beloved queen ||. But this extraordinary felicity, of which he was so ostentatious, was not of long duration.

Much blood was shed on the scaffold, and many persons of different ranks were executed in England this ^{1541.} year; some on a civil, and others on a religious account. ^{Countess of Sarum beheaded.}

* Journals, vol. i. p. 155, 157.

† Ibid.

‡ Burnet, vol. i. p. 282.

§ Hall, f. 2. 43. Stowe, p. 581.

|| Burnet, p. 311.

A.D. 1541. The most illustrious of these sufferers was the aged countess of Salisbury, Margaret, daughter of George duke of Clarence, second brother of Edward IV. mother of cardinal Pole, and the last of the royal race of the Plantagenets. This venerable matron, descended from so long a line of kings, had been attainted by parliament, A. D. 1539, and had been kept in prison ever since. Disregarding her sex, her age, and her royal descent, she was brought to a scaffold in the Tower, May 27th, to be beheaded, where, though now in her seventieth year, she behaved with great spirit and magnanimity. When she was desired to lay her head upon the block, she obstinately refused, saying, "I am no traitor; I have done nothing to deserve death; if you will have my head," shaking her gray locks, "you must get it as well as you can." In consequence of this, she was butchered rather than beheaded *. What provoked Henry to this act of cruelty it is impossible to discover. She was perhaps suspected of exciting a trifling insurrection in the north, which was instantly suppressed; or of corresponding with her son the cardinal. But the truth is, we are much better informed of the punishments than of the crimes of many eminent persons in this reign.

Treaty. That warmth of friendship which had long subsisted between the kings of France and England was now much abated; owing to various causes, but chiefly to the artifices of the emperor, who had long laboured to create a misunderstanding between them. Henry apprehended an attack upon his territories in France, and was at no little expence in repairing the fortifications, and strengthening the garrisons of Calais and Guisnes. But as both these princes wished to avoid an open rupture at this time, they appointed commissioners to meet and settle the disputes that had arisen upon the marches, which were but trifling †.

Progress. There was nothing Henry more earnestly desired than to gain the friendship and confidence of his nephew, James V. of Scotland. With this view he had solicited an interview with him at York, to which, it is said, James consented. Henry therefore, with his queen and court, set out on a progress into the north in the begin-

* Herbert, p. 227.

† Hall, f. 243.

ning of August, and in his way visited those parts of the country where the late insurrections had chiefly prevailed. He was every where received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and the strongest expressions of loyalty; and the more effectually to conciliate his favour, and efface the remembrance of their former conduct, the towns, the nobility, and the clergy, presented him with considerable sums of money, according to their abilities. On the borders of Yorkshire he was met by two hundred gentlemen, who fell upon their knees, and by the mouth of Sir Robert Bowes, made their submission, and presented him with 900*l*. The archbishop, at the head of three hundred priests, met him three miles from York, and made him a present of 600*l*. These were valuable presents in those times; but this mighty monarch did not disdain to accept of 20*l*. from the town of Stamford †. The king and court of England remained twelve days at York, expecting the arrival of the king of Scotland. But that prince was persuaded, or rather bribed, by his clergy to stay at home. Henry was greatly irritated at this disappointment, and returned into the south, fully determined on a war with Scotland.

The death of Cromwell, the king's matrimonial connection with the family of Norfolk, and his excessive fondness for his queen, had filled the popish party with the most sanguine hopes, and the friends of the reformation with the most alarming fears. But an unexpected discovery was now made, which blasted the hopes of the one, and dispelled the fears of the other. When the king was in the north, one John Lossels came to the archbishop of Canterbury, and made a discovery of the queen's lewdness before her marriage, which he said had been communicated to him by his sister, who had been a servant in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk, in which the queen resided. According to his account she had conducted her criminal intercourse with two gentlemen, Mannoc and Derham, (who held offices in the family,) with so little secrecy, that her guilt was notorious, and could be clearly proved. Particularly, that three different female servants had at different times and frequently slept all night in the same bed with her and

Information against the queen.

* Hall, f. 244.

A.D. 1541. Derham, and had told this to his sister and the other servants; and that Mannoc discovered such an intimate knowledge of her person to some of his fellow-servants, as he could not have obtained without the most indecent and criminal familiarity. The archbishop wrote the particulars of this information, and communicated them to the lord chancellor and the earl of Hertford, who had been left at London. They all agreed that it was necessary to communicate this disagreeable information to the king; and that unpleasant talk was laid upon the archbishop *.

The queen detected; The king returned from his progress in the end of October, and it was on November 1st, when he took the sacrament, that he thanked God publicly for the happiness he enjoyed with his queen. The very next day the archbishop came to court, and had an audience of the king, in which he said nothing of the queen; but as he was taking his leave, he put the paper containing Loffels' declaration into his hand. Henry was then in the height of his dotage upon the queen; and it is impossible to conceive the surprise and horror with which he was seized on perusing that paper. At first he exclaimed in a rage that it was false; it was impossible. But when he became more cool, and observed how very pointed and particular the information was, he resolved to make an inquiry. He sent with great secrecy for the lord privy seal, the lord admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Thomas Wriothesly, and communicated to them, in confidence, the information he had received, and his resolution to make an inquiry into the truth of it, but in such a manner as to give no alarm to the queen, and to raise no scandal. The earl of Southampton, lord privy seal, examined Loffels, who adhered to the information he had given the archbishop, and had received from his sister. The earl then went into Suffex, where the sister lived, on a pretence of hunting; called at her house as if by accident, and asking some indifferent questions, insensibly led her to speak of the queen, and what she had said to her brother. She confirmed every thing she had said, and added other circumstances and evidences. On this, Mannoc and Derham were seized on different pretences; and being privately examined, and finding that

* Herbert, p. 228.

their secrets were discovered, they confessed their own A.D. 1541. guilt and the queen's, and gave still further information. When all this was reported to the king, he burst into tears, and bitterly bewailed his unhappiness*.

The queen was now removed to Sion, but without any indication of unkindness or disgrace. There she was examined by the primate, the chancellor, her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and some other lords. At first she denied every thing: but when she found that all was discovered, and would be proved, she made and subscribed a confession of her guilt with Derham before her marriage, but denied any pre-contract, or any violation of her marriage vows†. In this, however, she was not believed; for in the course of their inquiries it had been discovered that one Culpeper, a relation of her's by her mother, had carried on a criminal correspondence with her before marriage, and that when the court was at Lincoln on the late progress, he was introduced by lady Rochford into the queen's bed-chamber at eleven o'clock in the evening, and had remained there till four o'clock the next morning. Besides, she had procured a place at court for Derham, and taken one of the women who had been accustomed to sleep with her and him into her service. In a word, it was now fully proved, that she had been a dissolute wanton before her marriage, and made highly probable that she intended to continue the same course of life after. On these discoveries Culpeper was imprisoned, and the queen and lady Rochford were sent to the Tower. Derham and Culpeper were tried and found guilty, November 30th, and were executed, December 10th, at Tyburn‡. The old duchess of Norfolk, the queen's grandmother, lord William Howard her uncle, and several other relations and servants of the family, were found guilty of misprision of treason, for concealing her vicious conduct, (which seems to have been no great secret,) and condemned to perpetual imprisonment§.

A new parliament met, January 16th, A. D. 1542, and was opened by the chancellor with a very long speech, which (say the Journals) it would have required three hours to write, and one hour to read; and the clerks

* Herbert, p. 228, 229.

† Stowe, p. 383.

‡ Burnet, vol. iii. Records, p. 171.

§ Herbert, p. 229.

A.D. 1542. were so much engaged with other business, that they could only take down a small part of it. An awkward apology for omitting every thing that related to the queen. What they have preserved of this famous speech is a specimen of the most extravagant flattery. Among other things, the chancellor said, "That when his most sacred majesty came to the throne, he prayed to God to grant him wisdom and understanding; and the Almighty had anointed him with the oil of wisdom above his fellows, above all the other kings of the earth, and above all his predecessors." Every time the king was named in this long speech, which was very often, all the lords and commons bowed almost to the ground, to signify their approbation of the praises bestowed upon him*. On the third day of the parliament the king received more incense of the same kind, and equally strong, from Thomas Moile, speaker of the House of Commons.

The queen
attained
and be-
headed.

The great end for which this parliament was called, was to dispose of the queen, and make the king once more a widower; and they set about that business without delay; for the very next day, January 21st, a bill of attainder of Catherine Howard, late queen of England, and of Jane lady Rochford, for high treason; of Agnes duchess of Norfolk, lord William Howard, and others, for misprision of treason; was brought into the House of Peers, and read a first time†. On Saturday, January 28th, the lord chancellor represented to the house the great delicacy and caution that were to be used in trying a queen; and proposed to appoint a committee to examine her, and report her answers to the king. This motion was universally approved; and the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Westminster, were appointed a committee for that purpose. But they were directed not to do any thing till they had consulted the king and obtained his permission. This mode of proceeding, it seems on further consideration, did not please the king; for on Monday, January 30th, the lord chancellor acquainted the house that a better method had occurred to the king's council, viz. to petition the king to grant his permission to them to proceed and finish the queen's

* Journals, p. 164, 165.

† Ibid. p. 168.

cause; and that when it was finished he would give his royal assent, not in person, lest that should revive his sorrow, which now began to abate, but by commission; and that he would graciously pardon the members of his parliament, if in the course of this business any of them spoke disrespectfully of the queen. None of this tenderness was shewn by the king and parliament to the amiable and unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Next day the lord chancellor reported to the house, that their petitions had been presented to the king, and that he had been graciously pleased to grant them all. The chancellor, February 11th, produced before both houses, an act of attainder of Catherine Howard, late queen of England, and of lady Jane Rochford, for high treason; of the duchess of Norfolk, the countess of Bridgewater her daughter, the lord William Howard and his lady, other four men and five women, for misprision of treason; signed by the king, as an evidence of his assent*. The day after, February 12th, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on a scaffold in the Tower†. The execution of lady Rochford (who had been the chief instrument of the death of her own husband lord Rochford, and of his sister queen Anne Boleyn) revived the memory of these lamented sufferers, and contributed still further to convince the world of their innocence.

The act of attainder of the queen contained several curious clauses, dictated, it is probable, by the present peevish discontented humour of the king. By one of these clauses it was made high treason to conceal the incontinence of the queen for the time being. By another it was declared, that if the king, or any of his successors, should intend to marry any woman, believing her to be a clean and pure maid, and she not being so, did not reveal the same to the king, it should be high treason; and if any other person knew her not to be a maid, and did not reveal it, it should be misprision of treason. By another, it was made high treason in the queen or prince's wife to solicit, by words or messages, any person to intrigue with them; and in any person, in like manner, to solicit them, and in all their confidants and abettors‡. These indelicate dishonourable laws were repealed in the first year of the succeeding reign.

* Journals, p. 171, 172, 176.

† Burnet, p. 313.

‡ Statutes, 33 Hen. VIII. c. 21.

A.D. 1542.

Negotia-
tions.

Henry, as hath been already observed, had been greatly irritated at his nephew, James V. for not meeting him at York, and had resolved upon a war with Scotland. But before he entered upon that war, he thought it prudent to secure a peace with France, that Scotland might receive no assistance from that quarter. With this view he sent Sir William Paget to the court of France, to propose a renewal of the treaty of perpetual peace and amity. But the French ministry, knowing or suspecting the design of this proposal, replied, that the treaty was conditional, and that the king of England had violated these conditions. The ambassador recriminated, the negotiation degenerated into angry altercations, and Paget, at his return, reported that there could be no reliance on the friendship of France *. Though king James had been prevailed upon by his clergy not to keep the appointment at York, he earnestly desired to avoid a war, and sent the bishop of Orkney and John Leirmont, master of his household, to the court of England, to pacify his uncle, and regain his friendship. But these ambassadors met with a very cold reception; and the army designed for an invasion of Scotland being now ready, Henry published a very long declaration of war, in which he insisted at great length on the antiquated claim of the kings of England to the superiority of Scotland. He did not forget James's breach of his engagement to meet him at York, which was in reality the only thing of which he had any reason to complain. But he took care not to mention his real inducement to this war, which was to compel his nephew, since he could not persuade him, to relinquish his alliance with France, and enter into an intimate union with England †.

War with
Scotland.

The English army, consisting of twenty thousand men well appointed, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, attended by six earls, and many lords, knights, and gentlemen, entered Scotland, October 21st, burnt several villages, with the town and abbey of Kelso, and returned to Berwick on the 29th of the same month. It is difficult to account for the sudden retreat of this formidable army. An English historian says, they could stay no longer for cold and hunger ‡. But if warmth and plenty prevailed in England, they were never at a greater distance

* Herbert, p. 231.

† Hall, f. 248—254.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

from

from it than ten miles. However that may be, as soon as the English retreated, the Scots prepared to invade England by the West marches with an army of fifteen thousand men. The king conducted his troops to Caerlaverock, where he remained: but when the army arrived at Solway-moss, and were ready to enter England, Oliver Sinclair, the king's hated minion, was proclaimed general, which threw the whole army into confusion, and a disposition to disband. Sir Thomas Wharton, warden of the West marches, Sir William Musgrave, and the bastard of Dacres, at the head of a body of horse, observing this disorder, advanced, and to their great surprise met with no resistance. Many lords, gentlemen, and others, surrendered themselves prisoners to the first who approached them, while the rest fled on every side*. When king James (who had of late discovered some symptoms of a disordered imagination) received the news of this disaster, he became quite frantic, and soon after sunk into a settled melancholy, from which he never recovered, but died, December 14th, leaving an infant princess, only seven days old, heiress of his dominions†: a princess who became the object of much ambitious competition and of many political intrigues during her life, and of much literary altercation after her death.

The earls of Cassells and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with about twenty of the principal gentlemen who had been taken at Solway-moss, were carried to London, and after two days imprisonment, they were committed to the custody of certain prelates and noblemen, by whom they were hospitably entertained. When Henry heard of the death of king James and the birth of his daughter, he began to entertain thoughts of a marriage between his son the prince of Wales and the infant queen of Scotland, and invited his prisoners to Hampton Court to a royal feast. In the midst of the festivity the project of the marriage was introduced, and the king, observing that it was approved by the Scotch lords and gentlemen, proposed to give them their liberty, on condition that they promised to promote the marriage with all their power in their own country, and that they gave hostages for their return into confinement if they proved unfuc-

A.D. 1542.



1543.

Projected marriage.

* Hall, f. 255. Stowe, p. 583.

† Herbert, p. 233.

A.D. 1543. cefsful. They joyfully accepted these conditions, set out on their journey homeward, January 1st, A. D. 1543, and visited the prince of Wales at Enfield the same day. At Newcastle they delivered their hostages to the duke of Suffolk, and arrived at Edinburgh about the middle of January *.

Treaty.

There had been a kind of piratical war carried on between the French and English merchants all the preceding year, and now a national war appeared to be unavoidable. Henry had for a considerable time past been dissatisfied with his former friend king Francis on various accounts, and had been secretly negotiating an alliance with his great adversary the emperor, with whom he had been long at variance. This negociation was brought to maturity in the beginning of this year, and on February 11th a treaty of peace, amity, and friendship, between the emperor and Henry king of England, and their heirs and successors for ever, was concluded, and signed by their plenipotentiaries †. This treaty is very long, and contains all the general articles inserted in those fragile short-lived treaties of perpetual peace. By one article the two confederates agree to demand of the king of France, by their ambassadors at his court, That he break off all intercourse with the Turk, and recal his residents; that he repay all the losses sustained by Christendom from the Turk by his procurement; that he cease from war with the emperor, that he may be at liberty to defend Christendom from the Turk; that he immediately pay the king of England all the arrears of his perpetual pension, and give him lands as a security for the regular payment of it in future. If the king of France did not comply with these requisitions, (which they perfectly well knew he would not,) they then agree to declare war against him, the emperor claiming Burgundy, and the king of England claiming the crown of France; and that they should not make peace but by mutual consent. By the subsequent articles the *quotas* of money and troops to be furnished by each of the contracting parties were settled ‡. After the conclusion of this treaty both princes prepared for war.

* Hall, f. 255.

† Rym. tom. xiv. p. 768—780.

‡ Id. Ibid. Herbert, p. 236, 237.

To be provided with money, the sinews of war, the king held a session of parliament, which began January 22d. A bill for granting the king a subsidy was brought up from the Commons to the House of Peers, March 6th, and read next day for the first time, and sent back to the commons: it was brought up again to the peers, March 9th, with a proviso annexed, which was read the day after: on the 14th it was sent back to the commons with a proviso for the town of Stamford, and on the 15th brought up again to the lords. No farther notice is taken of this bill (which had been thus tossed between the two houses) in the Journals. It appears, however, from the list of the acts made in this session, that this bill did pass both houses, and received the royal assent*. The subsidy granted was as follows: "They who were "in goods worth twenty shillings and upwards to five "pounds, paid four pence of every pound, from five "pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten to "twenty pounds, sixteen pence; from twenty and up- "wards, two shillings. All strangers, as well denizens "as others, inhabiting here, double the sum. As for "lands, fees, and annuities, every native paid eight "pence in the pound, from one pound to five pounds; "from five to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten to "twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty and up- "wards, three shillings. Strangers double these rates†." The clergy of both provinces in convocation granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound of all their ecclesiastical revenues, to be paid in three years; and this grant was confirmed by an act of parliament‡.

A.D. 1543
Subsidy.

When the Scotch lords and gentlemen above mentioned, accompanied by the earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had been fifteen years exiles in England, arrived at Edinburgh, they found their country in great confusion: they immediately applied to James Hamilton earl of Arran, governor of the kingdom, and communicated to him the king of England's proposal of a peace between the two nations, and of a marriage between the infant queen and his only son the prince of Wales. The governor approved of this proposal, and promised to promote its success with all

Treaties.

* Journals, p. 213—235. † Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 190.

‡ Journals, p. 235.

A.D. 1543. his power. With this view he assembled a great council of the nobility, January 27th, and laid the proposal before them, which met with their approbation; and it was resolved to summons a parliament to meet, March 13th, at Edinburgh. When the parliament met, few of the noblemen of the French party attended, and cardinal Beaton, the head of that party, was put in confinement. The majority therefore declared in favour of the peace and marriage; and William earl of Glencarne; Sir George Douglas, brother to the earl of Angus; William Hamilton, of Sanquhar; John Liermont, of Balcomy; and Henry Balnavis, secretary, were appointed commissioners, May 4th, to negotiate these two important affairs *. Henry appointed the lord chancellor Audley, the duke of Norfolk, the bishops of Winchester and Westminster, the lord St. John, and Sir John Gage, his plenipotentiaries. The treaty of peace was concluded, and contained nothing uncommon: but the treaty of marriage was attended with more difficulty, and it took up a considerable time before all the conditions could be settled. At length, however, both treaties were signed, July 1st, at Greenwich. Henry had at first proposed, that the infant queen should be immediately sent into England, and that the government of the kingdom, with the chief places of strength, should be committed to him as guardian to his son and future daughter-in-law; and these were the conditions which his prisoners had promised their endeavours to procure. But the Scots were too jealous of their independency, and had too little confidence in their powerful ambitious neighbour, to listen to these proposals. All he could obtain was, that he might send a nobleman, with his lady and family, to reside with the queen, and assist in taking care of her health and education; and that, when she was ten years of age, she should be conducted to Berwick, and there delivered to such honourable persons as were appointed to receive her: but that the marriage should be solemnized by proxies, according to the rites of the church, before the queen left Scotland; and that if she became a widow without issue by that marriage, she should be permitted to return to her own kingdom, free from all matrimonial engagements. By other arti-

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 781—785.

cles, the freedom and independency of the kingdom, A.D. 1543. and the continuance of the earl of Arran in the government of it, were anxiously secured *. But all this was only the work of one party of the nobles and people of Scotland, and was soon overturned.

While Henry was thus employed in negotiating a marriage for his son, he was not unmindful of one for himself. The late act of parliament rendered him a dangerous gallant to maiden ladies; he therefore made his addresses to a widow, and married the lady Catherine Parr, relict of the lord Latimer, and she was presented, July 12th, to the whole court as queen †. The king's marriage.

At the same time that Henry announced his marriage, he published his league with the emperor, and prepared for a war with France in consequence of that league. War with France. The emperor began the war by an attack on the duke of Cleves, who, unable to resist so powerful an enemy, submitted, and renounced his alliance with France. Henry, agreeably to a stipulation in his treaty with the emperor, sent six thousand men, under the command of Sir John Wallop, to the assistance of that prince. These troops landed at Calais, marched along the confines of France, and joined the imperial army at the siege of Landrecy. But this town was so bravely defended, that the emperor was obliged to raise the siege, and put his army into winter-quarters *. Thus ended this campaign, without any considerable advantage on either side.

In the mean time affairs had taken a very unfavourable turn in Scotland. Cardinal Beaton, by corrupting his keeper the lord Seaton, had obtained his liberty, and had called a meeting of the clergy at St. Andrews, to whom he represented, that if the marriage of the queen with the prince of Wales was not prevented, they would be ruined, and deprived of all their possessions: by which means he obtained a great sum of money from them, with which he confirmed and encouraged his own partisans, and gained some of the other party. The queen-mother, a lady of uncommon abilities and address, though she made the fairest professions to Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, secretly and cordially co-operated with the cardinal against the governor and Affairs of Scotland.

* Rym. p. 792—796.
† Stowe, p. 585.

† Herbert, p. 239.

A.D. 1543. the match with England. But the weakness and irresolution of the governor himself gave the greatest advantage to his enemies against him and his party. To keep him steady, Henry directed his ambassador to promise the lady Elizabeth in marriage to his son lord Hamilton: but nothing could give him that firmness and fortitude which nature had denied him. The queen and cardinal knew his timidity, and employed various arts to rouse his fears. For this purpose they employed his natural brother the abbot of Paisley, who resided constantly with him, and had a great ascendant over him. The governor's father had been divorced from his first lady, and the abbot assured him, that if he did not abandon the party that favoured England and the reformation, the cardinal was determined to prevail upon the pope to reverse the sentence of his father's divorce, and declare him illegitimate, by which he would not only lose all hopes of succeeding to the crown, but that he would also be deprived of the estate and honours of his family, which would all devolve on his mortal enemy the earl of Lennox. To confirm his apprehensions, they recalled the earl of Lennox from France, received him with the most ostentatious marks of favour, and gave out that he was to marry the queen dowager, and to succeed to the crown, if the young queen died without issue. Greatly alarmed at this, the governor, after wavering some time between the two parties, at last resolved to abandon the party which had raised him to the government, and would have supported him, and to throw himself into the hands of the other party, who made him many specious but fallacious promises. He had a private meeting with the cardinal at Callendar, September 4th, in which all the terms of their agreement were settled, and rode with him the same evening to Stirling, where the two queens resided: there, it is said, he publicly abjured the doctrines of the reformers, to which he had before professed an attachment; and put his son, lord Hamilton, into the cardinal's hands, to be educated by him, but in reality as a hostage for his own fidelity to his new engagements. The cardinal's party, being thus strengthened by the accession of the governor and such of his friends as followed him, proceeded to the coronation

tion of the infant queen, September 9th, when she was only about ten months old *. A. D. 1543.

Henry was punctually informed of all these and many other events by his faithful resident Sir Ralph Sadler, and plainly perceived that the predominant party were in the interest of France and Rome, and would not fulfil the treaty of marriage unless they were compelled. He resolved therefore to renew the war, and began by encouraging the borderers to make incursions into Scotland, and by seizing all the Scotch ships in the ports of England. This last measure (which was certainly very cruel) inflamed the rage of the Scots exceedingly, and rendered the whole nation almost unanimous against the marriage and peace with England. This disposition of the people encouraged the governor, at the instigation of the cardinal, to call a parliament, which, on December 11th, declared, that Henry, king of England, had violated the late treaty of peace, on consideration of which the treaty of marriage between their queen and the prince of Wales had proceeded, by seizing the Scotch ships: "Therefore my lord governor and the three estates in parliament have declared, and do declare, the said treaties to be expired, and not to be kept in time coming, on the part of Scotland, by law, equity, and reason †." On the same day two ambassadors from the king of France appeared in parliament, sent, as they said, by the Most Christian King, to renew all the ancient treaties of friendship between France and Scotland, and to make new ones, and to offer them assistance to protect their queen and country against the king of England. The parliament appointed the cardinal, the earls of Argyle and Murray, the lord St. John, and Sir Adam Otterburn, to treat with the French ambassadors, for renewing the old and making a new alliance between the two nations ‡. Thus, by the weakness of the governor of Scotland, the cunning of cardinal Beaton, and the passionate rashness of the king of England, the pleasing prospect of peace and unity between the two British nations vanished, and the flames of war were rekindled.

To be provided for a war against both France and Scotland, the king assembled his parliament, January 1544.

* Sadler's Letters.

† Registers of Parliament, f. 103.

‡ Ibid, f. 104.

A.D. 1544. 14th, at Westminster. On the 24th of that month the bill for confirming the change of the king's style, from Lord of Ireland to King of Ireland, passed the House of Peers, and was sent to the Commons, by whom it was also passed *. As the king intended to command his army in France, he thought proper to have the rule of succession to the crown settled before his departure. A bill for that purpose was brought into the House of Peers, February 7th, passed on the 9th, and sent to the Commons. No mention is made in the Journals of its being returned; but it appears from the list of the acts passed this session, that it passed both houses, and received the royal assent. By this act the crown was settled,

1. On Edward prince of Wales and his lawful issue: 2. On the king's issue by his present, or any future queen: 3. On the princess Mary and her lawful issue: 4. On the princess Elizabeth and her lawful issue: and failing all these, on such as the king pleased to appoint by letters patent, or by his last will †. The parliament did not grant any subsidies in this session, but they did what was equally advantageous to the sovereign, and much more unjust and oppressive to many of the subjects. They released the king from all obligation to pay any sums of money he had borrowed from any of his subjects on the security of privy seals; and if he had paid all or any part of any of these sums, it was to be refunded; and if any person had sold his privy seal to another, he was to restore the price ‡. There could not be a more gross violation of the first and plainest principles of justice than this; and yet this was done by the king and parliament of England.

Invasion of
Scotland.

Henry determined to begin his martial operations by a formidable invasion of Scotland, then in a most miserable and distracted state, several of the chief nobility still adhering to the English interest, and family feuds raging with the greatest violence. Edward Seymour earl of Hertford, uncle to the prince of Wales, was appointed commander in chief, and marched to Newcastle with the army, which was there taken on board a fleet of two hundred ships, commanded by John Dudley,

* Journals, p. 240. Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

† Id. Ibid. c. 1. Herbert, p. 241.

‡ Ibid. c. 12.

lord Lisle, admiral of England, and landed May 4th, A.D. 1544 near Leith without opposition. On the approach of the army to the town a considerable body of horse appeared; but finding themselves too weak to encounter an army so numerous and well appointed, they retreated, and the English entered Leith, where they found more valuable plunder than they expected. The next day the English army marched to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which offered to surrender the town, on condition of security for their lives and properties. These offers being rejected, they shut their gates, and excluded their enemies one day: but next morning the English burst open one of the gates, and finding the place almost quite deserted, the soldiers were permitted to plunder it; and in that employment they spent three days, assisted by six thousand men, who had marched from Berwick. Having stripped the town of every thing that was valuable, they set it on fire in several places; and then plundered and burnt the towns, villages, and gentlemen's seats, in the neighbourhood. At length, weary with destroying, and loaded with booty, they returned to Leith, burnt that place, demolished the mole, embarked May 15th, and set sail. In their passage down the Firth they visited all the ports on both sides, and either burnt or carried off all the shipping. The army from Berwick returned to that place by land, marking their way with desolation†. By this unexpected invasion Henry did the Scots incredible mischief, and ruined the richest part of their country; but this rough kind of courtship was so far from promoting the object he had in view, the union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of his son with the infant queen of Scotland, that it rendered that project perfectly desperate.

It would be endless to trace the fluctuations of the English and French parties in Scotland at this time. Some of the nobility were almost daily changing sides, as circumstances varied. It may not be improper, however, to mention one of these changes, because it was productive of important consequences. After the earl of Lennox had answered the purposes for which he had been recalled from France, and had intimidated the governor so much that he had abandoned the English and em-

Treaty
with the
earl of
Lennox.

* Hall. f. 258. Herbert, p. 242.

A.D. 1544. braced the French party, he found himself neglected and slighted by the queen dowager and cardinal Beaton. He found too, that his return to France was precluded by their misrepresentations, and that his brother, the lord Aubigny, was deprived of his employments and imprisoned. Irritated at this ungrateful treatment, the earl conveyed a hint to King Henry, that he was disposed to espouse his cause upon proper terms. In consequence of this hint, Henry appointed the lord Wharton and Sir Robert Bowes his commissioners, to treat with the earl of Glencarne, Robert bishop of Caithness, and Hugh Cunningham, commissioners of the earl of Lennox, the earl of Glencarne acting also for himself as a party. These commissioners concluded a treaty, May 17th, at Carlisle. By this treaty the two earls engage, 1. To do every thing in their power to prevent the young queen's being stolen away and sent out of the kingdom: 2. To endeavour to seize the person of the infant queen, and deliver her to Henry, to be educated in his court and married to his son: 3. To labour to procure the protectorship of the kingdom of Scotland to Henry during the queen's minority. Henry, on his part, engaged, 1. To give the earl of Glencarne one thousand crowns in hand, and soon after a pension of 250*l.* a year to himself, and 125*l.* a year to his eldest son: 2. To appoint the earl of Lennox governor of Scotland under him when he had obtained the protectorship: 3. To support the earl's succession to the crown against the earl of Arran, if the young queen died without issue: 4. To give him his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage*. By this marriage, which was soon after celebrated, the earl became grandfather to the first monarch of Great Britain. By a subsequent treaty, June 26th, the earl engaged to surrender the castle of Dumbarton and the island of Bute to Henry for an estate in England worth seventeen hundred marks a year, and the earl was furnished with a fleet of fourteen ships to carry six hundred men to garrison the castle. But this enterprise was defeated by the patriotism of George Stirling of Gloral, captain of Dumbarton, who, though he was a friend to Lennox, was still a greater friend to his country; for when he was informed that the castle was

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 22.—26, 47.

to be delivered to the English, he refused to surrender ^{A.D. 1544.} it, and obliged the earl to retire with precipitation *.

These operations in Scotland did not divert Henry ^{Boulogne taken.} from his intended expedition into France, in consequence of a plan that had been settled between him and the emperor in the preceding winter. Having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, and sent his army to the continent in three divisions, the first commanded by the duke of Norfolk, the second by the duke of Suffolk, the third by lord Russell, the king, with a numerous train of nobles, went on board a beautiful ship, whose sails were of cloth of gold, and landed, July 14th, at Calais. The first division of the English, under Norfolk, joined the imperial army; the second and third invested Boulogne. Henry, after spending some time at Calais, joined his army before that place, which was surrendered, September 14th, on honourable terms †.

The king of France, sensible of his inability to con- ^{End of the campaign.} tend long against two such powerful adversaries as the emperor and the king of England, endeavoured to disunite them, and made application to each of them for a separate peace. To Henry he wrote a letter with his own hand, desiring a safe-conduct to the ambassadors he designed to send to treat of a peace. The safe-conduct was sent, and the ambassadors arrived at a castle near the English camp, where the negotiation commenced ‡. But this negotiation was only intended to conceal a more serious one, that was carried on with great secrecy by the intervention of a Dominican friar, between Francis and the emperor, which terminated, September 19th, in a separate peace between these two monarchs, without the least regard to the king of England §. As soon as this peace was published, the French ambassador broke off the conferences, and retired. The duke of Norfolk, who besieged Montreuil, in conjunction with the imperial troops, being abandoned by these troops on the peace, was obliged to raise the siege, and rejoin the army at Boulogne with his division. The emperor acted on this, as on some other occasions, in a very deceitful manner: he not only violated the solemn oath he had taken not

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv p. 29.
p. 52 &c. † Rym. p. 51.
par Garnier, tom. xxv. p. 452.

† Herbert, p. 245. Rym.
§ Histoire de France,

A.D. 1544: to make peace without the participation of his ally, but after drawing the ally into a war, he abandoned him in a very dangerous situation. The English army was much diminished by the two sieges of Montreuil and Boulogne, and the garrison put into the last of these places; and the Dauphin was advancing by forced marches at the head of forty thousand men to attack them. Henry, sensible of his danger, embarked at Boulogne, September 30th, leaving the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to conduct the remains of the army to Calais, where they went on board a fleet ready for their reception, October 9th, and sailed for England†. Thus ended this campaign, which, at the opening of it, filled France with terror, and threatened it with the greatest calamities.

1545.
Attempts
to retake
Boulogne.

Though Francis had great reason to rejoice at the dissolution of the formidable confederacy that had been formed against him, he lamented the loss, and ardently desired the recovery, of Boulogne. The Dauphin attempted to retake it by surprise, and a part of his army got into the lower town in the night by the breaches before they were repaired; but the soldiers dispersing in the dark in quest of plunder, the English rushed down upon them from the high town, killed many, and put the rest to flight‡. Some other attempts that were made during the winter were equally unsuccessful. When the dauphin's army retired, the marshal de Buz was left with a considerable body of men near Boulogne to harass the garrison, and to protect the workmen employed in building a fort at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the admission of supplies from England. But the earl of Hertford, having collected some troops from the neighbouring towns, formed a small army, with which he assaulted the French under de Buz, and compelled them to retire to a greater distance with considerable loss*.

Benevo-
lence.

The taking of Boulogne occasioned great rejoicings in England; but, like many other conquests, it was a real loss to the kingdom. The acquisition of it had cost 586,718*l.* and the lives of some hundreds of brave men; and the resolution to retain it, retarded the return of

* Herbert, p. 248. Rym. p. 57.

† Herbert, p. 248.

‡ Herbert, p. 249.

peace, and threatened the nation with a much greater D.A. 1545. loss both of men and money. To replenish his exhausted coffers, and prepare for another campaign, Henry had recourse to the arbitrary illegal method of demanding a benevolence, and commissioners were appointed in all parts of the kingdom to persuade, or rather to compel, the subjects to make the king a free gift. The commissioners for London, where the greatest sums were expected, met at Baynard's castle, January 12th, but found an uncommon reluctance in the rich citizens to part with their money. To overcome this reluctance, it was thought necessary to employ some wholesome severities; and alderman Read, one of the richest and most refractory citizens, was sent as a common soldier into the army against Scotland*.

Francis, having now only one enemy to contend with, Military operations. determined to make one great effort for recovering Boulogne, and the other towns possessed by the English in France, and even for invading England. With that view he collected all the stout ships in the different ports of France, brought twenty-five galleys from the Mediterranean, and formed a fleet of two hundred sail at Havre-de-Grace. An army embarked on board this fleet, which setting sail arrived at St. Helen's, July 18th, cannonaded the English fleet in Portsmouth roads, and landed some troops on the Isle of Wight. These troops, after skirmishing some days with the militia of the country, re-embarked. They made similar descents on the coasts of Suffex, but were every where repulsed; and finding that they could make no impression on a country so well defended, this great fleet returned to the port from whence it had sailed, without having effected any thing of importance. The land army of France, though numerous and well appointed, was not more successful. After looking at Boulogne and Guisnes, and not daring to besiege either of them, that great army of almost forty thousand men ravaged the defenceless country of Oye, from whence the garrison of Calais used to get forage and provisions, and then went into winter-quarters†. Henry had taken into his pay ten thousand lansquenets and four thousand horse, levied in Germany; but the emperor re-

* Herbert, p. 249. Rym. p. 84.

† Memoires du Bellai, tom. vi. p. 56, &c.

A.D. 1545² refused them a passage through his territories. Disappointed of so great a reinforcement, the English were obliged to remain on the defensive all this campaign.

Francis, to cause a diversion in the north of England, sent Montgomery, lord of Lorges, into Scotland in the beginning of June this year, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse; and the Scots raised an army of fifteen thousand, and, in conjunction with fresh auxiliaries, marched to the Tweed, and sent some flying parties to plunder the English borders. But though they were urged to it by the French commander, they could not be prevailed upon to invade England in a body; and after remaining on the borders till their provisions were consumed, they disbanded and returned home. After their retreat, the earl of Hertford, with twelve thousand men, entered Scotland and plundered the Merse*.

Parliament.

Though Henry had lately extorted great sums of money from his subjects, by what was improperly called a Benevolence, these sums were far from being sufficient for defraying the expences of his wars, and supplying his other wants; he had therefore recourse to a parliament that met at Westminster, November 23d, and granted him a subsidy of two shillings and eight pence in the pound on goods, and four shillings in the pound on lands, to be paid in two years. The clergy in convocation also granted him six shillings in the pound of their benefices, and that grant was confirmed by parliament. Not contented with all these, Henry prevailed upon this liberal obsequious parliament to make him a still more valuable and extraordinary grant. After the dissolution of the monasteries, there still remained a great number of colleges, chapels, chantries, hospitals, and other fraternities of secular priests, endowed with lands, rents, and stipends, for saying a certain number of masses for the souls of their founders and their families. Henry had for some time past been tampering with the possessors of these foundations to surrender their endowments to the crown, and had in that way obtained the possessions of twenty-four of them. But that method was troublesome and dilatory. The parliament at one blow dissolved them all, and gave their houses, lands, and goods of every kind, to the king†. Prostitute as

* Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. vi. p. 328, &c.

† Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII.

parliaments were at this time, it seems highly improbable that they meant to dissolve the colleges in the two universities. but the act was conceived in such general terms, that the colleges were alarmed, and applied to people in power for their protection. Their fears were soon dispelled, by assurances that no harm was intended them*. Henry was so pleased with this parliament, that he honoured it with an uncommon mark of his regard, by delivering a long speech from the throne to both houses on December 24th, the last day of the session: in that speech he thanked them for their subsidy, and for their grant of the colleges, chapels, &c. which he valued more for their love to him, from which they had proceeded, than for the money they would bring; and assured them, that he would make a better use of that money than they could either imagine or desire. After many strong professions of extraordinary love to all his subjects, he reprimanded both the clergy and the laity for giving one another bad names; and told them, that if they did not agree better, he would be obliged to chastise them †.

A.D. 1545.

There were frequent skirmishes at the end of the last and the beginning of this year, between the French under marshal de Buz, and the English under the earl of Surry, governor of Boulogne. In one of these skirmishes the English sustained a considerable loss, and were put to flight. Henry upon hearing this, recalled the earl of Surry, and appointed lord Grey of Wilton governor in his room. Surry, an accomplished, brave, and high-spirited nobleman, was enraged at this affront beyond measure, and dropped some passionate threatening expressions, which were reported to the king, and increased his dislike and jealousy of the Norfolk family ‡.

1546.
Military
operations.

Two attempts had already been made to bring about a peace between France and England, but without success. The French negociators, on both these occasions, obstinately insisted on the restitution of Boulogne, and the comprehension of the Scots in the treaty; both which those of England as obstinately refused: for Henry passionately desired to preserve Boulogne as a monument of his glory, and to be at liberty to take vengeance of the Scots against whom he was greatly incensed. But both princes

Peace with
France.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 339. Rym. p. 65.

† Rym. p. 80—60. Herbert, p. 254.

‡ Hall, f. 261.

A.D. 1546. were now so heartily tired of the war, and had so many reasons to wish for peace, that they appointed their plenipotentiaries to meet at Campes, between Guisnes and Ardres, where, on June 7th, a treaty of peace was concluded and signed. Besides the usual articles of the renewal of amity, commerce, &c. it was stipulated, that Francis should pay to Henry and his successors the pensions due by former treaties: that Henry should keep possession of Boulogne eight years without molestation: that at the end of these eight years Francis should pay to the king of England two millions of crowns as the arrears of pensions, and the expence of keeping up and repairing the fortifications of Boulogne; and that when that sum was paid, the king of England should surrender Boulogne to the king of France. The Scots were comprehended in this peace; and Henry engaged not to make war upon them, if they did not give him some new provocation*. Francis swore to the observation of this treaty, August 1st, before the English commissioners; as did Henry, on St. Bartholomew's day, before the commissioners of France†. The Scots accepted of the comprehension, August 14th, with a saving of the rights of their queen, and the liberties of their country‡.

The queen
in danger.

Henry for several years had been growing more and more corpulent, and was now become very unwieldy and dropical; he had besides a fore in one of his legs, to which the humours of his body flowed, and gave him great uneasiness. This rendered his temper, which was naturally passionate and impatient of contradiction, intolerably peevish and irascible. Few approached him without fear, or conversed with him without danger. To this diseased irritability of temper his queen had almost fallen a sacrifice. He was vain of his theological learning, and fond of displaying it in conversation. The queen who secretly favoured the principles of the reformers, sometimes ventured to start objections to his arguments, and supported her objections with too much firmness and ability. This was more disagreeable to the king than she imagined; and, in a peevish humour, he complained of it to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and the lord chancellor Wriothesly, who greedily seized

* Rym. p. 94—98.

† Ibid. p. 98. Hall, f. 462.

‡ Ep. R. S. tom. ii. p. 354.

the opportunity of inflaming his anger, by representing the queen as a most dangerous heretic, and the great encourager of heretics; and wrought up his passion to such a pitch, that he directed the lord chancellor to draw up articles of impeachment against her, which he signed. But the chancellor having dropped this paper, it was found by one who carried it to the queen. Alarmed at her danger, and suspecting the cause of the king's displeasure, she resolved to correct her error and regain his favour. When she waited upon him, and he proposed to renew the dispute in which they had been engaged, she modestly declined the combat, saying, that it did not become her, a weak woman, to dispute with one who, by his superior learning, was entitled to dictate not only to her, but to the whole world; and that if she ever pretended to dispute any thing he advanced, it was for the sake of information, and to engage him in discourse, which diverted his pain, and from which she received the greatest instruction and delight. This seasonable piece of flattery appeased his anger, and revived his affection. He embraced her tenderly, and assured her of his unchangeable favour and protection. Soon after this, as they were walking in the garden, the chancellor entered, followed by forty pursuivants, to seize the queen, and carry her to the Tower: but the king advanced to meet him, and, after treating him very roughly, calling him knave, fool, and beast, he commanded him to be gone. The queen interposed in his favour; to whom Henry said, smiling: "Poor soul! you know not how little this man deserves your good offices*." The queen having made this fortunate escape, took care not to renew the dispute with so dangerous an antagonist.

The king's jealous and violent spirit proved more fatal to two of his greatest subjects, the duke of Norfolk and his son the earl of Surry. The duke had long enjoyed a very high degree of favour, and had merited that favour by the most important services to his country, and the most unlimited compliance with the king's will in all things, even in opposition to his religious principles, his family, and party connexions. His high descent, his noble alliances,

The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surry imprisoned.

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 58. Speed, p. 780. Herbert, p. 263. Burnet, p. 344.

A.D. 1546. his places of power and profit, his immense estate, and his numerous followers, rendered him by far the greatest and most powerful subject in the kingdom, if not too great and powerful for a subject. Though he had complied with all the changes in the church to please the king, though he was zealously attached to the ancient establishment, and was the head of the popish party, which added greatly to his influence. His daughter had been married to the king's natural and beloved son the duke of Richmond. Two of his nieces had been queens, and he had abandoned them both, the innocent as well as the guilty, to gratify the king's passions, and preserve his favour. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, which seemed to render his greatness perfectly secure, he and his son were both arrested in one day, December 7th, and conducted to the Tower, without having apprehended themselves to have been in any danger, and without knowing of one another's misfortunes. At what time, and for what reasons, Henry conceived this violent animosity against the duke and his son, who had so long possessed his favour, it is impossible to discover with certainty. His enmity against them could not have been of an old date, as he had a little time before given them essential proofs of confidence and favour, particularly by appointing the earl of Surry governor of Boulogne. The crimes of which they were accused, if crimes they can be called, were so frivolous, that they could not be the real causes of a wrath so violent and implacable: it seems probable that it was their greatness rather than their guilt, and the king's excessive jealousy, inflamed by artful whisperers, that involved them in that distress. These whisperers were the more dangerous, that they were of the duke's own family, which was unhappily divided. He had been separated some years from his duchess, who was his most inveterate enemy: and the earl of Surry was at variance with his sister the duchess of Richmond; and both these ladies gave every information they could, the one against her husband, and the other against her brother, putting the worst construction on all their words and actions*. Some other persons, who bore no good will to the duke and his son, as Elizabeth Holland, who had been the duke's mistress, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmund

* Herbert. p. 264.

Knivet, contributed to increase the king's jealousy, by reporting some of their expressions of anger and discontent. A dryness also took place between them and the Seymour family, who, on account of their near relation to the prince, expected to have the chief direction of affairs in the next reign, and dreaded their great power and ambitious spirit*.

The earl of Surry, being a commoner, was tried at Guildhall, January 13th, before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commissioners, by a jury of commoners. The chief thing laid to his charge was, his quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor, which was considered as a proof of his aspiring to the throne. To this he answered, that his ancestors had borne those arms, and that he was authorised to bear them by the heralds. It was proved, that he kept certain Italians in his family, who were suspected to be spies; that he conversed much with foreigners, which made it probable that he corresponded with cardinal Pole; that he had dropped some expressions reflecting upon the king and his government, which indicated a design to raise a rebellion. To these strange accusations he made acute, ingenious, and spirited answers. But his acuteness, ingenuity, and boldness, and even his innocence, availed him nothing. He was found guilty of high treason, for which, on January 19th, he was beheaded†.

The duke of Norfolk discovered an extreme anxiety to save his own life, and the honours and fortunes of his family, after his commitment. With this view, he wrote a very pathetic and affecting letter to the king, containing the most solemn protestations of his innocence and loyalty, and the most earnest supplications for mercy. Finding that had no effect, he went to the other extreme, of aggravating his own guilt, and that of his unhappy son, in a confession he emitted before a committee of the privy council §; but without avail: Henry was implacable. The parliament met, January 14th; and on the 18th of that month, the day before the earl of Surry was beheaded, a bill was brought into the House of Peers for attainting Thomas duke of Norfolk and his son Henry earl of Surry, and read a first time. On the 19th

1547.

The earl of Surry beheaded.

Duke of Norfolk attainted.

* Herbert, p. 264.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. p. 265, 266.

A.D. 1547. it was read a second time, and on the 20th it was read a third time and passed, and sent to the Commons, from whom it was returned on the 24th. So impatient was Henry in his last moments to accomplish the ruin of a nobleman connected with him by many endearing ties, who had done him many important services, and had complied with his will in all things during his whole reign. The bill received the royal assent by commission, on Thursday the 27th, and on Friday the 28th, early in the morning, the king died. The parliament met on the Saturday and did business, and was prorogued to Monday the last of January; and on that day the Commons being sent for to the House of Peers, the chancellor acquainted both houses, that king Henry VIII. had died on the Friday before, early in the morning. The late king's last will was read, and the parliament was dissolved *. The death of the king saved the duke of Norfolk's life; as it was not thought proper to begin the new reign with the execution of the first nobleman in the kingdom.

Henry's
last will.

Henry's last will was dated December 30th, A. D. 1546; and as he was authorised by an act of parliament to regulate by his testament the succession to the crown, it came to be a matter of great importance at that time, and a subject of no little controversy afterwards. Accordingly, by his testament written on paper, he bequeathed his crown and dominions to his son prince Edward and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten; failing such heirs, to his daughter the princess Mary and her heirs; failing these, to his daughter the princess Elizabeth and her heirs; failing these, to the lady Fraunces, eldest daughter of his late sister the French queen, and her heirs; failing these, to the lady Eleanor, youngest daughter of the French queen, and her heirs; and failing these, to his next lawful heir †. His two daughters Mary and Elizabeth being unmarried, it was declared, that if they married without the consent of his executors, or the major part of them, they should lose their right to the succession, and be considered as being dead without lawful heirs. If this was really the last will of Henry VIII. this part of it appears to have

* Journals, vol. i. p. 287—291.

† Rym. tom. xv. p. 110—117.

been dictated by passion, rather than by a regard to justice: for by it the heirs of his eldest sister, Margaret queen of Scotland, were put out of the natural order of succession, if not altogether excluded. To this queen he gave 3000*l.* in plate and jewels, and 1000*l.* in money, besides her jointure. To each of his two daughters he gave 10,000*l.* in plate, jewels, and furniture, as a marriage portion, and an annuity of 3000*l.* to live upon while they were unmarried. He gave considerable legacies to each of his sixteen executors, and to forty-six other noblemen and gentlemen. He did not forget to appoint a great number of masses to be said for the health of his soul *. Objections have been made to the genuineness of this will; but they seem only to make it probable that it was made in haste, and that Henry was assisted in the writing of his subscription †.

A D. 1547.

When this will was made, Henry was in so great distress, that it was visible to all about him that he could not long survive; but so awful was his character, and so dreadful his displeasure, that none dared to give him the least hint of his approaching dissolution. At length, when it was evident that he had not many hours to live, Sir Anthony Denny had the courage to acquaint him that his death was drawing near, and to ask him if they should send for any clergyman. He replied, If any, Cranmer; who was at Croydon. When he arrived, the king was speechless; but knowing him, he gave him his hand. Being desired by Cranmer to give some sign that he died in the hopes of salvation through the mercy of God and the merits of Jesus Christ, he squeezed his hand and expired, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth year of his reign ‡.

Henry was six times married. Two of his queens were beheaded; two of them divorced; one of them died soon after her marriage, possessed of her husband's affections; the last, after narrowly escaping the block, survived him. By his first queen, Catherine of Spain, he had two sons, who died in their infancy, and one daughter, named Mary, afterwards queen of England. By his second queen, Anne Boleyn, he had one daughter, named Elizabeth, who succeeded her sister in the

* Rym. tom. xv. p. 110—117.

† Burnet, b. iii. Records, No. xxx. Harbin on Hereditary Right, &c. p. 186—200.

‡ Burnet, p. 349.

A.D. 1547. throne. By his third queen, Jane Seymour, he had one son, named Edward, his immediate successor. By his last three queens he had no issue. By Elizabeth Blount, daughter of Sir John Blount, he had a natural son named Henry, of whom he was exceedingly fond. Before he was seven years of age he made him a knight of the garter, created him earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerset, appointed him warden of the marches towards Scotland, and granted him many estates. This young prince, who was universally admired for the beauty of his person, the variety of his accomplishments, and the excellence of his dispositions, was married to the lady Mary Howard, daughter of the duke of Norfolk, but died before the consummation of his marriage, when he was only about seventeen years old.

His character.

Very different characters have been given of Henry VIII. by different authors. Some have represented him as a brave, wise, just, and merciful prince, with few vices or imperfections; while others have painted him in the blackest colours, as a cruel unrelenting tyrant, with few or no virtues or good qualities*. Those, however, who have delineated his character with the greatest care and candour, have pursued a middle course, by doing justice to his good actions and commendable qualifications, while they have not overlooked his criminal passions and his vices†. The following short description of the most striking features in the character of this prince may, it is imagined, be justified by authentic monuments and the real transactions of his reign. He was very tall, and in his youth he was uncommonly handsome, strong, and active. He delighted and excelled in all manly exercises; as riding, tilting, hunting, hawking, leaping, wrestling, &c. His gait was stately, and his air majestic. "Who," says a contemporary writer, "is so dull as not to see in that most serene countenance the signs of a king? Who can behold, even afar off, that august majesty of his whole person, and not say he was born to a diadem‡." These per-

* Lewis's Patriot King. Strype, vol. i. p. 390, 391, 404—407. Sir Walter Raleigh's Pref.

† Herbert, p. 266, 267. Burnet, p. 362.

‡ Merrifon's Apomaxis.

sonal charms and accomplishments being visible to all, A.D. 1547. gained him great admiration and popularity in the first part of his reign. He was fond of music, a good performer on several instruments, and no contemptible composer *." Great pains had been taken with his education; and he had a genius capable of acquiring knowledge. He spoke several languages fluently, particularly Latin and French: but unfortunately his favourite study was school-divinity; in which he imagined himself so great a doctor, that he entered the lists with Martin Luther, in his famous book *De Septem Sacramentis*; for which he received such a deluge of praise as no author of an inferior rank must ever expect. We have no reason to suspect that he was deficient in personal courage, though he was not forward in exposing himself to danger. His understanding was good when it was not blinded by some reigning passion. The truth seems to be, that the ungovernable impetuosity of his passions was the great defect in his character, the source of all his errors and of all his crimes. In his youth the love of pleasure was his reigning passion, and an extravagant fondness of royal feasts, tilts, tournaments, disguising, and the other pompous expensive diversions of the great in those times. About these he employed his thoughts; in these he spent his time, and squandered away the treasures that had been hoarded by his father †. To this he was also prompted by his vanity, and encouraged by his ministers, particularly by his great favourite, cardinal Wolley, for very obvious reasons. As he advanced in years, and began to interfere more in business, passions of a darker complexion and more dangerous tendency appeared. From his father he inherited an extreme jealousy of all who were related to the royal family, and could be supposed to entertain the most distant thoughts of the throne. To this several persons of high rank fell a sacrifice. His excessive self-conceit, and the high opinion he entertained of his own superior wisdom, though it was rather a ridiculous than a criminal passion, had the very worst effects. It rendered him susceptible, or rather greedy, of flattery, and highly pleased with praise, with which he was accosted on

* Sir John Hawkins.

† See Hall's Chronicle, passim.

A.D. 1547. all occasions. The two great parties, the friends of the pope and the favourers of the reformation, tried to exceed one another in the arts of flattery, and in a servile compliance with all his humours, which rendered him intolerably proud, obstinate, and impatient of contradiction. This also increased his authority, subjected both these parties to his will, and put it in his power to do whatever he pleased. The court that was paid him by the two great rivals, the emperor and the king of France, contributed still further to inflame his pride; and in spite of all his faults, it rendered him popular among his own subjects, who were pleased to see their sovereign the arbiter of Europe. Though prodigality and avarice are opposite passions, they are often found in the same person; and Henry was both profuse and covetous in the extreme. Of his prodigality, the immense sums he squandered are a sufficient proof; and his history affords many evidences of his avarice. At two different times he borrowed great sums from many of his subjects, and procured acts from his servile parliaments, absolving him from the obligation of repaying them, though he had given his creditors security under the privy seal. But of all his passions, his anger was the most terrible. When he conceived a jealousy or dislike of any person, their ruin was resolved; no submissions, no supplications, no intercessions, no evidences of their innocence, could save them from destruction. In a word, the character he is said to have given of himself, "That he had never spared a man in his anger, nor a woman in his lust," seems to be too well founded; and they are not inexcusable who have denominated him a tyrant, if they had not forgotten to add, that he was possessed of many valuable accomplishments; capable at times of generous and laudable actions, and of kind affections; and that he had been an instrument in the hand of Providence of much good to his subjects and their posterity, by dissolving their connection with the court and church of Rome.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

B O O K VI.

CHAP. I. PART II.

The Civil and Military History of Scotland, from
the Accession of James IV. A. D. 1488, to
the Death of James V. A. D. 1542.

SECTION I.

*From the Accession of James IV. A. D. 1488, to the
Accession of James V. A. D. 1513.*

THE histories of England and Scotland were so much interwoven in this period, that it was impossible to disentangle them on all occasions. This is the reason that several of the most important events in the history of Scotland, have been related at full length in the first part of this chapter, which will shorten this second part; as a slight mention of these events in their proper places will be sufficient.

A. D. 1488.
Affairs of
Scotland
and Eng-
land inter-
woven.

The fate of the unfortunate king James III. was for some time unknown, both to his friends and enemies. The former hoped, and the latter feared, that he had escaped

Death of
James III.
unknown.

A.D. 1488. escaped to a small fleet commanded by Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo, that lay in the Forth only a few miles from the field of battle. The leaders of the victorious army sent a message to Sir Andrew Wood to come and speak with the prince at Leith, which he refused to do till they gave the lords Seaton and Fleming as hostages for his safe return. When Sir Andrew appeared before the prince and his council at Leith, he was asked, if he knew what was become of the king; to which he answered in the negative. He was then asked, who were in those boats that had been seen plying between his ships and the shore soon after the late battle. To which he replied, That he and a party of his men had come on shore to assist their sovereign against his rebellious subjects; but hearing that the battle was over, they returned to their ships. To this he added, that if his gracious master was still alive, he would defend him to the utmost of his power against all traitors. This bold declaration was very disagreeable to those who heard it; but their concern for their hostages made them dismiss him without any injury*.

Corona-
tion, &c.

The king's death did not long remain a secret; and the prince was crowned, June 24th, at Edinburgh, in the sixteenth year of his age †. Few of the nobles or great barons were present at this solemnity, except those who had taken arms against the late king. The rest of the nobility, particularly those of the north and west, were greatly offended and grieved at these transactions; and since they were too late to preserve the life, resolved to revenge the death, of their sovereign, and to deliver the young king from the murderer of his father. In the mean time the predominant party were very active in improving and securing the advantage they had gained. The castle of Edinburgh surrendered on being summoned by a herald; and the custody of it was committed to the lord Hales ‡. They obtained many valuable grants of lands, honours, and offices from the king, or rather gave them to one another §. The brave and patriotic Sir Andrew Wood was prevailed upon, by persuasions, favours, and promises, to attack and take five

* Buchanan, lib. xiii. Abercromby, vol. ii.

† Holling. p. 287.

‡ Black Acts, f. 83.

§ Register of the great seal, 1 James IV.

English ships that had been sent to the assistance of the late king, but now infested the coasts and interrupted the commerce of the Forth *. A.D. 1482.

The young king was conducted to the castle of Stirling, of which Sir John Lundy, one of the party, was appointed governor. While he resided there, and had leisure for reflection, he began to feel great remorse for the part he had acted against his indulgent father. He communicated the uneasiness of his mind to the dean of the chapel royal; and it was probably by his advice that he began to wear a chain of iron about his body, to which he added a new link every year †. Penitence of the king.

The penitence of the prince could not be very pleasing to the partners, or rather authors, of his guilt. To secure themselves from punishment, they thought it prudent to procure the approbation of parliament while they were in power. A parliament was accordingly summoned to meet at Edinburgh, October 6th; and by their 14th act, intituled, "The Proposition of the Debait of the Field of Striviling," it is declared, "That the slaughter committed and done in the field of Striviling, quhare our soverane lord's father happened to bi slawe, and others divers his barronis and liegis, was allatterly in their default, and colourit debait done be him and his perversit counsall, divers times before the said field; and that our soverane lord that now is, and the trew lordis and barrones that was with him in the samen field, war innocent, free and quyte, of the said slaughter done in the said field, and all persuit of the occasion and cause of the samen." This parliament consisted chiefly of those true lords and barons (as they called themselves) who had taken arms against their sovereign, without any just or even plausible reason, and had put him and many of his loyal subjects to death, or which they gravely declared themselves innocent, though all the world knew they were guilty. Copies of this act, sealed with the great seal, and the seals of all the members of this parliament, were ordered to be sent to the pope, and the kings of France, Spain, and Denmark ‡. Having thus acquitted themselves, they took care to punish those who had hazarded their lives in battle for the king; A parliament.

* Buchan. lib. xiii.

† Pitt's Collec. p. 96.

‡ Black Acts, f. 83.

A.D. 1488. but, for very obvious reasons, they did this with moderation*.

1489.
Infurrection.

Several noblemen and gentlemen who highly disapproved the conduct of the prevailing party, yet seeing the rightful heir upon the throne, thought it prudent to submit to what could not be retrieved. Others breathed nothing but revenge, and determined to rescue their prince from those who had taken advantage of his youth, and betrayed him into a rebellion against his father. Alexander lord Forbes, attended by his vassals, carried the late king's shirt, all torn and bloody, on the point of a spear, through Aberdeen and other places, calling upon all the subjects to arise and revenge the slaughter of their sovereign. The lord Gordon and other chieftains in the north were no less active in raising their followers. The earl of Lennox was the first that took the field, and marched from the west at the head of two thousand men, to join his confederates in the north. But he was surprised and defeated by the lord Drummond, as he and his men lay in a careless manner on the banks of the Forth, a few miles above Stirling. This so discouraged the insurgents in the north, that they disbanded and retired to their homes†. The earl of Lennox and the other leaders of this insurrection having made their submissions, were pardoned and received into favour, which restored tranquillity to the country, and gave stability to the government.

Henry VII. from the day of his accession cultivated peace with Scotland; and to render it more solid and permanent, negotiated several intermarriages between the two royal families. But the death of James III. put an end to all these schemes: for though it had been agreed that James, then prince of Scotland, should be married to one of the daughters of Edward IV. no regard was paid to that agreement; and in the first parliament of this reign a tax was imposed to defray the expences of a splendid embassy to be sent into France, Spain, and other countries, to find out a proper match for the young king‡. Henry, however, still persisted in his pacific views; and the truce then subsisting between the two nations was uncommonly well observed. He

* Black Acts, f. 80.

† Black Acts, f. 79.

‡ Eucan. ibid.

even granted a protection to his well-beloved friend (as he calls him) Archibald earl of Angus, (February 12th, A. D. 1490,) who had been the chief instrument of the late revolution in Scotland, to pass through England in his way to Amiens, with eighty persons in company*.

A parliament met at Edinburgh, February 15th, which may be called the Healing Parliament. It made an act for extinguishing the party and family feuds of the nobility, and uniting them in the cause of their king and country. Several wise regulations were made for collecting the royal revenues, particularly the rents of the crown lands; and some of the principal noblemen and gentlemen were appointed to superintend the collection of them in their several districts. A committee was commissioned to examine the public accompts. A privy council, consisting of two bishops, two abbots, and six lords, was chosen; and ten other lords and gentlemen were appointed to assist the council, when they happened to be at court, or when they were called; and all the great officers, as the lord chancellor, the master of the household, the chamberlain, privy seal, secretary, and clerk register, were declared to be of the privy council, in virtue of their offices: and the king, it is said, "had humbly besought his highness to promise and grant in parliament, to abide and remain at their counsels quhill the next parliament." The king further consented, that no gifts, signatures, remissions, or other letters, should pass without the advice and consent of the lords of the secret council; and that all such letters should be subscribed by the king, and as many of the council as were present, to the number of six at the fewest, of which the chancellor should be one; and that all letters not thus subscribed should be null, and of no effect. An act of revocation of the grants of the young king since his accession was also made. This was a self-denying ordinance in the predominant party; but it is probable that it was not very strictly executed, like many other acts of the same kind in both the British kingdoms. Embassies were appointed to be sent into France, Spain, and Denmark, for renewing the ancient alliances with these states, and obtaining commercial privileges. Several wise laws were made for the strict observation of the

A.D. 1489.

1490.
Parliament.

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 358.

A.D. 1490. *truce with England, the due administration of justice, and protecting the poor from oppression; for regulating the coining of money; encouraging the fisheries, &c. In a word, it will be difficult to find an assembly animated with a better spirit, and that made a greater number of wise and patriotic laws than this parliament*.* Archibald Bell-the-cat, the potent and turbulent earl of Angus, was not present: he had probably set out on his pilgrimage to Amiens, to obtain the pardon of his sins.

1491.
A plot.

The internal tranquillity of the kingdom was now perfectly restored, and the animosity of the two parties, into which it had been divided, seemed to have been extinguished; when a plot was formed, which, if it had been successful, would have involved both the king and kingdom in great distress. John Ramsay, lord Bothwell, and Sir Thomas Lodd of Shereshaws, two of the late king's favourite servants, retired into England after his death, and meditated revenge. Having obtained access to king Henry, they proposed, by the assistance of their friends in Scotland, with whom they kept up a private correspondence, to deliver the king of Scots, and his brother the duke of Rois, into his hands, and desired only some pecuniary aid. Henry had neither the virtue to reject this base proposal, nor generosity to grant them any thing considerable. An indenture was made at Greenwich, April 16th, A. D. 1491, "betwene the
"right excellent and myghty prince Henry, by the grace
"of God, king of England and of Fraunce, and lord
"of Irland, on the one partie; and John lord Bothwell
"and Sir Thomas Toddee, knight of the realme of
"Scotland, as well for and in name of themselves, as
"also of dyvers other named in the said indentures on
"the other partie.

"It is, for dyvers considerations in the same indentures declared, amonges other things expressly shewed, that the right honourable Jamys erle of Boughan, and the saide Sir Thomas, shall take, bringe, and delyver into the saide king of Englondis handes the king of Scottes now reynyng, and his brother the duke of Roos, or at the tette the saide king of Scotland.

"The saide king of Englonde, by way of ayde and assistance, geving them for th' achieving their said

* Black Acts, f. 84—90.

" purpose,

" purpose, hath lent and delyvered unto the saide Sir A.D. 1491.
 " Thomas, as well for the saide erle of Boughan as for
 " himselve, the some of CCLXVII. XIII. s. IV d. &c. *"

The paltry sum of 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was to be repaid at Michaelmas, and Sir Thomas Todd gave his son and heir as a hostage for the repayment. It is difficult to form any judgment of this strange transaction. If Henry had either desired or hoped to get possession of the person of the king of Scotland, he would certainly have afforded a more liberal aid to the conspirators. It is hardly credible that the earl of Buchan would engage in the base design of betraying his king, who was his relation, to a foreign prince. It seems to me most probable, that the two unhappy exiles, Bothwell and Todd, were reduced to great distress, and that they fell upon this device to procure a present supply of money. However these things may be, we hear of no steps that were taken towards the execution of this plot, and it remained a profound secret till the above paper was published by Mr. Rymer, A. D. 1711.

In a parliament that met at Edinburgh, 18th May, Patrick Hepburn lord Hales, who had lately been created earl of Bothwell, with the bishop and dean of Glasgow, were appointed ambassadors to the courts of France and Spain, for two special purposes: First, To find out a proper match, and negotiate a marriage for the king, for which they were to be furnished with full powers. Secondly, To renew the ancient alliances with these states, and obtain additional privileges, for which instructions were to be given them, with the approbation of the king and his council †. Embassies for the same purposes had been appointed by the two preceding parliaments, but had not been sent; the reason of which seems to have been this: The king, when prince, and all those who had joined with him against his father, had been excommunicated by the pope; and an embassy from a prince, in these circumstances, could not have expected a favourable reception in any Catholic court. Application had been made to the court of Rome for a revocation of that sentence, and a bull of revocation was now daily expected. Accordingly, Andrew Foreman, who had solicited the cause of his king and countrymen, and was in great favour with pope Alexander VI. not long

Parliament.

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 440.

† Black Acts, f. 90.

A.D. 1491. after returned to Scotland, and brought a consecrated rose of gold, with a consolatory letter from the pope to the king, dated at Rome, June 27th, A. D. 1491, exhorting him to mitigate his sorrow for the part he had reluctantly acted against his father, and to apply himself to the cultivation of honour, piety, and virtue. He brought also a bull, empowering the abbots of Paisley and Jedburgh to absolve all who had rebelled against the late king, upon professing their repentance for what they had done *. Sir James Oglewey of Airley was appointed ambassador to the court of Denmark, to remove any umbrage that might have been taken at the late proceedings, to renew the ancient alliances, and to procure commercial privileges; and he acquitted himself so well, that he was created a peer on his return. This parliament made several wise laws for the improvement, defence, and good government of the kingdom.

Truce.

The last truce between the two British nations was now near expiring; but as they were both cordially inclined to peace, the commissioners of the two kings met at Coldstream, in December this year, and, on the 21st of that month, concluded and signed a new truce for five years from that day, with all the usual articles, with some new ones to render it more effectual †.

1492.
Peaceable
times.

Scotland, for some years, enjoyed external peace and internal tranquillity, and its youthful monarch spent one part of his time in visiting the provinces of his kingdom, accompanied by his council, to enforce the impartial administration of justice, and the due execution of the laws; and the rest of it, in the sports of the field, and in those manly and martial exercises that were the favourite amusements of the great in those times. Happy are the times in which the great are thus employed, though they furnish few of the materials of which history is commonly composed.

1493.
Parliament.

A great number of excellent laws and regulations were made in a parliament that met at Edinburgh, June 16th, A. D. 1493. We shall have an opportunity of considering several of these laws in the subsequent chapters of this book. It is sufficient to say of them in general in this place, that the makers of them appear to have been

* Register Office, Edin. Abercromby, vol. xi. 497. Hollingsh. p. 409.

† Rym. tom. xii. p. 465.

real patriots, and to have been well acquainted with the true interests of their country; and that those writers who have represented our ancestors in this period as rude and ignorant, and little better than barbarians, have not done them justice *.

Henry VII. still continued to discover great anxiety to preserve peace with Scotland. With this view he gave a commission, 28th May this year, to Richard bishop of St. Asaph; William Tyler, governor of Berwick; Henry Eyensworth; and John Carlington; to treat with the commissioners of the king of Scots about a perpetual peace, or a long truce: and to render the peace or truce more solid, he authorised them to propose a marriage between that king and the princess Catharine, granddaughter of his uncle Edmund duke of Somerset †. King James granted a commission, June 22d, to William, bishop of Aberdeen; John Ross, of Montgrenan; John Fresale, dean of the king's chapel of Restalrig; and Richard Lawfon, clerk of justiciary, to treat with the commissioners of the king of England about the prolongation of the truce; but he gave them no authority to treat of a perpetual peace, or of a marriage ‡. The commissioners of the two kings met at Edinburgh, June 25th, and prolonged the truce to the last day of April, A. D. 1501, without making any mention of a peace or marriage §. King James at this time, and for several years after, seems to have had an aversion to Henry, and to have been determined against a marriage with an English princess. But he, very fortunately for Britain, changed his mind.

Though the truce was thus prolonged, and Henry had paid to James one thousand marks, for damages pretended to have been done to his subjects at sea, but in reality to gain his friendship, he was still apprehensive of a breach with Scotland; and in order to prevent it, he appointed commissioners, May 22d, to meet with those of the king of Scots, to remove all causes of quarrel, and to settle a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms ||. He granted also a safe-conduct to commissioners from the king of Scots, July 28th ¶. But we hear of

* Black Acts, f. 94.

† Ibid. p. 337.

‡ Ibid. p. 554.

† Rym. tom. xii. p. 531.

§ Ibid. p. 534.

¶ Ibid.

A.D. 1493. nothing that was done in consequence of these commissions; and it is probable the commissioners never met.

1495.
Negotiations.

Henry had now good reason to suspect, and had received intelligence, that James's dispositions were unfriendly. He took care, therefore, to put the north in a proper posture of defence. He gave a commission, March 22d, to Thomas earl of Surry, to array all the able-bodied men between the rivers Trent and Tweed; and at the same time he gave a similar commission to Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, for the counties of Durham and Northumberland. In these commissions he acquainted them, that he had received intelligence that his enemies of Scotland and of foreign parts intended to invade the north of England with a great army*. He appointed his second son, prince Henry, warden of the east, middle, and west marches; and constituted Thomas earl of Surry; Richard, bishop of Durham; Sir William Tyler, captain of Berwick; John Heron, of Ford; and John Carlington, his deputies, May 22d, with full powers to hear the complaints, and redress all the injuries that had been done to the Scots by any of his subjects, and to punish those who had done them. At the same time he directed them to array and exercise all the men in the northern counties, and to place watches in proper places to warn them of the approach of an enemy†. About a month after, June 23d, he made a still greater effort to gain the king of Scots and prevent a war, by giving a commission to the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, the lords Nevil and Dacres, and Sir William Tyler, to propose and negotiate a marriage between king James and his eldest daughter the princess Margaret‡. But James had contracted engagements with the king of France, that made him slight all these advances of the English monarch.

1495.
Parliament.

A parliament met at Edinburgh, June 13th, A. D. 1496, in which several wise laws were made for the encouragement of learning and commerce, and for regulating the prices of provisions, of labour, and of goods of various kinds, &c. &c.§. No mention was made of war, or of any preparation for it, in this parliament.

Perkin Warbec.

Henry VII. did not yet despair of detaching the king of Scotland from the interest of his enemies on the con-

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 568.

† Ibid. p. 572.

‡ Ibid. p. 569.

§ Black Acts, f. 101.

tinent, who had given him much trouble, by supporting A.D. 1496.
 Perkin Warbec, a pretender to his crown. He became
 the more earnest to gain this point, that he had received
 intelligence that this adventurer was to make his next ap-
 pearance in Scotland, and from thence to invade England,
 with a royal army. He therefore empowered his former
 commissioners to make James another offer of his daughter
 in marriage, an offer which he knew it was the interest
 of that prince to accept. Such was his earnestness to
 accomplish this design, that he gave a separate commis-
 sion, at the same time, to Richard Fox, bishop of Durham,
 his most confidential minister, to propose and negotiate
 that marriage; and if James had been so wise as to listen
 to that proposal, he would probably have obtained very
 advantageous terms*. But he was too far engaged in
 other counsels. The arrival of Perkin Warbec in the
 court of Scotland, his marriage to the lady Jane Gordon,
 and the invasion of England by an army of Scots com-
 manded by their king, have been already related†. It
 must be confessed, that the conduct of king James on
 this occasion cannot be vindicated on any other principle
 but this: That he believed Perkin Warbec to be the real
 duke of York, the only surviving son of Edward IV. and
 undoubted heir to the crown of England; and it was
 probably this belief that made him decline an alliance
 with Henry, by the marriage of his eldest daughter. If
 we could further suppose that he had discovered the plot
 above-mentioned, into which Henry had entered with
 lord Bothwell and Sir Thomas Todd, he would be fully
 justified in attempting to pull down a prince who had
 formed a scheme to deprive him of his crown and his
 liberty. But we have no evidence that he had any know-
 ledge of that plot.

The invasion of England by king James this year, the 1497-98:
 departure of Warbec from Scotland, and the truce be- Truce.
 tween the two kingdoms, concluded at the castle of
 Aylon by the mediation of the Spanish ambassador, have
 all been already narrated‡. There was one point, how-
 ever, about which the commissioners could not agree,
 viz. which of the two kings had been the aggressor in
 the late war, and the violator of the former truce, each

* Black Acts, f. 655.

† See part i. sect. 1.

‡ Ibid.

A.D. 1498. of them throwing the blame upon the other. But d'Acala, the Spanish ambassador to both kings, prevailed upon them to refer this troublesome question to the king and queen of Spain *. A decent way of laying it asleep, and it was never determined. Great difficulties, besides this, occurred in the concluding of this treaty. and Henry was obliged to give up several points for the sake of peace, and to save the money his parliament had granted him for the war. His commissioners demanded that Perkin Warbec should be delivered to their master as an infamous impostor, unworthy of the protection of any prince. But this demand was rejected with disdain. They demanded also, that reparation should be made for the depredations the Scots had committed in their two late invasions, which was positively refused. To remove these difficulties, they proposed an interview between the two kings at Newcastle. But this James declined, saying, he was willing to make peace, but would not go a begging for peace. The truth seems to be, that the Scots had been considerable gainers by the war, and would willingly have continued it on any fair pretence.

1499.
Treaty.

The separate article that had been added to the treaty of Aylon by the bishop of Durham and the Spanish ambassador prolonging the truce during the joint lives of the two kings and a year after, had not been ratified. Henry, wishing to prevent all future alarms from the north in his time, sent Robert Rydon, vice admiral of England, to the court of Scotland, then at Stirling, in the summer of this year, to procure the ratification of that article, or to make a new treaty to the same purpose. This ambassador negotiated and signed a new treaty, July 12th, which was ratified by James on the 20th of that month †. But before it could be ratified by Henry, an event happened that threatened to put an end to all these peaceful counsels, and to rekindle the flames of war.

Skirmish at
Norham.

A company of young men from the north side of the Tweed, being on a visit to their acquaintances in the town of Norham, were led by their curiosity to take a near and attentive view of the castle. The garrison suspecting that curiosity was not their only object, first attacked them with offensive language, and afterwards with

* Rym. p. 671.

† Ibid. p. 722. Register Office, Edin.

more dangerous weapons. The Scots, being unarmed, A.D. 1499.
 were put to flight, and some of them killed. When
 king James, naturally warm and high-spirited, heard of
 this, he flew into a violent rage, and declared, That it
 was impossible for the Scots and English to live in peace.
 He immediately dispatched a herald to the court of Eng-
 land to demand satisfaction; and if that was denied, to
 denounce war. Henry, who sincerely desired peace,
 gave a mild answer to this demand, declaring, That he
 had no knowledge of what had happened; that he would
 inquire into it, and punish those who should be found to
 deserve punishment. The bishop of Durham, to whom
 the castle belonged, wrote a soothing letter to king
 James, expressing great concern for what had happened,
 and promising ample satisfaction *.

By these means the resentment of king James was ap- Marriage
 peased, and he began to form more salutary and peace- proposed.
 ful designs. He wrote to the bishop of Durham, who
 he knew possessed the favour and confidence of his sove-
 reign, and desired a conference with him at Melrofs on
 matters of great importance to both kingdoms. The pre-
 late having obtained his master's permission, waited upon
 James at the time and place appointed. The affair of
 Norham being compromised, the king had a private con-
 versation with the bishop, in which he observed, that
 the most effectual means of establishing a firm and per-
 manent peace between the two nations, would be an in-
 timate union of the two royal families, by a marriage
 between him and the princess Margaret, which he very
 much desired, and which he requested him to propose
 and promote. The prelate, who, on account of his
 situation, was a constant sufferer by war, and sincerely
 wished for peace, professed himself much honoured by
 the confidence reposed in him, and declared that he
 would exert all his influence to promote so desirable an
 union †.

The bishop went immediately to court, and commu- 1500.
 nicated this proposal to king Henry, who received it Proposal
 with joy, as it was what he had long wished, and had accepted.
 twice proposed. He appointed his great confident
 Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, his ambassador to the

* Lessly, p. 323. Abercromby, p. 508.

† Buchan. lib. xiii.

A.D. 1500. king of Scots, September 11th, A. D. 1499, with full powers to settle all the conditions of a marriage between that prince and the princess Margaret his eldest daughter *. As the parties were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and the princess was only in the eleventh year of her age, Henry made application to the court of Rome, and obtained a dispensation from the pope, dated July 28th, A. D. 1500, permitting the marriage to be celebrated, and declaring it lawful, notwithstanding the consanguinity of the parties and the non-age of the princess.

1501.
Commis-
sions.

The youth of the princess gave abundance of time to settle all the preliminaries of this marriage, and the other treaties with which it was to be accompanied. Henry granted, May 9th, A. D. 1501, a safe-conduct to Robert archbishop of Glasgow, Patrick earl of Bothwell, and Andrew Foreman, papal prothonotary and prior of May, ambassadors of the king of Scots, to come into England, with one hundred persons in their company †. It was not till the eighth of October after, that king James gave these ambassadors full powers to negotiate a marriage between him and the princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry king of England ‡. At the same time he gave the ambassadors a commission to negotiate and conclude a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and confederation, between him and the king of England §. Another safe-conduct was granted by Henry to these ambassadors, October 28th ||.

1502.
Treaty of
marriage.

The ambassadors of Scotland having arrived in the court of England in the beginning of this year, or towards the end of the last, Henry gave full powers to Henry archbishop of Canterbury, keeper of the great seal; Richard Fox, now bishop of Winchester; and Thomas earl of Surry, treasurer of England; to treat with them about a marriage between his eldest daughter the princess Margaret and James king of Scots. The plenipotentiaries of the two kings concluded the treaty of marriage, January 24th, on the following terms: 1. That James king of Scots should in person, or by proxy, marry the princess Margaret before the feast of Candlemas next: 2. That the king of Scots should not

* Rym. p. 729.

§ Ibid. p. 777.

† Ibid. p. 772.

‡ Ibid. p. 780.

§ Ibid. p. 776.

desire the princess to be delivered to him, in order to the solemnization and consummation of the marriage, before September 1st, A. D. 1503: 3. That the king of England should at his own expence conduct the princess to Lamberton Kirk, or some other place on the borders, and there deliver her to the king of Scots on or before the said 1st of September; and that the king of Scots should solemnize his marriage within fifteen days after: 4. That the queen's jointure should be 2,000*l.* English, equivalent to 6,000*l.* Scots: 5. That the princess's fortune should be 30,000 nobles of gold, equivalent to 10,000*l.* sterling: 6. That the queen during the marriage should have 1,000*l.* Scots, equivalent to 500 marks English, paid to her annually, to be disposed of as she thought proper: 7. That twenty of the queen's attendants should be English, to be supported and paid by the king her husband *. From hence it will appear, that though Henry was fond of this marriage, he was no less fond of his money, and made a very advantageous contract.

These plenipotentiaries concluded and signed at the same time a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and concord, between the king of England and the king of Scotland, and their successors and subjects †. This was a great achievement. Many attempts had been made to bring about a peace between the two British nations, but without success; and these two nations had been in a state of hostility for almost two centuries, interrupted only by short truces ill observed. To render this peace more secure and firm, another treaty was made at the same time, containing various regulations for settling all disputes that might arise in an amicable manner, without occasioning any breach of the peace ‡. But how vain were all these precautions! We shall soon see how long this perpetual peace lasted, and how well these treaties were observed. The continuance of peace between neighbouring nations depends much more on their characters, their circumstances, and future occurrences, than on the faith of treaties.

Some appearances of misunderstanding between the two kings took place, even before the solemnization of

* Rym. p. 787.

† Ibid. p. 793.

‡ Ibid. p. 800.

A.D. 1502. the intended marriage. Lewis XII. of France being then at peace with England, and warmly engaged in the wars of Italy, had given no interruption to the negotiation of the above treaties: but when he heard that they were concluded, he took the alarm, and began to fear that so intimate an union between the two British monarchs would weaken the long-established attachment of Scotland to France: he therefore earnestly solicited king James to renew the ancient league between France and Scotland. With this requisition James was inclined to comply, when he received a dissuasive letter from his father-in-law; to which he returned an answer, couched in very respectful and affectionate terms. He addressed him as his dearest father, and told him, that though it was an article of the ancient league with France to renew it at the accession of every king of either nation, and that this had been constantly done; yet at his desire he would delay it till he had an interview with him, or till he had considered further of it, and had communicated to him his final resolution, though he saw no good reason for this delay; nor could perceive how the renewing of the league could be hurtful to his dearest father, or to himself *. But James gave a still clearer proof of his independent spirit, and of his steady attachment to his ancient allies, when he came to swear to the observance of the above treaties before the English ambassadors in the cathedral of Glasgow, December 10th, A. D. 1502, by refusing obstinately to give his father-in-law the title of King of France; and in that oath he is only stiled King of England and Lord of Ireland †. A more passionate and less prudent prince would have taken this as an unpardonable affront; but Henry, though he could not be pleased with it, suffered it to pass unnoticed.

1503.
Deeds.

Henry sent the bishops of Hereford and Worcester to Rome in April this year, to lay all the above treaties before the pope, to obtain his confirmation of them, that the observance of them might be enforced by his authority, and by the dread of ecclesiastical censures, of which the greatest princes in those times stood in awe ‡. James, by a deed executed at Edinburgh, May 24th, af-

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 12.

† Ibid. p. 43.

‡ Ibid. p. 55.

signed the following lands for his queen's jointure:— A.D. 1503.
 The lordship and forest of Etreke, the earldoms of March and Monteith, the palace and lordship of Linlithgow, the castle and lordship of Stirling, the castle and lordship of Down, the palace and lordship of Methvin; and issued a mandate to the sheriffs of the several counties in which these lands lay, to grant the feifins of them *. James duke of Rofs and archbishop of St. Andrews, the king's brother, is the first subscribing witness to the first of these deeds.

All the preliminaries of this marriage being now settled, and the time when the princess was to be conducted into Scotland drawing near, great preparations were made for that journey and the celebration of the marriage—a marriage from which Great-Britain hath derived greater and more permanent advantages, than from any other that hath ever been celebrated in this island. The princess had been solemnly married to king James, represented by his proxy Patrick earl of Bothwell, at Richmond, January 27th, A. D. 1503, in presence of her royal parents, the whole court of England, and the Scots ambassadors; but she did not set out on her journey to Scotland till the 27th of June thereafter. She was attended by her father king Henry (the queen her mother having died, February 11th, before) with his whole court to Collywiston, the residence of her grandmother Margaret countess of Richmond, where she remained till July 8th, when she took leave of the king her father, and proceeded on her journey, accompanied by the earl and countess of Surry, with a numerous and splendid train of lords and ladies. The young queen travelled for the most part on horseback. At her entrance into towns and cities she was seated in a horse-litter, open on all sides, that she might be more conveniently seen. She was received and entertained with speeches and pageants by the magistrates, and by the clergy with processions, masses, and music. At the entrance of every county she was met by the high-sheriff, with the principal lords, gentlemen, and ladies, of the county, in their richest dresses, who conducted her to the next. Proceeding by short journies, and halting some days at York, Durham, Newcastle, and Berwick,

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 62.

A.D. 1504. she arrived at Lamberton Kirk, August 1st, where she was received by the archbishop of Glasgow and a great retinue of Scots lords and ladies, and conducted that night to Fastcastle, the next to Haddington, and the next to Dalkeith, where she was received by the king. They made their public entry into Edinburgh, August 7th, and the next day the royal marriage was solemnized with great pomp. After six days spent in banqueting, dancing, tilting, &c. the English lords, ladies, and gentlemen, took their leave of the king and queen, and set out on their return home, well pleased with the entertainment they had received *.

Parliament.

The diversions that followed the royal marriage being ended, and the strangers who had attended it departed, the king applied himself to the affairs of government. A parliament met at Edinburgh, March 11th, and on the 13th made an act rectifying and confirming the settlement of the queen's jointure; a copy of which, with the seals of a considerable number of each of the three estates appended, was delivered to the English ambassadors †. In this parliament many excellent laws were made on a great variety of subjects, which afford sufficient evidence that the true interests of their country were well understood, and steadily pursued by this assembly. Several regulations were made for the more regular and speedy administration of justice in the Low Country, and for establishing magistrates and courts in the Highlands and Islands; for the want of which, it is said, the people had become almost wild and lawless. James appears to have had the civilization of his subjects very much at heart; and in order to promote it, was willing to relinquish a part of his prerogative for a time. At his desire an act was made against granting remissions to any who had been guilty of murder from forethought malice. This act was intended to give a check to the deadly feuds between great families; in prosecution of which many murders were committed with impunity, and it was to continue in force till it was revoked by the king ‡. With the same view, another very equitable law was made. It had been customary when persons of rank and power had committed murder, or some other

* See Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 258—300.

† Rym. tom. xiii. p. 92—95.

‡ Black Acts, f. 100.

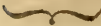
capital crime, to obtain a remission from the king for A.D. 1505. some trivial offence particularly mentioned, with a general clause, and all other crimes. But by this law it was declared, that the general clause should not convey a pardon for any offence that was greater than the one particularly mentioned in the remission *. In a word, it will be difficult to produce a system of laws more just and equitable, and better adapted to the state of the country for which they were designed, than those that were enacted by this parliament.

The immediate as well as the remote consequences of the king's marriage were very happy. It brought ^{Long} peace to two nations that had long been engaged in the most destructive wars, and even extinguished, for a time, their ancient animosity, which, by its long continuance, had become inveterate, and almost invincible. It introduced the most friendly intercourse between the two courts, and gave the two monarchs leisure to promote the prosperity of their dominions. This leisure was employed by James to the best purpose, in visiting the several provinces of his kingdom, redressing wrongs, extinguishing family feuds, establishing peace, order, and the impartial administration of justice in all places; encouraging learning, agriculture, and other useful arts, which greatly endeared him to his subjects of all ranks, who enjoyed a degree of prosperity and peace to which they had long been strangers. Henry took care of the punctual payment of his daughter's dowry, which, with his other revenues, enabled James to repair and furnish his palaces, and to keep a splendid court: for in this respect he was of a very different spirit from his father-in-law, and had no taste for hoarding money.

King James's application to the improvement and government of his kingdom did not prevent his attention ^{1506.} Foreign affairs. to foreign affairs and the concerns of his allies. On the contrary, he did some of them essential services by his interposition, and kept up a constant correspondence, by ambassadors and letters, with the courts of Rome, England, Germany, France, Spain, and Denmark †. His father-in-law having complained to him, that his great enemy Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk was en-

* Black Acts, f. 103.
tom. i.

† See *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*,

A.D. 1506.  tertained and protected by his cousin Charles duke of Gueldres, James wrote a very long and very sharp letter to the duke; in which, after the strongest expressions of friendship, he blames him greatly for entertaining the earl; answers all the excuses made by his ambassador; accuses him of having broken his promise; and in the end assures him, that if he did not immediately banish the earl out of his dominions, he could expect no further assistance from him either of men or money*. This letter produced the desired effect, and James was perfectly reconciled to the duke, whose cause he espoused with a degree of warmth and efficacy that did him great honour.

Affairs of
Gueldres.

Charles duke of Guilders and Juliers, and earl of Zutphen, was at this time in great distress and danger. Arnold VI. duke of Gueldres, father to Mary queen to James II. and Grandmother of James IV. was imprisoned by his own son Adolph. But Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy delivered him from his prison, and restored him to his authority; out of gratitude for which, he bequeathed his dominions to his deliverer. On his death, however, Adolph got and preserved the possession of them, and was succeeded by his son Charles, who had hitherto defended himself with great bravery and success. But a formidable confederacy was now formed against him by the emperor Maximilian, his son Philip duke of Burgundy and king of Castile, and the king of England. In this extremity he sent an ambassador to king James, to implore his good offices with the confederacy to divert the impending storm and procure a peace; and if that could not be obtained, to know what assistance he might expect from him in the war. To this James returned a long and distinct answer, assuring him that he would exert all his influence with the princes confederated against him, to prevail upon them to make peace with him on reasonable terms. If war became unavoidable, he acquainted him that the distance of the scene of action would make it difficult to give him all the assistance he wished; that all these princes were his friends and allies, with whom he was very unwilling to engage in war; but that he might rely upon

* *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 11.

it, that he would do as much as he could expect from a sincere friend and affectionate relation *.

A.D 1506.

To fulfil his promise to the duke, James wrote a long and elegant letter to his father-in-law; in which he employed many strong arguments, some of them expressed in the most pathetic and affecting language, to dissuade him from making war on the duke of Gueldres, to whose dominions his children and Henry's grandchildren were the undoubted heirs, after the duke and the queen of Sicily. After painting in strong colours the pain it would give him to be compelled to look upon his dearest father as his greatest enemy, and the sorrow it would give his beloved wife to see her father and her husband at war with one another, he tells him in the most positive terms, that if he persisted in his design to send troops to assist the emperor against the duke of Gueldres, he was determined to transport himself with an army to the continent, to place himself by the side of his brave relation, and to stand or fall with him. This letter he sent with his ambassadors Robert Foreman, dean of Glasgow, and the lord Lion king at arms; who having finished the business at the court of England successfully, proceeded to the continent, charged with letters to the emperor Maximilian, to Charles king of Castile and duke of Burgundy, (who had lately succeeded his father Philip,) and to the chancellor and senate of Burgundy. In these letters he used such arguments as he imagined would be most effectual to dissuade those to whom they were addressed from invading the dominions of the duke of Gueldres †. Nor did he thus warmly espouse the cause of his friend in vain. The storm was dissipated, and the duke was not invaded.

But James made his greatest exertions this year in favour of his uncle John king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, from whom the Swedes had revolted, and were supported in their revolt by the city of Lubeck, then very powerful at sea. King James sent the dean of Glasgow and lord Lion his ambassadors, first to Lubeck, with letters to the magistrates and senate, exhorting them with much earnestness and many arguments to make peace with the king his uncle, and offering his

* *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 30—44.

† *Ibid.* p. 40—49.

mediation,

A.D. 1506. mediation, which was accepted, and a peace concluded. The ambassadors then proceeded to Sweden with letters to the archbishop of Upsal the primate, the bishop of Roskeld the chancellor, and the nobility *. These letters paint the horrors of a civil war in very lively colours, and are written with extraordinary elegance and energy. Among other things he assured them, that he would procure for them a full redress of all their grievances, and that no ties of blood should ever engage him to support a tyrant in violating the rights of his subjects; but that if they persisted in their rebellion, he was determined to assist their king his uncle with all his power. To give weight to these arguments, James fitted out a fleet, and embarked an army of ten thousand men, and sent them to Denmark, under the command of his cousin the earl of Arran. But before the arrival of this fleet and army, a peace was concluded, and they returned home †. The queen of Denmark having sent king James a letter of thanks for this seasonable and powerful aid, he returned a very polite answer, dated at Edinburgh, 25th August, A. D. 1506; in which he expressed some dissatisfaction at the sudden unexpected return of his fleet and army, which, he says, he would not have excused, if they had not brought him the agreeable news that peace was restored, and that her majesty (who had been besieged) was in perfect safety ‡. These two examples afford sufficient evidence that James espoused the cause of his friends with zeal and spirit, and that his interposition was respected by the other powers of Europe.

1507.
Subjects in
Ireland.

King James and his ancestors did not take the title of Kings of Scotland, but of Kings of the Scots, and seem to have considered themselves as sovereigns of that people wherever they resided, and particularly of the colonies of Scots in Ireland. These colonists also acknowledged themselves to be their subjects. It appears further, that some of the ancient Irish princes or chieftains voluntarily became the subjects of, and swore fealty to, the Scots kings. A proof of both these occurred at this time. Odo Odoneil, an Irish chieftain, sent an ambassador to James, notifying his father's death, and his own accession to the government of his people and estates. He

* Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 34—38.

† Ibid. p. 69.

‡ Ibid.

acquainted him further, that he designed to go to war A.D. 1507. next spring, and desired the king to send him four thousand men under the conduct of John Mackeane, and to command his subjects in Claudomptniel not to assist his enemies, and that he would not go out of his kingdom to meet with his father-in-law. In answer to these letters, James condoled with him on the death of his father, who, he said, had sworn fealty to him in person, and had always been his loyal subject. He then congratulated him on his accession to the power and fortunes of his ancestors, and assured him, that when he came to swear fealty, he would treat him with the same respect and kindness that he had treated his father. He desired to know against whom, and for what cause, he was going to war; and if the cause appeared to be good, he would send him the succours he requested. He told him, that he would command his subjects of Claudomptniel not to fight against him, because he was also his subject. But as to the proposed interview with his dearest father, that was so pious an act, that nothing should dissuade him from it, when it became convenient for them to have an interview *. But though it is evident that many of the people of Ireland acknowledged themselves to be the subjects of the kings of the Scots, I have not discovered what degree of authority these kings exercised over them, or what revenues they received from them.

King James paid great attention to trade, and prepared a fleet for its protection, not inconsiderable for those times and the state of his kingdom. In particular, he built one ship larger than any that had yet been seen in Europe. It was not long before he had occasion to employ that and some other ships in defence of his commercial subjects. The Hollanders, for what reason we are not informed, had taken several Scots ships, and had thrown their crews into the sea. James, irritated at this cruelty, fitted out his great ship, with some others, under the command of Andrew Barton, who seized all the Dutch ships he could meet with, sent some hogsheds of Dutchmen's heads as a present to the king, and returned to Leith with several valuable prizes †. A cruel revenge for a cruel injury.

* Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 63.

† Lessæus, lib. viii. p. 343.

A.D. 1507.

Policy of
France
and Scot-
land.

King James, though at peace with England, and so nearly connected with that royal family, did not neglect his ancient allies, but kept up a constant correspondence with the court of France by his ambassadors, and by receiving ambassadors from that court. Nor was Lewis XII. less anxious to cultivate the friendship of the king of Scots, and to cherish the ancient amity between the two nations. The chief instrument he employed for this purpose was Bernard Stewart, lord D'Aubigny, who was related to, and beloved by James, and in high favour with Lewis. This nobleman made several journies into Scotland on various pretences, but in reality to confirm and strengthen the union between the two courts and the two nations. Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray and archbishop of Bourges in France, who was James's great favourite, was warmly engaged in the same design. Both France and Scotland were at this time at peace with England, but they were not certain that this peace with both of them would be of long duration; and each of them desired to secure an useful ally, in case of a war with a power that had long been considered as their common enemy*. It is in the time of peace that useful alliances should be formed and strengthened.

Succours
to France.

In the course of the friendly correspondence this year, Lewis requested of James an aid of four thousand men, to be employed in the wars of Italy, at Savona, Genoa, or Milan. James readily agreed to this requisition, and sent his answer by his cousin James earl of Arran, and desired to know at what port the troops should assemble, and when the fleet would arrive to receive them. But Genoa having surrendered in the mean time, the king of France acquainted his ally of that event, and that the succours were not now necessary, but intreated him to have them in readiness, if they should become necessary†. To which James returned this very friendly answer: "That he and all his subjects would fly to his assistance if it became necessary."

Pilgrimage.

Though James IV. was a prince of great activity and spirit, applied to business when his affairs required it, and spent his leisure hours in riding, hunting, tilting, and other amusements, he was often disquieted by re-

* *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 70—89.

† *Ibid.* p. 84, 87.

morse for the part he had acted against his unhappy father. To expiate that crime, he added a link every year to the iron chain he wore about his body; he went in pilgrimage to the shrines of all the saints of any reputation in his own kingdom, and meditated a visit to the Holy Land. On the 30th of August this year, he set out from Stirling alone early in the morning, and rode by Perth and Aberdeen to Elgin, being an hundred and thirty miles, that day. After reposing a few hours upon a table, he mounted again, and rode forty miles to St. Dulhacks in Ross, on the 31st, the festival of that saint, and arrived in time to attend mass and receive the sacrament*. His penitence, it is hoped, was more acceptable to Heaven than his pilgrimages, though he probably thought them very meritorious, because they were very fatiguing.

A.D. 1507.

That turbulent ambitious pontiff Julius II. paid great court to both the British monarchs at this time, with very selfish and sinister views. He sent a legate to the court of Scotland, with a present to the king of a cap of maintenance, and a sword, that had been properly blessed by his holiness, to be employed against the enemies of the church†. The real design of sending this embassy and present was to weaken, if possible, the attachment of king James to his ally the king of France, who was the great dread and hatred of his holiness, on account of his power, and the success of his arms in Italy. But that the legate could not accomplish. The present, however, was received with great ceremony by the king and his nobility in the church of Holyrood-house.

1508.
Legate
from
Rome.

A misunderstanding and coolness had subsisted several years between the courts of Scotland and Portugal, occasioned by the mutual depredations of the subjects at sea. A fleet of the Portuguese had captured a ship belonging to James III. commanded by John Bertoun; of which that prince complained to the king of Portugal, and obtaining no redress, granted letters of marque to Bertoun a little before his death. James IV. at the earnest request of Robert and John Bertouns, the sons of John Bertoun, granted them letters of marque or reprisal. Of these, the two Bertouns, assisted by their brother Andrew, made a very good use. They fitted out

Disputes
with Por-
tugal.

* Lestæus, lib. viii. p. 345.

† Ibid.

A.D. 1508. two stout ships, with which they cruised on the coasts of Portugal, and took several valuable prizes *. This trade was so lucrative, and appeared to them so honourable, that they carried it too far, and continued it too long; and in the end (as we shall afterwards hear) brought ruin upon themselves, and contributed to bring many calamities upon their country.

1509.
Death of
Henry
VII. The treaty of perpetual peace between the two British kingdoms, that had been concluded on the marriage of king James with the princess royal of England, had hitherto been faithfully observed by both powers, and the borders of the two kingdoms, formerly the scene of almost incessant hostility, were reduced to a state of as great quiet and order as any other part of the island. Nor have we any reason to imagine that any such breach of this treaty would have taken place, while the son and son-in-law continued to reign, though their joint lives had been much longer. But that prudent pacific prince Henry VII. died, April 22d this year, which rendered the continuance of peace more precarious.

Treaty of
peace con-
firmed. Henry VIII. at his accession, seems to have been disposed to follow the example of his father, and to preserve peace with Scotland: for he delivered to the Scots ambassadors, Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray, and James earl of Arran, (who had been sent to congratulate him on his accession,) a confirmation of the treaty of perpetual peace, under the great seal, dated at Westminster, July 29th; and on August 29th, he swore to the observation of all the articles of that treaty. On the same day the bishop of Moray swore a similar oath in the name of his master; and king James swore to the observation of the treaty of peace at Edinburgh, November 28th, before the English commissioners appointed to take his oath, and a great number of his own nobility †. Henry also renewed and confirmed the treaty of peace with France with the same solemnities, and every thing, for some time, seemed to promise a long continuance of tranquillity. But Henry, being young and ambitious, had not the same determined aversion to war, and the desire of peace, with his prudent and cautious father, nor had James the same respect for his person, or confidence in

* Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 91.
p. 257, 261, 267.

† Rym. tom. xiii.

his friendship, that he had entertained towards his father-in-law. A.D. 1509.

In spite of all the care that had been taken by the wardens of the marches to preserve peace and good order on the borders, some acts of violence had been committed in those parts in the beginning of this year, of which complaints were made to both kings. Henry granted a commission, June 1st, to Sir Robert Drury and Sir Marmaduck Constable, to meet the commissioners of the king of Scots, and in conjunction with them to punish offenders and redress grievances *. James being nearer the scene of these disorders, acted with greater effect. Having received intelligence that a gang of banditti infested the middle marches, he set out at the head of a body of armed men, and marching all night, came upon the plunderers unexpectedly, seized many of them, and conducted them to Jedburgh, where they were tried, the most guilty executed, and others fined or imprisoned †. Thus far, therefore, there was no appearance of any misunderstanding between the two courts.

But this good understanding was not of long duration. Andrew Bertoun, one of the three brothers who had received letters of marque against the Portuguese, returning with two ships from a cruise on the coasts of Portugal, was attacked in the Downs by Sir Edward Howard, lord admiral of England, and his elder brother lord Thomas Howard, who had been sent with a superior force to intercept him. Though Bertoun and his men were surprised at this unexpected attack, they defended themselves with great bravery; but being overpowered by numbers, both their ships were taken and brought to London. Bertoun died of the wounds he had received in the engagement; and those of his men who survived, after being confined a few days, were set at liberty, and commanded to depart the kingdom in three weeks ‡.

Nothing could equal the surprise and indignation of king James, when he received intelligence of this event. To seize his ships, and to slaughter and imprison his subjects acting under his commission, without having made any complaint, or produced any evidence that they had exceeded their commission, appeared to him an intolerable

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 276.

† Lessly, p. 354.

‡ Ibid. p. 355.

A.D. 1511. insult and injury, a direct and wanton violation of the treaty of perpetual peace. But when the first transports of his passion subsided, he determined to observe the stipulations of that treaty, by demanding redress, before he proceeded to retaliation. He immediately sent an embassy to the court of England, to complain of the violation of the treaty of peace, and to demand redress. The pride which superior power and wealth are apt to produce seems to have influenced the English monarch and his ministry on this occasion. They returned a short and very provoking answer: "That the punishment of pirates" could not be a violation of any treaty, nor require any "redress*." The English merchants had, indeed, complained to their own government, that Bertoun had searched and plundered some of their ships of what he pretended was Portuguese property: but no complaint of this had been made to the government of Scotland, as the treaty of peace required; and therefore the seizure of Bertoun's ships was an evident violation of that treaty †.

Embassy
to Scot-
land.

The English ministry soon became sensible that they had acted unwarrantably, contrary to the plainest stipulations in the late treaty, and discovered a disposition to appease the resentment of king James, and prevent a rupture. With this view doctor Nicholas West, dean of Windsor, was sent ambassador to the court of Scotland in the beginning of November, with very ample powers to redress all injuries, grievances, and attempts against the treaty of perpetual peace ‡. What redress doctor West proposed we are not informed: we only know that it was not accepted, and that his negociation was unsuccessful. This appears plainly from a letter written by king James to the pope, dated at Edinburgh, December 5th, A. D. 1511, in which he complains of some violations of the treaty of peace by the late king of England his father-in-law, but more bitterly of the far greater violations of it by the present king his brother. "The present king of England, (says he) who hath sworn to the treaty of perpetual peace, pursues our subjects by sea and land, kills, captivates, and imprisons them; we demand, but do not obtain redress.

* Abercromby, p. 523.

† Rym. tom. xiii. p. 309.

‡ Rym. tom. xii. p. 793.

“ In his conduct every thing is hostile, nothing peaceful. A.D. 1511.
 “ We find that the losses and sufferings of our subjects
 “ daily increase. We have communicated these things
 “ to your holiness, that if war ensue, you may know
 “ that we have not sought it, but have been forced into
 “ it in our own defence *.” In a word, it is abundantly evident that king James had by this time received great provocation, and was very much incensed against his brother-in-law, and that all the amity which had lately prevailed between the two courts and the two nations was at an end.

It is possible, however, that the affair of Bertoun and the disputes on the borders might have been compromised without producing a war, if a more serious cause of quarrel had not intervened. Henry VIII. then young and ambitious, had been betrayed by the pope, and his father-in-law Ferdinand of Arragon, into a league against Lewis XII. November 10th, A. D. 1511, only a few months after he had sworn to a treaty of peace with that prince, and without having received the slightest provocation †. This holy league, as it was called, was kept a profound secret for some time, but began to be suspected about the beginning of this year, and was soon after publicly known and avowed. The pope and Ferdinand attempted to draw James into this pretended holy league, and doctor Leonard Lopez, the Spanish ambassador at his court, used every argument to that purpose that could be imagined, but in vain. This appears from a letter he sent to Ferdinand by his ambassador, in which he most earnestly intreated him not to engage in a war against a Christian prince, but to reserve his forces, to be employed, in conjunction with those of other Christian princes, against the infidels in Africa. To remove all obstruction to that pious expedition, he pressed him very warmly to mediate a peace between the pope, the common father of Christians, and the Most Christian King ‡. He appointed his cousin John duke of Albany, then in France, his ambassador to the emperor Maximilian, and sent his most confidential minister, Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray, to Rome, with instructions to both to

1512.
Confederacy
against
France.

* Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 123.

† See Section II. A. D. 1511.

‡ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 131.

A.D. 1512. mediate a peace between the pope and the king of France*. This is a sufficient proof that James was at this time sincerely disposed to peace, and made every effort in his power to prevent a war.

Treaty
with
France:

As soon as Lewis XII. discovered the confederacy that was formed against him, he dispatched an ambassador to the court of Scotland to secure the assistance of his ancient allies. Monsieur la Motte, the French ambassador, found king James so much heated with resentment against the king and people of England for the injuries they had lately done him, that he easily prevailed upon him to renew and confirm all the former treaties of alliances between the two crowns, with a very remarkable addition. In all former treaties the contracting parties had engaged to assist one another only against the English, and against such as should attempt to change the regular order of succession to their respective crowns. But in this new treaty the two kings engaged to assist one another against all who may live and die. This treaty was ratified by king James at Edinburgh, 16th March, A. D. 1512 †.

Embassy
to Scot-
land.

The English ministry, being now determined on a war with France, became sensible of the error they had committed in irritating the king and people of Scotland, and resolved, if possible, to procure a reconciliation. Henry therefore sent Thomas lord Dacres and Doctor West to the court of Scotland in April with two commissions: by the one they were authorised to require James to swear again to the treaty of perpetual peace, and to engage that their master would do the same; by the other, to redress all grievances and violations of the peace ‡. The redress proposed was not accepted, and James declined to renew his oath. He declared, however, it is said, to the ambassadors, by word of mouth, that he would observe a strict neutrality; but when he was requested to give that declaration in writing, he refused §. James, it is probable, gave the ambassadors good words, and expressed a great regard for his brother-in-law, which they construed into a promise of neutrality. His situation was very critical. Being a superstitious prince, he was averse to engage in a war against the pope,

* *Epistolæ Regum Scottorum*, p. 130—146.

† Abercromby, p. 526.

§ Herbert, p. 12.

‡ Rym. p. 332, 333.

whose thunders he dreaded; and at the same time he was warmly attached to the king of France. Besides, the engagements into which he had entered with France and England were of such a nature, that it was hardly possible to perform them both: he might therefore have been undetermined at this time what part he would act in the approaching war, which might induce him to give the English ambassadors fair words, without entangling himself in any new engagements. A.D. 1512.

When things were in this state king James sent an ambassador to his uncle John king of Denmark with the following instructions, dated at Linlithgow, May 28th, A. D. 1512: To acquaint him, that the king of England had declared war against their common friend and ally the king of France, and to inquire what assistance he was willing to give to the Most Christian King, and on what conditions: To inform him further, that the English had committed, and still continued to commit, many hostilities against his subjects, for which he could obtain no adequate satisfaction; and to inquire what money he would lend him, and on what terms, and what ships and troops he would send to his assistance, if he engaged in a war with England. The ambassador was instructed to return as soon as possible with an answer to these questions*. He received a favourable answer, and the king of Denmark sent some ships, loaded with arms and ammunition, into Scotland in the end of this, or beginning of the next year†.

Robert Bertoun, the brother of the late Andrew Bertoun, had long solicited for letters of marque to avenge his brother's death and the capture of his ships; and as soon as James received intelligence that the English fleet, with an army on board, had actually failed to invade France, he granted them. Bertoun failed in the end of May, and returned to Leith, in July, with fifteen prizes‡.

About the same time James endeavoured to create a diversion to the English arms, by exciting an insurrection in Ireland. The great Odoniel, as he is called, visited the court of Scotland, and swore fealty to the king, who entertained him honourably, and sent him home to

* *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, p. 148.

† *Abercromby*, p. 527.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 526.

A.D. 1512. raise his followers, and make war upon the English in that country *.

Letters
from
Rome.

Though James prepared for war, he did not intermit his endeavours to prevent it, and to bring about a peace between the pope and the king of France. With this view he sent an ambassador to Rome in the beginning of this year; and the pope, in answer to his earnest solicitations, transmitted to him letters, expressive of the highest esteem and warmest affection, thanking him for his unwearied labours to promote peace, which was obstructed only by his undutiful son the king of France, who would not submit to him, who was the common father of all kings. He sent him at the same time a copy of the letters he had received from the Ragusians, concerning the great preparations the Turks were making for invading Italy; and also the copy of a letter he had written to the king of France on that subject. This last exhibits a most curious specimen of canting and hypocrisy. Though he hated Lewis mortally, he addressed him as his most dear son, acquainted him with the great preparations the abominable Turks were making for invading Christendom. “ But, my dearest son, (said he) “ if these odious Turks should come, what can they do “ more cruel, more detestable, or more horrible, than “ your soldiers did, after the battle of Ravenna?” He puts him in mind of the glory his ancestors had acquired, by enriching and protecting the church, and conjures him not to tarnish all that glory by opposing him, and obstructing the union of all Christian princes against the enemies of the Christian faith, which he alone had hitherto obstructed. He tells him, that he and many other princes had lately entered into a most holy league for recovering Bologna, Ferrara, and all the other possessions of the church from him; and then undertaking an expedition against the Turks, and obtests him by the bowels of Jesus Christ to enter into that most holy league and expedition †. Lewis perfectly well knew that the pretended holy league was made only against himself, and that the expedition against the Turks was a mere pretence.

* Abercromby, p. 527.

† *Epistolæ Regum Sæctorum*, p. 155--165.

Lewis XII. was at great pains to conciliate the friendship, and secure the assistance of the king of Scots, when all his other allies, except the duke of Gueldres, had abandoned him; and almost all the other princes of Europe had combined against him. One of the arts employed for that purpose would appear ridiculous in the present age; but in that age, and with such a prince, was well calculated to produce the desired effect. Anne of Brittany, queen of France, knowing him to be a gallant prince, an admirer of the ladies and of chivalry, chose him for her knight and champion, to protect her in her distress from all her enemies; and sent him a ship, loaded with arms, as a token of her confidence that he would use them in her defence*. He was proud of this honour, and determined to act the part of a valiant and loyal knight.

A.D. 1512.
James knight to the queen of France.

As Henry had sent an army under the marquis of Dorset to invade Guienne, he thought it prudent to provide against an invasion from Scotland, by giving a commission to Thomas earl of Surry, August 6th, to array all the defensible men in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, to arm and train them, that they might be in readiness to repel the Scots whenever it should be necessary†. The earl of Surry, who was lord high treasurer and earl marshal of England, executed this commission with great activity and spirit, the necessity and advantage of which soon after appeared.

Commission of array.

This array in the north of England, and some intelligence he had received, made James imagine that an invasion of Scotland was intended, to put it out of the power of that kingdom to assist France. This we learn from the letters he sent to his uncle John king of Denmark towards the end of this year. He acquaints that prince, that it had been declared in the parliament of England, (that met November 4th,) "That it would be imprudent to invade France till they had first disabled Scotland: That the king of England was so much elated by the great subsidy he had got from his parliament, that he boasted he would invade both France and Scotland at the same time. I am informed (says

Letters to Denmark.

* Lessly, p. 358. Drummond, p. 140—145.

† Rym. p. 339.

A.D. 1512. " he) by my friends and favourers, that the great preparations the English are making by sea and land are designed against us. Being afraid to attack the French, who are prepared for war, they design suddenly to assault the Scots, who are meditating nothing but peace and concord. For resisting such a formidable assault we are but ill prepared, and therefore we beseech your majesty, our most dear uncle, to provide as strong a fleet and army as possible, and send them to the assistance of your nephew *." James was indeed misinformed by his friends in England; but that he entertained these apprehensions at this time, (December 12th, A. D. 1512) there can be no doubt. It appears also from the whole of this, and from his other letters, that he earnestly desired and endeavoured to prevent a war between France and England; but since that could not be prevented, he thought it most prudent and most generous to adhere to the ancient allies of his crown, from whom he might expect assistance against the ambitious attempts of his too powerful neighbours. " It would be very imprudent, (says he in the same letter) and unsafe for us, to suffer the English to subdue France; for then there can be no doubt that they would make themselves masters of Scotland †."

1513.
Negotia-
tions.

In the beginning of this year every thing wore a hostile appearance between the two British nations; but the intercourse between the two courts was not quite broken off. James proposed to send an embassy, consisting of John lord Drummond, Sir Robert Lawder, Sir John Ramsay, Sir William Scot, and Mr. John Henryson; and on January 25th, Henry granted them a safe-conduct to come into England, with one hundred persons in their company. But this embassy, for some reason now unknown, was never sent. Henry also gave a commission, February 1st, to William lord Conyers and Sir Robert Drury, to meet with commissioners of the king of Scots, to settle all disputes about the treaty of perpetual peace, and to make new regulations for the better observation of that treaty. He gave another commission, February 15th, to Thomas lord Dacres and Doctor Nicholas West, to agree with commissioners of Scotland on an abolition of all the past trespasses against the perpe-

* Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 169.

† Ibid. p. 171.

tual peace *. Doctor West came to the court of Scotland, March 16th, and prevailed upon James to agree to a meeting of the commissioners of both kings, to be held on the borders in the beginning of June. These commissioners accordingly met at the time and place appointed; but after long debates they could come to no agreement †. This was owing to the English commissioners, who insisted upon a delay to the 15th of October; ~~by which time they hoped the event of the expedition into France;~~ ^{A. D. 1513.} by which time they hoped the event of the expedition into France would be known. James was greatly irritated at this attempt to deceive him, and from that time relinquished all hopes and thoughts of peace.

Monfieur la Motte, the French ambaffador, who had ^{Supplies.} lately made feveral voyages between France and Scotland, arrived in the Clyde, May 24th, with four fhips loaded with wine, flour, &c. About the fame time fome fhips from Denmark arrived at Leith with arms and ammunition ‡. James being thus better prepared for war, became more indifferent about peace.

There was one way in which James had it in his power to affist his ally the king of France, without fo much as the appearance of violating the treaty of perpetual peace with England. By an article in that treaty it was agreed, "That if the king of England, or his fucceffors, made war upon any of the allies of the king of Scots, or his fucceffors, the king of Scots fhould abftain from invading the dominions of the king of England, but fhould be at liberty to affist his ally in any other way, and that fuch affiftance fhould not be confidered as a violation of the treaty §." There was a fimilar article in favour of the king of England. King James availed himfelf of the liberty allowed by this article. He had a confiderable fleet in readinefs, in which there were three fhips of uncommon magnitude for thofe times, the Michael, the Margaret, and the James. He gave the command of the fleet to James Gordon, a fon of the earl of Huntly; and of four thoufand land forces on board, to his coufin James earl of Arran. Having received intelligence that the king of England, with a ^{A fleet and army fent to France.}

* Rym. p. 346.

† Lefly, p. 358.

‡ Ibid.

§ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 796.

A.D. 1513. great army, had invaded France, the fleet sailed from Leith, July 26th, and arrived safe. The troops, it is said, did good service in the war, for which their commander was rewarded with a pension, and the privileges of their countrymen, in that kingdom, confirmed and enlarged *.

Depredations.

It would have been fortunate, as well as prudent, if James had been contented with sending succours to his ally; and it is probable he would not have proceeded any farther, if he had not been provoked to it by the roughness of his brother-in-law, and the injuries his subjects had received from the English, for which he could obtain no redress. These injuries daily increased. As soon as the misunderstanding between the two monarchs was known, the borderers broke loose, and renewed their usual depredations. Towards the end of July, a troop of Englishmen having plundered a part of the Merse, king James commanded the earl of Hume to collect his followers and revenge the injury. The earl entered England, August 13th, at the head of three thousand men, desolated the country, and burnt several villages. But as they were returning with their booty in great security, they fell into an ambush, were defeated, and lost all their plunder †. Though this was no great matter in itself, it had a very bad effect, by inflaming the king's resentment beyond measure; it rendered him deaf to all advice; rash, violent, and precipitant, in all his proceedings.

Letter to king Henry.

James sent his principal herald, Lion king at arms, in his fleet to France, with a long letter to king Henry, in which he enumerated all the injuries he had received from him, and the reasons he had to declare war against him; the chief of which were these following:—In general, his unfriendly and unfair dealing towards him in all transactions, and on all occasions: In particular, his approving of the insidious deceitful conduct of his commissioners at the late meeting on the borders, by the frivolous excuses they made for their producing no criminals, and by their insisting upon a delay of all matters till October, when it had been promised that all things should be amicably settled at that meeting:—his refusing to grant a safe-conduct to an ambassador he had proposed

* Lesly, p. 359.

† Hall, f. 38. Buchan. p. 250.

to send to him ; a thing that had never been done even A.D. 1513.
 by the Turks :—his retaining the legacies that had been
 left to his queen by her brother and father, out of hatred
 to him :—his refusing satisfaction for the slaughter of
 Andrew Bertoun, (which had been done by his com-
 mand,) and still detaining his ship :—his protecting the
 bastard Heron, who had killed Sir Robert Ker, warden
 of the middle marches :—his making war, without any
 provocation, on his two nearest relations and best allies,
 the king of France and duke of Gueldres, to whom he
 must look for assistance when he stood in need. He, in
 the end, intreats him to desist from the prosecution of
 that war immediately, and acquaints him, that if he did
 not, he would be obliged, in consequence of his alliance
 with these princes, to take part with them, and to do that
 thing which he trusted would oblige him to desist *.

This letter was presented to Henry by lord Lion in Answer.
 the camp before Terouenne, who, having perused it,
 told the herald, he was ready to return an answer if he
 would promise to report it to his master. “ I am (said
 “ he) my master’s most faithful servant, and bound to
 “ obey his commands, but not those of any other. If
 “ it please your majesty, you may communicate your
 “ answer in writing, which I shall deliver; but my
 “ master requires actions rather than words.” After
 consulting with his council, Henry delivered a letter to
 the herald, dated August 12th, written with great aspe-
 rity, and containing some severe reproaches, refusing,
 in very positive terms, to comply with his requisition
 to desist from the prosecution of the war against the
 king of France †. But the herald was detained so long
 on the continent by contrary winds, that this letter came
 too late.

In the mean time James, knowing that Henry would Strata-
gem.
 not be deterred by a letter from prosecuting his enter-
 prize, was eagerly engaged in raising an army to invade
 England in person. From that his queen and some of
 the wisest of his nobility endeavoured to dissuade him,
 by representing the weak state of his family; that he
 had only one child, an infant of sixteen months old;
 that they knew his native intrepidity would precipitate
 him into danger; and conjured him to consider in what

* Holinsh. p. 295.

† Rym. tom. xiii, p. 382.

A.D. 1513. danger and distress his family and his country would be involved, if he was either killed or taken prisoner. When all the tears, intreaties, and blandishments of his queen, and all the arguments of his counsellors, were ineffectual, they had recourse to a stratagem. As the king was one evening at vespers in St. Michael's Church in Linlithgow, a tall personage of a venerable aspect, with a long beard, dressed in a gown of azure blue, girt about his body with a white sash, made his way through the crowd; and leaning on the king's desk, said, "I am sent from heaven, O king! to warn you not to proceed on your intended enterprize, which will be unfortunate; and to charge you to abstain from all familiarities with women, or the consequences will be most fatal." Having spoken thus, he retired. When prayers were ended, the king inquired for him, in order to examine him: but he could not be found; having, most probably, retired to his accomplices in the palace, which is only a few paces from the church*.

King
James in-
vades
England.

All the arguments and arts that were employed to dissuade or deter James from the intended expedition, served only to render him more determined and precipitate. Without waiting for all his forces, or for the return of his herald, he marched with the troops he had collected to the borders, passed the Tweed, August 22d, and encamped on that and the two following days on Twiselfhaugh. At that place, August 24th, he published an act or declaration, with the consent of his nobles, "That the heirs of all who were killed or died in the army during that expedition, should pay nothing for their wardship, relief, or marriage, without any regard to their age†."

Takes
some cas-
tles.

The army in a few days made themselves masters of the castles of Wark, Norham, Heaton, and Etat, and in part demolished them. The castle of Ford was also taken, but preserved from demolition by the lady of the mansion. In this castle, it is said, James forgot the charge that had been given him by the apparition at Linlithgow, and captivated by the conversation or personal charms of the lady, mis-spent his time, and neglected

* Buchan. lib. xiii. p. 251. Buchanan was told this story by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who was standing near the king.

† Black Acts, f. 110.

his affairs. However that may be, the army remained about Ford several days in a state of inaction, and great numbers took that opportunity of deserting and returning home, some to secure the booty they had got, and others from discontent, or to avoid fatigue or danger. By this most unseasonable desertion the army was equally weakened and dispirited*.

As the English had long expected, so they were well prepared for this invasion. As soon as the earl of Surry received intelligence that the Scots were beginning to collect their forces, he dispatched messengers to all the noblemen and gentlemen in the northern counties to meet him, with all their followers, who had been mustered and trained, on the first day of September at Newcastle. He set out from York, August 27th; and though the roads were bad and the weather stormy, he marched day and night till he arrived at Durham: there he received the news of the surrender of Norham, which was believed to be impregnable, and whose captain had promised to keep the Scots at bay till the king returned from France. Having received the banner of St. Cuthbert from the prior, he proceeded, August 30th, to Newcastle, where he was joined by the lord Dacres, and many other chieftains, with their followers. Here a council of war was held, and the troops from all parts were appointed to rendezvous, September 4th, at Bolton in Glendale, about twenty miles from Ford, where the Scots army lay. The earl marched from Newcastle, September 3d, to make room for the forces that were daily coming forward, and arrived at Alnwick that evening. There, on Sunday September 4th, he was joined by his heroic son the lord admiral of England, with a body of choice troops from the English army before Terouenne. This most fortunate junction, at so critical a time, gave great joy to the earl his father, and to the whole army†.

A.D. 1513.

Proceedings of the earl of Surry.

From Alnwick the earl of Surry sent a herald to the king, to accuse him of having broken the solemn oath he had taken to observe the treaty of perpetual peace, and to offer him battle on Friday September 9th, if he dared to abide till then on the territories of his master

* Drummond, p. 74. Hall, f. 37, 38. Buchan. p. 251.

† Hall, f. 37, 38.

A.D. 1513. the king of England. The lord admiral sent a message to the king by the same herald, "That he had come from the continent to justify the slaughter of the pirate Andrew Bertoun: that he would take no quarter, and give none to any but the king." James, consulting only his own intrepid spirit, accepted the offer of a battle with alacrity; and in a short paper written by his secretary, vindicated himself from the accusation of having broken his oath, by observing, "Our brother was bound as far to us as we to him; and when we swore last before his ambassadors, in presence of our council, we expressed specially in our oath that we would keep to our brother, if our brother kept to us, and not else. We swear our brother broke first to us*." We hear of no return he made to the lord admiral.

Advice of
the Scots
nobility.

His nobility had before this earnestly importuned their king to return into Scotland, and supported their advice with strong arguments. "He had done enough (they said) for his allies, by detaining so great an army at home, and causing so many troops to return from the continent. He had also gained sufficient honour by taking and demolishing so many castles, and enriching his subjects with the spoils of their enemies. So many of their followers had gone home with these spoils, and those who remained were so much weakened by fatigue and scarcity of provisions, that their army was become so inferior to that of the enemy both in strength and numbers, that the risk on both sides was not equal. Scotland hazarded her king, and almost all her nobility; England only a part of her nobility and common people: nor did the advantages to be gained by a victory, bear any proportion to the ruinous consequences of a defeat." These and other arguments were urged with so much warmth by Archibald Bell-the-cat earl of Angus, that the king in a passion told him, "If he was afraid, he might be gone." Irritated at the imputation of cowardice, which he did not deserve, and foreseeing the consequences of the rash imprudent counsels that were adopted, he departed, but left two of his sons, and the greatest part of his followers, with the army†.

Encampat
Flodden.

The noblemen and other chieftains finding the king was determined to give the English battle, intreated him

* Hall, f. 40.

† Buchan, p. 252.

to choose an advantageous situation, and prevailed upon him to remove his camp from Ford to Flodden, a rising ground at a small distance on the skirts of Cheviot. This was a very well-chosen post, which might have been made very strong by a little art and labour. But these were not employed; only a battery was formed, and mounted with cannon pointing directly upon the bridge over the river Till. The soldiers built huts of earth, and covered them with straw, to screen themselves from the inclemency of the weather, which was very rainy, and there waited the approach of the enemy.

When all the English forces rendezvoused at Bolton, A strata-September 5th, they were found to amount to twenty-six gem. thousand fighting men, well armed and appointed in all respects, and impatient for action. They marched, September 6th, to Wooller-haugh, within three miles of the Scots camp, and there rested all the next day. The earl of Surry having discovered by his spies the situation the Scots had chosen, formed a scheme which he hoped would make them relinquish that advantage. Knowing the king's undaunted courage and high sense of honour, he wrote a letter, subscribed by himself and all the great men of the army, reproaching him for having changed his ground after he had accepted the offer of battle, and challenging him to descend, like a brave and honourable prince, into the spacious vale of Milfield that lay between the two armies, and there decide the quarrel on fair and equal terms. This scheme did not succeed. The king would not admit the herald who brought the letter into his presence, but sent him this verbal answer: "That it did not become an earl to dictate to a king: That he would use no dishonourable arts, and expected victory from the justice of his cause and the bravery of his subjects, and not from any advantage of ground *."

The English army decamped from Wooller-haugh, March of September 8th; but instead of marching down the the Eng- banks of the Till towards the Scots, they passed the ri- lish. ver near Wooller, directed their course towards Berwick, and encamped that night at Barmore. This made the Scots noblemen imagine that the enemy designed to pass the Tweed at Berwick, and plunder the fertile country of the Merse; and they importuned their sove-

* Hall, f. 41.

A.D. 1513. reign, to decamp, and march to the defence of his own dominions. But he declared his honour was engaged, and that he was determined to abide there all the next day, which was the day appointed for the battle *.

The English decamped from Barmore Friday morning, September 9th, and directed their course towards the Tweed; which seems to have convinced the Scots that they designed to pass that river. About noon they set fire to their huts, the smoke of which prevented them from seeing their enemies, who had changed their direction, and marched with great expedition towards the Till. When the smoke was dissipated, the English infantry were seen passing that river by Twisfel bridge, and the cavalry at a ford a little higher. At that moment Robert Borthwick, who commanded the artillery, fell on his knees before the king, and begged his permission to fire upon the bridge, which, he said, he could break down, and prevent the rear of the enemy from passing. "If you fire one shot upon the bridge (cried the infuriated monarch) I will command you to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. I will have all my enemies before me, and fight them fairly †." His nobles pressed him to take his station on a rising ground in the rear of the army, whence he might see the whole field, and give the necessary commands. "No, (said he,) I will live and die with my brave subjects; and if we obtain the victory, as I hope we shall, I will have my share of the honour ‡." An imprudent and fatal resolution.

The battle
of Flod-
den.

As soon as the English passed the Till they were drawn up in two lines, each consisting of a main battle (as it was called) in the centre, and two wings, with a strong body of reserve in the rear of both lines. The Scots were drawn up in one line, with a body of reserve in the rear. The battle began about four o'clock in the afternoon by a discharge of the artillery on both sides. Those of the Scots being situated too high, the balls flew over the heads of their enemies; but those of the English did great execution, which made the Scots impatient to come to a closer engagement. The earls of

* Hall, f. 42. Buchan p. 253. † Pitfcottie, p. 116.

‡ Abercromby, p. 535. Hollingsh. p. 300.

Huntly and Hume made a furious attack upon the right wing of the English, and threw it into disorder. The undisciplined Highlanders in the right wing of the Scots army, observing this advantage, became ungovernable, broke their ranks, and rushed down in a tumultuary manner upon the left wing of the English, commanded by the lord Stanley. They were received with a calm and steady courage; and after a fierce and bloody struggle, in which their two leaders, the earls of Argyle and Lennox, fell, they were put to flight, and pursued a considerable way up the hill. By this time the main battle of the Scots, conducted by their king on foot, (accompanied by his amiable and accomplished son the archbishop of St. Andrews, with several other persons eminent for their rank and valour,) had engaged the main battle of the English commanded by the earl of Surry, assisted by his valiant son the lord admiral. As these two great bodies approached each other the archers discharged flights of arrows, with one of which, it is said, the king was wounded. They soon came to a close engagement, hand to hand, and body to body, with swords, spears, pikes, and other instruments of death. The earl of Surry was supported by his second line and by the lord Stanley, the king by the earls of Bothwell and Huntly, and their followers. Then the battle raged with uncommon fury and great slaughter, till night put an end to the bloody contest, without its being known who had obtained the victory. The English retired a little from the field, and rested all night upon their arms. The Scots having lost their leaders, and being near their own country, went off in small parties in the night, some over the Tweed at Coldstream, and others by the dry marches. The earl of Hume and his numerous followers, who had not engaged in the last cruel conflict, and others who joined them, remained on the field all night employed in stripping the dead, and retired early in the morning with their booty, leaving the cannon behind them*.

* Descriptions of this famous battle have been given by all our historians of both nations, and by several foreigners. Those of them who lived nearest the time, seem to have written under the influence of national prejudices, and their accounts are very contradictory. The above is what hath appeared to me most probable, and nearest the truth.

A.D. 1513. When the English approached the field of battle next morning, they found it abandoned, and no enemy to be seen, which gave them a good title to claim the victory. This title became much clearer, when the state of the loss of both armies was known. In point of numbers, it was nearly equal on both sides; but in the quality and importance of the persons slain, it was very different. James, impelled by his natural ardour and intrepidity, rushed into the midst of danger; and his nobles animated, or rather misled, by his example, acted the same part. The consequence of this was, that the Scots lost their king and the flower of their nobility; a loss which the most complete victory could not have compensated. The king's body was found amongst the dead, and known by lord Dacres, who had been ambassador at his court only a few months before, and was perfectly well acquainted with his person. It was brought to Berwick, and there shewn to Sir William Scot and Sir John Foreman, his serjeant porter, who burst into tears at the sight, and acknowledged that it was the body of their beloved master *. The idle contradictory tales of his escape from the battle, that were long believed by the vulgar, are unworthy of a place in history. Alexander Stewart, archbishop of St. Andrews, the king's natural son, and the pupil of Erasmus, a youth of great hopes, was found dead by the side of his royal father; with George Hepburn, the marshal bishop of the isles; and the abbots of Kilwinning and Incheffray. No fewer than twelve earls, thirteen lords, and about four hundred knights and gentlemen of Scotland, fell in this fatal battle †. A most deplorable loss to so small a kingdom; and yet the survivors were not dispirited ‡.

James
buried.

The king's body was embalmed at Berwick, and sent from thence to the monastery of Sheene, near Richmond, where it lay a considerable time unburied, because he had been excommunicated by the pope for his adherence to the king of France, and his opposition to the holy league. King Henry applied to the pope to take off the sentence of excommunication, that he

* Hall, f. 42.

† Abercromby, p. 546. Weaver's Fun. Mon. p. 834.

‡ See Sir David Dalrymple's Remarks on the History of Scotland, p. 147.

might

might bury his late brother-in-law, (who had, he said, A.D. 1513. exhibited signs of contrition in his dying moments,) in the cathedral of St. Paul's, as he intended. His holiness, out of his regard to the king of England, to the royal dignity and many virtues of the late king of Scotland, granted authority to the bishop of London to take off the sentence of excommunication, if upon trial he found sufficient evidences of his contrition *. This farce was accordingly acted; the dead prince was tried, absolved, and at last buried, not in St. Paul's, but in the monastery of Sheene, where his body, wrapt in lead, was seen long after by Mr. Stowe the historian †.

James IV. was killed at Flodden, September 9th, Character of James IV. A. D. 1513, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He was of middle stature, remarkably strong and agile. By continual exercise he became capable of bearing very uncommon degrees of labour, cold, thirst, and hunger. His face was sweet and amiable; and he had so great a command of his countenance, if not of his passions, that he seldom changed colour on hearing good or bad news. He was easy of access, and his deportment was at once dignified and affable, never using harsh or severe expressions, even when he was offended. He excelled in all the martial and manly exercises that were admired and fashionable in his time, and made a distinguished figure at all tilts and tournaments, in which he personated king Arthur, or the savage knight, in honour of his lady the queen of France. His sense of honour was high and a little romantic, having imbibed no small portion of the spirit of ancient chivalry, which influenced him not only in his diversions, but in his most important affairs. His personal courage was of that kind which courts rather than avoids danger; and his history affords a striking proof that a prince may have too much as well as too little personal courage, and that the former of these extremes may be as fatal to himself and to his subjects as the latter. Though he was not learned, he was a friend to learning, and contributed to promote it, both by his laws and by his bounty. Like his father, he had a taste for the arts, particularly for ecclesiastical, civil, and naval architecture. He built several churches in a good style, repaired and ornamented his palaces, and his great ship

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 385.

† Stowe, p. 494.

A.D. 1513. the St. Michael was universally admired. His court was greater and more splendid than that of any of his predecessors, or indeed than his revenues could well afford. In the administration of justice he was as rigorous as he was equitable, and reduced even the remote parts of his kingdom to some degree of order and submission to the laws. Some of our historians, particularly bishop Lesly, are lavish in their praises of his piety; which, according to their account, was not of the most rational kind, but consisted very much in pilgrimages to the shrines of different saints for obtaining the pardon of his sins; and in doing this, he sometimes added to their number. It was in one of these pious peregrinations that he seduced the lady Jean Kennedy, a daughter of the earl of Cassillis. His inordinate passion for the sex was indeed the greatest blemish in his character, and proved one of the causes of his ruin.

His issue. James IV. had by his queen four sons:—1. James, born February 25th, A. D. 1508, who died 14th July, 1510. 2. Arthur, born 20th October, 1509, who died in his infancy. 3. James, born 5th April, 1511, who succeeded him. 4. Alexander, a posthumous son, born 30th April, 1514, who died 15th January, 1517. His natural children mentioned in history were these:—1. Alexander archbishop of St. Andrews, by Mary Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw. 2. Catherine, married to James earl of Morton, by the same lady. 3. James earl of Moray, by lady Jean Kennedy, a daughter of the earl of Cassillis. 4. Margaret, married to John lord Gordon, by Margaret, daughter of John lord Drummond. 5. Jean, married to Malcolm lord Fleming, by lady Isabel Stewart, daughter of James earl of Buchan*.

S E C T. II.

*From the Accession of James V. A. D. 1513, to his Death
A. D. 1542.*

1514.
State of
Scotland.

AT the accession of James V. when he was only one year five months and four days old, Scotland was in great confusion and distress; a scene of sorrow and lamentation

* Crawford's History of the Stewarts, p. 32, 33.

for the loss of the king, the flower of the nobility and gentry, and of some thousands of inferior rank, who all fell in the fatal battle of Flodden. But in the midst of this distress no symptoms of despair appeared, no thoughts of submission were entertained. An invasion was expected, and a vigorous resistance was resolved *. Contrary to their expectation, the enemy did not discover a great inclination to improve the advantage they had gained. A troop of sixty horsemen ventured to pass the Tweed and Coldstream on the morning after the battle, and were all taken prisoners †. Though the earl of Surry was sufficiently elated by his victory, he did not think it prudent to pursue it, but disbanded his army and returned to London, which gave the Scots leisure to settle their government.

The late king had by his last will appointed the queen to be regent of the kingdom, and guardian to her son, while she continued a widow. In that capacity she called a convention of the three estates to meet at Stirling, December 21st, where they swore fealty to their infant monarch, and then adjourned to Edinburgh, to hold a parliament ‡. By this parliament the queen was acknowledged regent, though no woman before had ever borne that office; but a cabinet council was appointed, consisting of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, the earls of Arran, Huntley, and Angus, without whose advice she was to transact no business of importance §.

As soon as the queen was thus established in the government, she wrote to her brother, the king of England, earnestly intreating him not to distress her and her infant son, his nearest relations, by making war upon them. Henry, who was naturally affectionate to his relations, answered, that the Scots should have either peace or war as they inclined. If they chose war, they should have war; if they chose peace, they should have peace ||. This was a prudent, as well as a humane resolution; as he was then engaged in a war with France, in which he had been shamefully deserted by his faithless confederates, the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain. A truce for one year and one day, it is said, was made in the be-

A.D. 1514.

The queen regent.

The queen writes to her brother.


* Epistolæ R. S. tom. i. p. 186.

† Hall, f. 43.

‡ Lefly, p. 367

§ Ibid.

|| Drummond, p. 156. Euchar. p. 256.

A.D. 1514.  ginning of this year; but of this there is not sufficient evidence.

The
queen's
marriage.

The queen was delivered of a son, April 30th, who was named Alexander, but died January 15th, A. D. 1517. This princess was only in the twenty-fourth year of her age; and though she knew that the continuance of her power depended on her continuing a widow, love triumphed over ambition, and she married, August 6th, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, without having consulted her brother, the king of England, or any of her own council. She had this apology to make for herself, that the nobleman she had chosen for her husband was young, handsome, rich, and powerful, the head of one of the most illustrious families in the kingdom. This marriage, however, was unfortunate, and proved the source of much disquiet to herself, and of many calamities to Scotland*.

On the day after the queen's marriage, August 7th, a peace was concluded at London, between France and England, in which the Scots, as the allies of France, were comprehended, on the following reasonable conditions: 1. That the Scots did not invade England, by the authority of their government, after the 15th of September next. 2. That they did not make any incursion without that authority, with above three hundred men. 3. That they intimated their willingness to be comprehended in the peace†. This is a proof that there was no truce between the English and Scots at this time. It is also a proof that the French did not deserve the reproaches that have been cast upon them by some of our historians, of having abandoned the Scots in this treaty, who had suffered so much on their account‡. Lewis XII. was incapable of an action so dishonourable.

Duke of
Albany
chosen go-
vernor.

No sooner were the Scots delivered from all apprehensions of a war with England, than they fell into the most violent internal broils. These were occasioned partly by a competition for the archbishopric of St. Andrews, which shall be related in its proper place, and partly by the queen's marriage. When that marriage was made public, it gave great offence to several of the young nobility, who thought themselves slighted, and to some of the an-

* Lesly, p. 370.

† Lesly, p. 371.

‡ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 419.

cient counsellors, who had not been consulted; but to A.D. 1514. none more than to the archbishop of Glasgow and the earl of Arran, two of the cabinet council appointed by parliament. The queen devolved all her authority upon her husband, who, we may presume, was not a little elated by so great an accession of honour, power, and wealth, which increased the number and inflamed the passions of his enemies. It was the common cry of these enemies, that the queen had forfeited all title to the government by her marriage, and that another governor should be immediately chosen. They did not agree so well in the choice of the person to be advanced to that dignity. Some proposed the earl of Arran, the king's near relation, but Alexander lord Hume, who, on account of his great experience, his great estate, and numerous vassals, had no little influence, so strenuously supported the nomination of the duke of Albany, that he was chosen, and a deputation was sent into France, to invite him to come immediately into Scotland, to take upon him the government of the kingdom*.

John duke of Albany stood in the same relation to the king with the earl of Arran, but with this advantage, that it was by the male line. The earl of Arran was the son of the lady Margaret, sister to James III.; the duke was the son of Alexander duke of Albany, brother to that prince. The duke inherited great estates in France by his mother, the countess of Boulogne, was in high favour with the king of France, and had acquired the reputation of a brave and able commander in the wars of Italy. Though Lewis XII. was pleased to see one of his subjects, on whose attachment he could depend, advanced to the government of Scotland, he did not think it prudent to give umbrage to the king of England, (with whom he had lately concluded a peace, and whose sister he was about to marry,) by sending the duke of Albany to supplant his other sister, the queen of Scotland. Nor was the duke very willing to undertake the government of a nation to whose language, laws, and manners he was a stranger, till he knew with what powers he was to be invested, and what advantages he was to enjoy. In particular, he insisted on being restored to his father's honours and estates that had been confiscated and annex-

Embassy.

* Lett. p. 369. Buchan. p. 236.

A.D. 1514. ed to the crown. He sent his friend, Monsieur De La Beauté, who arrived in Scotland, November 20th, to excuse his not coming till after the king of France's marriage, (at which he was obliged to attend,) and to settle all preliminaries. His party was now so strong, that preliminaries were soon settled; he was restored to all his father's honours and estate; and by way of security, the castle of Dunbar was delivered to his ambassador*.

1515.
Deplorable state of Scotland.
In the mean time Scotland was a scene of the most deplorable anarchy. The heads of clans pursued their family feuds without restraint; thieves and robbers followed their infamous employments with impunity; the poor and peaceful were plundered and oppressed. The queen, or rather the earl of Angus in her name, continued to exercise some authority; but it served only to increase the disorders of their country, and the number and violence of their own enemies. Provoked at the exclamations of Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, against their marriage, they deprived him of the office of chancellor. This inflamed his resentment beyond measure. He put on armour under his pontifical robes, came to Edinburgh at the head of the vassals of his see, and being joined by the Hamiltons, fought a kind of pitched battle against Angus and the Douglasses in the streets of the metropolis†. In this action the prelate and his friends were put to flight, about seventy were killed, and among these were several persons of rank. The earls of Lennox and Glencairn took the castle of Dunbarton by surprise, and turned out the lord Erskine and his garrison‡. These and other disorders made the nation in general, and especially those who favoured the French, impatient for the arrival of the duke of Albany, from whose administration they expected great advantages. The prevalence of the French party, and the popularity of the duke of Albany, were so great at this time, that the queen and her husband thought it prudent to secure an asylum in England; and on January 23d, they obtained a safe-conduct for themselves and three hundred persons in their company, to come into England and reside in it one year§.

Arrival of the duke of Albany.
Though the duke of Albany had been much importuned by his party in Scotland to hasten his arrival in Albany.

* Drummond, p. 16c.
† Lesly, p. 374.

‡ Pittscottie, p. 121.
§ Rym. p. 473.

that kingdom, he was detained in France several months A.D. 1515.
 by various events: particularly by the marriage of
 Lewis XII. with the princess Mary of England, the
 death of that prince, the accession of Francis I. and the
 negotiations of peace between France and England.
 While these things were in agitation, it was not thought
 prudent to provoke Henry, by sending the duke into
 Scotland. But the treaty of peace (in which the Scots
 were included) having been signed, April 5th, he was
 permitted to depart with a convoy of eight stout ships,
 and landed, May 18th, at the town of Ayr *.

The nobility and gentry of both parties crowded from Parlia-
ment.
 all corners to attend the duke, as soon as they heard of
 his arrival, and conducted him to the capital. The
 queen, yielding with a good grace to a torrent that she
 could not stem, met him between Glasgow and Edin-
 burgh, with her congratulations, which, we may pre-
 sume, were not very sincere †. In a parliament that met
 at Edinburgh, July 12th, the three estates took an oath of
 obedience to the duke of Albany, as guardian to the
 king and governor of the kingdom during the king's
 minority; and the duke took an oath to protect them in
 all their liberties, and to govern according to the laws
 of the land. The duke was put in possession of all his
 father's estates and honours, and his titles in all public
 acts were these: John duke of Albany, earl of March,
 Mar, and Garcoch, lord of Annandale and the Isle of
 Man, tutor to the king, and regent of Scotland ‡.

The duke immediately after he landed entered upon Peace.
 the government, and wrote from Glasgow, May 22d,
 to the king of France; notifying his approbation of a
 letter that had been written to that king by the council
 of Scotland three days before his arrival; giving their
 consent to be comprehended in the peace he had lately
 made with England. The letter of the Scots council,
 which he thus approved, was a very spirited performance;
 in which they told the king of France, that they had en-
 tertained no thoughts of a peace or truce with England,
 but had been resolved upon revenge; and that it was out

* Rym. p. 476—477. Epist. Regum Scotorum, p. 233.

† Drummond, p. 160.

‡ Epist. Regum Scotorum. Rym.

tom. xiii. p. 510.

A.D. 1515. of respect to him, and at his earnest request, that they consented to be comprehended in the peace *.

The laws
executed.

A kind of peace with England, though certainly not very cordial, being thus restored, the duke applied himself with vigour to correct the internal disorders of the state, by establishing the authority of the laws, and bringing those who violated them to justice. To convince the great that they were no longer to commit acts of violence with impunity, he brought the lord Drummond to trial, for having given the lord Lion a blow within the verge of the court, confiscated his estate, and with great difficulty was prevailed upon to spare his life †. One Peter Moffat, a noted robber, having had the impudence to appear at court, was seized, condemned, and executed; which struck terror into all his associates, and others of a similar character ‡. By these and other spirited acts of justice, a visible change was soon produced on the state of the country; and security, peace, and good order, were introduced.

Letter to
the pope.

Henry VIII. was far from being pleased with the establishment of the duke of Albany in the government of Scotland, as he knew him to be wholly devoted to France. He attempted therefore to deprive him of that government, by assuming it to himself, on account of his being uncle to the young king, and consequently the natural guardian of his person, and protector of his dominions. This claim, which Henry had communicated to the pope, roused the indignation and jealousy of the Scots. They wrote a very strong letter to his holiness, July 3d, in which they declared, that their king, with the consent of the three estates, and of the queen his mother, had chosen his nearest relation, the duke of Albany, for his guardian and governor of his kingdom; that the kings of Scotland, in their minority, had never needed any foreign protectors; and particularly, that the kings of England, though they had often attempted it, had never obtained any authority over them, or direction in their affairs. In the conclusion, they conjure the pope not to consider any person as governor of Scotland but the duke of Albany, and to grant the prelacies of the kingdom only on his nomination §.

* Rym. p. 508—512.

† Lesly, p. 360.

‡ Buchan. p. 258.
Scotorum, p. 253.

§ Rym. p. 513. Epist. Regum

Though the duke of Albany was an accomplished prince, and animated with the best intentions, he laboured under some disadvantages, that rendered his administration neither so comfortable to himself, nor so beneficial to his country, as it would otherwise have been. A stranger to the language, laws, and manners of the people in general, and unacquainted with the characters, connexions, and circumstances of the leading men of the nation, he was exposed to the danger of being deceived, and infected with the passions of those from whom he received his information. This actually happened. John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, unfortunately gained his confidence, and gave him such impressions as he pleased. Hepburn was eloquent, plausible, and insinuating, but deceitful, covetous, and vindictive; inflamed with the most implacable hatred against the earl of Angus and the lord Hume, because they had successfully opposed his pretensions to the primacy. He laboured therefore with much art and assiduity to alienate the mind of the regent from those two noblemen, and to inspire him with jealousy of their power and ambition; and his labours were too successful *.

A.D. 1515.
The regent
deceived.

The lord Hume soon perceived a change in the countenance and behaviour of the regent towards him, which he could not bear with patience. Irritated at his ingratitude, and too proud to endure contempt, he resolved upon revenge, and determined to pull him down from the eminence to which he had raised him. With this view he solicited a reconciliation with the queen and her husband, which was easily obtained; and it was agreed, that the queen should fly with her two sons into England, and put herself and them under the protection of her brother. But this most dangerous plot being discovered to the regent, he flew to Stirling, August 10th, was admitted into the castle, and committed the two princes to the custody of three noblemen on whose fidelity he could depend †.

A conspi-
racy.

The conspirators, finding that their plot was discovered, consulted their safety by flight. The lord Hume, with his brother William, and a number of his most resolute followers, retired into England, where they were well received. The queen, and her husband the earl of

The con-
spirators
fly to Eng-
land.

* Buchan. p. 238.

† Ibid. p. 259. Lesly. p. 377.

A.D. 1515. Angus, took sanctuary in a nunnery at Coldstream, and there waited the return of a messenger they had sent to the court of England. The messenger returned with orders to the lord Dacres, warden of the marches, to receive the queen of Scotland with all the honours due to her rank, and conduct her to the castle of Harbottle. In that castle she was delivered, October 7th, of a daughter, the lady Margaret Douglas, who became the mother of lord Darnly, and the grandmother of king James, the first monarch of Great Britain *.

The queen's retreat, or rather flight, gave no little uneasiness to the regent. He wished to preserve peace with England, and he apprehended that she would give so provoking a representation of his conduct as would produce a war. To prevent this, he dispatched an ambassador to London, to express the great surprise and sorrow he had felt on the queen's retreat; to declare that he had given her no reason for taking that step; and to give the strongest assurances that if she would return she should be treated with all possible respect and honour, and permitted to enjoy all her possessions and rights in peace †. These declarations prevented a war, but did not induce the queen to return.

Lord
Hume im-
prisoned.

The lord Hume, and the desperadoes who followed him, harassed the borders of Scotland, in the months of August and September, with frequent incursions, which so irritated the regent, that he caused all their houses and lands to be seized, and marched with some troops to the borders, to put a stop to their depredations. The earl of Angus, who had remained quiet, having received a private invitation and promise of impunity, came to the regent, and was very favourably received. The lord Hume and his brother, either encouraged by this, or dispirited by their losses, came, October 6th, and threw themselves at the regent's feet, and implored his mercy; but they did not meet with the same favourable reception. They were conducted to Edinburgh, committed to the castle, to the custody of their brother-in-law, the earl of Arran, with a declaration, that if he suffered them to escape he should be considered as guilty of high treason ‡.

* Buchan. p. 259. Lessly, p. 377.

† Buchan. p. 259.

‡ Lessly, p. 378.

It is difficult, or rather impossible, to discover the secret motives that influenced the conduct of that powerful turbulent nobleman Alexander lord Hume on many occasions, and particularly in the great exertions he used to deprive the queen of the regency, to prevent the election of the earl of Arran, his sister's husband, and to promote the election of the duke of Albany, an absolute stranger. But he discovered no little art in his attempts to pull down Albany from the high station to which he had contributed so much to raise him. He not only drew his two most mortal enemies, the queen and the earl of Angus, into a plot against the regent, but he now prevailed upon his keeper, the earl of Arran, to betray his trust, by setting him and his brother at liberty, and even to join with them in an open rebellion*. They all three went out of the castle on foot in the middle of the night in the month of October, and made all possible haste to raise their followers.

A.D. 1515.

Rebellion.

The regent, greatly incensed at the treachery of Arran and the inveteracy of Hume, raised a body of troops with his usual celerity, and invested the castle of Hamilton, resolving to raze it to the foundation. But this castle contained a very powerful defender, who saved both it and its owner from destruction. This was the lady Margaret Stewart, countess dowager of Arran, daughter of James II. sister of James III. and aunt of James IV. and of the duke of Albany. At the earnest supplication of this venerable lady, the duke desisted from the siege, and promised to pardon her son, the earl of Arran, upon his submission. The earl, informed of this, submitted and was pardoned†. The lord Hume, not having so powerful an intercessor, was not treated with the same lenity. By a parliament that was sitting at the time of his escape, he and his two brothers, David and William, were declared rebels, and their estates confiscated. The Humes, enraged by those severe proceedings, returned to their predatory incursions; in one of which they burnt the town of Dunbar, only twenty-seven miles from Edinburgh. Such were the confusions that reigned in Scotland, A. D. 1515.

The commissioners of the two kingdoms met at Coldingham, in January, A. D. 1516, and concluded a truce

1516.
A truce.

* Lestry, p. 378.

† Id. p. 179.

A.D. 1516. from the middle of that month to Whitsunday. After much opposition from the Scots commissioners, the lord Hume was comprehended in this truce, which saved that turbulent chieftain once more from the destruction with which he was threatened. His attainder was taken off by a parliament that met in May, and he was restored to his estate and honours; but with this express declaration, that if he committed any new acts of rebellion or disobedience, all his former crimes should be remembered against him in judgment *.

Queen goes to the English court. The duke of Albany, and the earl of Angus the queen's husband, endeavoured to persuade her to return to Scotland, by giving her the strongest assurances of an honourable reception, and the enjoyment of all her rights†, but in vain; she was a princess of strong passions, and when once offended not easily appeased. Having spent the winter and spring in the castle of Harbottle, she set out for London, where she arrived, May 3d, and was received in the most affectionate manner by her brother king Henry, and her sister Mary, queen dowager of France‡.

Correspondence. The queen of Scotland did not conceal her animosity against the duke of Albany, or her fears for the safety of her son in the custody of the nearest heir to his crown; and she seems to have inspired her brother with the same passions. Ambassadors from Scotland were then in London negotiating a truce, and by them Henry sent a letter to the three estates, expressing in very strong terms his apprehensions for the safety of the infant king his nephew, and intreating them to divest the duke of Albany of the regency, and oblige him to return to France, as the only means of preserving peace between the two kingdoms. To this letter the parliament of Scotland returned a respectful, but very spirited answer; in which they gave the duke of Albany a very high character, for his wisdom, probity, and honour, and his tender care of their young king; "against whom," said they, "we firmly believe he would not attempt any thing, to obtain the three kingdoms of France, England, and Scotland." They vindicated their own conduct in chusing the duke to be regent of the kingdom and tutor

* Drummond, p. 166. Lessly, p. 382.

† *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, p. 238.

‡ Hall, f. 58.

to the king, as agreeable to the laws of their country and practice of their ancestors; and declared, that they could not deprive him of the high office to which they had voluntarily raised him, without dishonouring themselves*. This letter was subscribed and sealed by all the prelates and lords of parliament at Edinburgh, July 4th, A. D. 1516.

The duke of Albany sent his friend, the count De Fayette, to the court of England with this letter, together with certain propositions from himself, tending to remove misunderstandings, and promote peace between the two kingdoms. These propositions, ten in number, were well calculated to preserve peace upon equitable terms; but contained no concessions that indicated a fear of war, and breathed the same bold independent spirit with the parliament's letter. They were referred by Henry to his favourite, cardinal Wolsey; and that haughty prelate assented to them all, with a few trivial explanations, to save the appearance of an implicit compliance. For example, by the eighth article it is proposed, that the custody and safe-keeping of the king of Scots should belong to the members of his council and the three estates of parliament, and that no other person should presume to intermeddle with it. Though this article was evidently contrived to prevent the interference of the king of England, the cardinal assented to it, with this unmeaning addition, "provided the king of Scots be safely kept." Three of the articles were calculated to engage the queen dowager to return to Scotland, which the duke of Albany very much desired; knowing she could do him less hurt there, than in the court of England. The cardinal, in his master's name, signed his assent to all the propositions, July 24th; and on the last day of that month he signed a prolongation of the truce to November 30th, A. D. 1517, that the plenipotentiaries of the two kingdoms might have time to negotiate a peace †.

The prolongation of a truce with England gave the regent leisure to attend to the internal police of the country, and to call the most dangerous disturbers and plunderers to an account. The baron of Strouan, a highland chieftain, who, at the head of a band of robbers

* Rym. p. 550.

† Ibid. p. 574.

A.D. 1516. of his own clan, had long harassed the neighbouring countries, was apprehended by the earl of Athol, and beheaded at Logurial, which struck terror into the other plunderers of the remote parts*. The next person he attacked was of a higher rank and much greater power. This was Alexander lord Hume, hereditary chamberlain of Scotland, warden of all the marches, and the head of a numerous and warlike clan; a nobleman formidable by his power and riches, but still more formidable by his artful, factious, and daring character. While the regent resided at Falkland in August this year, Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, was often with him in private, and filled his mind with so much dread and jealousy of lord Hume, that he determined his destruction. To accomplish this, he came to Edinburgh, in September, and called a convention of the nobles, to which he invited lord Hume by particular letters, earnestly intreating his attendance. He accordingly set out, (contrary to the advice of several of his friends) accompanied by his brother William, and his friend Sir Andrew Ker of Firnehurst. They were received by the regent with every mark of regard they could desire, but were soon after seized and committed to different prisons. They were not suffered to languish long in confinement. The lord Hume and his brother were brought to their trial, October 10th. The recent offences of which they were accused, were probably not very great, but advantage was taken of that singular clause in their last pardon, "That if they committed any new offences, their pardon should be null and void, and all their former crimes should be laid to their charge." This was accordingly done; they were found guilty of treason, and sentenced to be beheaded, and their heads to be set up on the gates of Edinburgh. This sentence was executed on the lord Hume, October 11th, and on his brother the day after†. Sir Andrew Ker made his escape. This insidious and severe proceeding excited fears and suspicions in some of the nobility, and a thirst for revenge in the friends of the ruined family.

1517.
Albany
goes to
France.

The duke of Albany had found the government of Scotland a very difficult and laborious office, and wished for a fair occasion of returning to France, to visit his family, and to attend to his affairs in that country.

* Lestly, p. 382.

† Ibid. p. 383. Buchan. p. 280.

Such an occasion now offered. Francis I. sent an ambassador into Scotland in the spring, A. D. 1517, to solicit the renewal of the ancient league between the two kingdoms, and the duke prevailed upon a convention of the estates to give him a commission to negotiate that affair at the court of France, upon his giving them a promise that he would return in six months. Before his departure, he constituted the earls of Arran, Angus, Huntley, and Argyle, the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with Sir Anthony d'Arcy, Sieur de la Beauté, a French nobleman, his substitutes. To prevent disputes among his vicegerents, he allotted a particular district to each of them; and as he reposed the greatest confidence in Sir Anthony d'Arcy, he appointed him warden of the borders, and governor of the neighbouring countries. For the security of the king's person, he brought him from the castle of Stirling to the castle of Edinburgh, and committed him to the earl of Marshal, the lords Ruthven and Borthwick, with his governor the lord Erskine. Still further to prevent commotions, he confined some of the most turbulent chieftains in the castles of Dunbarton, Dunbar, and Garvil. Taking with him the earl of Lennox, with the eldest sons of the earls of Arran, Huntley, and Glencairn, (under the pretence of doing them honour and perfecting their education, but in reality as hostages for the good behaviour of their friends,) he embarked at Dunbarton for France about the middle of June*.

The queen of Scotland having spent about fourteen months in the court of England, and hearing of the departure of the duke of Albany, set out (attended by a splendid train of English lords and ladies) on her return home. When she arrived at Berwick, she was waited upon by her husband the earl of Angus, who met with a very cold reception. She had been greatly offended with him for deserting her at Harbottle, and making his peace with the regent; but she was still more offended with him for his gallantries during her absence, of which she had received intelligence. Like her brother Henry, as her love had been violent, her jealousy was invincible, and she never could be reconciled to him. She was received at Edinburgh with all the honours due to her rank, but was not admitted into the castle to visit her

The queen
returns to
Scotland.

* Lesly, p. 367. Buchan. p. 261. Drummond, p. 256.

A.D. 1517. son. The lords who had the custody of the king's person were of the French faction, and warmly attached to the duke of Albany; they knew that the king's grandfather had been conveyed, or rather stolen, out of the castle of Edinburgh by the queen his mother; they knew also that the present queen had once formed a plot to carry her son into England, and suspected that she still entertained the same design. These were the causes of their extreme caution, and the only apologies that can be made for their incivility. Upon a report that the plague had appeared in Edinburgh, the king was carried to the castle of Craigmillar, where the queen was admitted to visit him; but her visits were so frequent, that they confirmed the suspicions of the lords who had the care of his person; and they conducted him back to the castle of Edinburgh, from whence the queen was excluded*.

The warden slain.

All the precautions that had been taken by the duke of Albany to prevent disorders in Scotland in his absence, were ineffectual. The *Sieur de la Beauté*, to whom he committed the wardenship of the borders, was well qualified for that very difficult office. He was not only remarkable for the beauty of his person and elegance of his manners, but respectable for his virtues and abilities. Having no family connexions to bias his mind, he administered justice with courage and impartiality. But these virtues served only to increase the number, and enflame the rage of his enemies, who disliked him as a foreigner, and dreaded and detested him as a just and intrepid magistrate. As he was holding a court at Dunse, September 20th, attended only by a few gentlemen, and his own servants, a body of the Humes in arms, headed by Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, came to that place, insulted him, and killed some of his French servants. The warden perceiving his danger, got on horseback, and attempted to save himself by flight: but his horse having unfortunately stuck in a marsh, his cruel pursuers came up, instantly struck off his head, and carried it in triumph to their leader, who set it upon the gate of Hume castle†. So proud was Sir David Hume of this exploit, that he commanded the warden's hair, (which

* Lesly, p. 387.
Drummond, p. 171.

† Buchan. p. 261. Lesly, p. 387.

was remarkably long and beautiful) to be cut off, and wore it as a trophy at his saddle-bow *. A.D. 1517.

Though the other governors, it is said, were not much afflicted at the hard fate of the warden, at whose promotion they had repined, they could not overlook so daring an outrage against government. In order to bring the delinquents to justice, they appointed the earl of Arran warden of the borders. The earl of Angus, who thought himself better entitled to that office, on account of his estates in those parts, was greatly provoked at this appointment, and it gave rise to a family feud between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses, which continued long, and produced very fatal effects †. This feud was much inflamed by the spirited conduct of the earl of Arran, who committed Sir George Douglas the brother, and Mark Carr the friend, of the earl of Angus, to the castle of Edinburgh, as confederates and favourers of the Humes. Earl of Arran warden.

The earl of Arran, as chief of the-deputed governors, called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, February 19th, A. D. 1518. In this parliament Sir David Hume and his accomplices were condemned to death, and their estates confiscated, for the murder of the late warden, and other crimes ‡. 1518. Parliament.

Immediately after the conclusion of the parliament the earl of Arran, with a considerable army and a train of artillery, marched towards the borders; but he met with no opposition, and put garrisons into the castles of Hume, Wedderburn, and Lanton. Sir David Hume and his accomplices had previously retired into England, where they found a secure asylum §. Castles further rendered.

Though the duke of Albany now resided in France, he still acted as regent of Scotland, and in that capacity prolonged the truce with England to November 30th, A. D. 1519, to which another year was afterwards added ||. He took care also to have the king and kingdom of Scotland comprehended in the treaty of peace, concluded between France and England at London, October 2d, A. D. 1518 ¶. By these treaties the external peace of the kingdom was for some time secured. Truce.

* Pirscottie, p. 130.

† Lesly, p. 388.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Rym. tom. xii. 600.

¶ Ibid. p. 624.

A.D. 1519.

Disorders
in Scot-
land.

But notwithstanding this, the absence of the duke of Albany was very severely felt by the people of Scotland. While that prince was present he kept the fierce and turbulent chieftains in some degree of order and submission to the laws, by his superior authority and great abilities; but after his departure the country became a scene of violence, anarchy, and confusion. His substitutes were at variance among themselves, and one of them protected the criminal whom another attempted to punish. Competitions for offices, and even disputes about property, were determined by the sword; and family feuds were prosecuted with unrelenting fury. A kind of pitched battle was fought between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses, and their partisans, near Kelfo, in which the Hamiltons were defeated. Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, with his followers, made frequent inroads into the Merse, in one of which, October 6th, A. D. 1519, he killed Robert Blackader, prior of Coldingham, and six of his servants, to make way for William Douglas, abbot of Holyrood-house, and brother to the earl of Angus, who obtained that priory. In a word, the Humes became triumphant on the borders, and took possession of their castles and estates that had been forfeited. Their party still prevailing, George, the eldest surviving brother of the late lord Hume, was restored by parliament, August 12th, A. D. 1522*.

1520.
Skirmishes
in Edin-
burgh.

The two great parties, the English and French, into which Scotland was long divided, were now completely formed. The earl of Angus was the head of the English, and the earl of Arran, in the absence of the duke of Albany, was the head of the French party. Such of the nobility as were friends to the peace and prosperity of their country, laboured to bring about a reconciliation between these two powerful noblemen, and a meeting was appointed to be held at Edinburgh in May, A. D. 1520, for that purpose. Angus suspecting no danger, and expecting to be joined by his friends from the Merse, came to Edinburgh with a slender retinue. The earl of Arran, and Beaton archbishop of Glasgow, with their friends, finding themselves much stronger than the other party, resolved to shut the gates, and seize the earl of Angus

* Drummond, p. 175. Hollingsh. p. 306. Records of Parliament.

and his principal followers. Angus having received intelligence of this design, collected and armed his friends; and, to gain a little time, sent his uncle, the famous Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, to the archbishop of Glasgow, to propose an amicable conference: but that prelate, having put on armour under his pontifical robes, declared, that upon his conscience he could not consent; at the same time smiting with violence on his breast, which made the plates of his armour rattle. "How now, my lord! methinks your conscience clatters," said the good bishop, and retired, having first reproached his grace for a conduct so unbecoming his character. The earl of Angus perceiving that he could not escape without fighting, drew up his small but brave and determined band, of about eighty gentlemen, on the high-street within the Netherbow-port. His enemies, who were much more numerous, and confident of victory, advanced to the charge: but as they advanced by the narrow lanes that lead from the Cowgate to the High-street, they were incommoded by their numbers, and the most forward of them being killed as they emerged from these lanes, and others seeing this and attempting to turn back, threw the whole into confusion, and they fled on all hands, leaving about seventy of their number dead on the street. The earl of Arran, with his natural son Sir James Hamilton, escaped over the marsh called the North-loch with great difficulty. The archbishop of Glasgow took shelter behind the high altar in the Blackfriars church, from whence he was dragged by his enraged enemies, and would have been killed if the bishop of Dunkeld had not interposed*.

The earl of Arran and his party were much dispirited by this defeat, and importuned the duke of Albany to return to Scotland. Their adversaries, elated with their victory, took down the heads of the late lord Hume and his brother from the gates of Edinburgh, and buried them with great funeral pomp, August 21st, A. D. 1520†. They made an excursion to Linlithgow and Stirling, in hopes of taking the archbishop of Glasgow by surprise; but being disappointed, they returned to Edinburgh, and dismissed their followers.

* Buchan. p. 261. Drum. p. 174. Pitcottie, p. 120.

† Lesly, p. 395.

A.D. 1521. The regents and council of Scotland were so much engaged in their party quarrels, that they paid no attention to the truce with England, till it was on the point of expiring. Fortunately for them, king Henry and his favourite minister, cardinal Wolsey, were so much employed in their intrigues and negociations with the emperor and the king of France, by both of whom they were courted, that they had no leisure or inclination to quarrel with the Scots: peace was therefore preserved between the two kingdoms through the whole of this year by short truces*. This policy of making only short truces of a month or two, was adopted by the Scots, in consequence of directions from the duke of Albany, that if a war broke out between France and England, they might be at liberty to assist their ancient allies.

Albany
arrives in
Scotland.

Though the king of France had bound himself, when he made peace with England A. D. 1518, to detain the duke of Albany in France, and not to suffer him to return to Scotland, he now determined to send him into that kingdom to support his party, and dispose the Scots to adhere to their ancient league with France, which had lately been renewed with great solemnity. The duke accordingly landed in the west of Scotland, November 19th, after an absence of four years and five months, and was joyfully received by the great body of the nation†.

The Eng-
lish party
broken.

The arrival of the duke of Albany made a great and sudden change in the state of parties in Scotland. He made his public entry into Edinburgh, December 3d, accompanied by the queen dowager, (who had been reconciled to him, and corresponded with him in his absence,) by the lord chancellor Beaton, the earl of Huntley, and many of the prime nobility. He immediately turned out the magistrates of Edinburgh, who were of the Angustian or English party, and put his own friends in their place. He then called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, December 26th, and on the 9th of that month he caused the earl of Angus, and all the chieftains of his party to be summoned at the market-cross of the metropolis, to appear before that parliament to answer to the accusations that were to be brought against them. A compromise was made, (by the interposition, it is said, of the

* See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 727, 728, 730, 734, 736, 744, 745.

† Lesly, p. 396.

queen,)

queen,) by which the earl of Angus, and his brother William prior of Coldingham, were allowed to go into voluntary exile in France. Their uncle Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, went to London, and the rest of their partisans retired into England. Thus the English party, which had lately been triumphant, was broken and dispersed *. Henry VIII. was greatly offended at the return of the duke of Albany, and his severe proceedings; but he was still more provoked at the queen his sister, for her joining the duke's party. The bishop of Dun is said to have inflamed his resentment both against his sister and the duke.

The duke of Albany in the beginning of this year applied to the court of England for a prolongation of the last truce, which was to expire at Candlemas. But Henry VIII. was too much irritated at the duke's return to Scotland to comply with that requisition: on the contrary, he sent a very angry letter, dated January 14th, A. D. 1522, to the parliament of Scotland then sitting, declaring, that if they did not immediately divest the duke of Albany of the government, and compel him to leave the kingdom, he and his confederates would make war upon them, and do them all the mischief in their power. The reasons he assigned for this hostile declaration were these:—his anxiety for the safety of his nephew the young king; the danger to which that prince was exposed, while the next heir to his crown was his guardian; that the duke had committed the custody of the king to a foreigner of little reputation; that his sister the queen dowager was prosecuting a divorce from her lawful husband, in order to a marriage with the duke, which would involve her in perdition, and expose her son to great danger; that the duke had left France, though that king had solemnly engaged to detain him there; and that he had come into Scotland with a design to kindle war between the two kingdoms †.

To this threatening letter the parliament returned a very spirited and sensible answer, dated February 9th. They express great surprise that so wise a prince gave so much credit to the false and improbable calumnies of traitors, and that he protected and encouraged all the rebels against their king his nephew, to whom he professed


A. D. 1521.

1522.
King
Henry's
letter to
the Scots
parliament.

Answer.

* Lefly, p. 396.

† Rym. tom. xiii. p. 761.

A. D. 1522.  so much love. They declared that the duke of Albany had never interfered with the custody of their king's person, but had left that entirely to the queen his mother, his council, and his parliament, who had committed it to four of the most aged, wise, and honourable noblemen of the kingdom; that he must have a very mean opinion of their virtue, honour, and loyalty, if he did not believe that they were at least as anxious as any other persons could be for the preservation of their native sovereign. They assure his majesty, that the report of an intended marriage between the queen and the duke of Albany was an infamous and absurd calumny, and that they firmly believed that neither of the parties had ever entertained a thought of such a marriage. What private promise he had obtained from the king of France about detaining the duke of Albany abroad, they did not pretend to know; but if he had really possessed all that love to their king his nephew, and all that good will to them he had often professed, he would have importuned the king of France to send him into Scotland, to put an end to their internal broils and miseries, with which he was not unacquainted. They earnestly intreat him to withdraw his protection and favour from the bishop of Dunkeld, and the other rebels against their king; without which there could be no solid peace between the two kingdoms. They conclude with declaring, that though they wished for peace, they were fully determined to take either peace or war, as it should please God to send, rather than consent to do so great an injury to their king and country, so great a dishonour to themselves, and so great a wrong to the lord governor, as to remove him from his office at the request of his grace, or of any other prince; and if his grace made war upon them on that account, they would trust in God and the justice of their cause, and defend their king and country, as their ancestors had often done before them*. Henry wrote letters in the same strain, containing similar threats and accusations, and received similar answers of denial and defiance†. As a last effort to intimidate the Scots, Henry commanded the lord Dacres to pass the borders with five hundred men at arms, and publish a proclamation, That if the Scots did not accept of the terms proposed by the

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 761—763.

† Herbert, p. 51.

king of England before the 1st of March, he would make war upon them with all his power. This was accordingly done, but without effect *. A.D. 1522.

Both nations now prepared for war, which appeared to be unavoidable. Henry availed himself of his superior force by sea, and sent seven great ships into the Forth in April; but the coasts were so well guarded that they made little or no impression, though they created an alarm, and diverted the Scots from attacking the English on the borders. In the beginning of July all the French and Scots were banished out of England, and their goods confiscated †. To raise a formidable army, all the men between sixteen and sixty in the counties of Shrewsbury, Nottingham, Derby, York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, Chester, and Durham, were commanded to be ready to march against their ancient enemies the Scots, who, it was said, intended to invade England in September; and the earl of Shrewsbury was appointed July 30th, lord lieutenant of the north, and general of the army ‡.

Preparations for war.

In the mean time the regent of Scotland was not idle. He called a parliament that met at Edinburgh, July 22d, in which it was unanimously agreed to raise an army to defend the kingdom against their old enemies the English. To encourage persons of all ranks to fight bravely in defence of their country, it was enacted, That the heirs of all the vassals of the crown, the regent, the prelates, and barons, who fell in battle, should have their wardships, marriages, and reliefs, free; and that the wives and children of yeomen and farmers who were slain, should enjoy their tenements for five years at the former rent §. When the parliament broke up, the regent and chieftains made haste to collect their followers. Parliament.

Before the Scots army was formed, the earl of Shrewsbury, with the readiest of his troops, made an incursion into Scotland, and burnt one half, and plundered the other half of the town of Kelso: but on the approach of the men of Tiviotdale and the Merse, the English retired with precipitation. Incursion.

The duke of Albany marched at the head of a numerous army in the beginning of September, and encamped on. Expedition.

* Stowe, p. 515.

† Rym. p. 772—774.

‡ Lefly, p. 399.

§ Black Acts James V. tom. xii.

A.D. 1522. on the banks of the river Esk, within a few miles of Carlisle: but when he proposed to pass that river and invade England, the most powerful chieftains in his army refused to follow him; and it was with some difficulty he prevailed upon them to remain in their camp. The memory of the fatal battle of Flodden was still fresh in their minds; they knew that the present war was undertaken solely to make a diversion in favour of the French, and thought it sufficient for that purpose to detain the forces of the north of England at home to defend their country. When things were in this situation, the queen of Scotland interposed, and by her mediation a truce was concluded between the regent and lord Dacres, warden of the English borders, for fourteen days; in which time commissioners were to be sent to the court of England, to negotiate a peace, or longer truce. They were accordingly sent in October; but their negotiations were unsuccessful, because they insisted on the French being included in the peace or truce*.

Albany
goes to
France.

The duke of Albany was much chagrined at the opposition of the Scots nobility to his intended invasion of England. He was now convinced that his authority as regent was not sufficient to engage them to make a vigorous attempt upon England in the minority of their king, unless he could procure a considerable body of auxiliaries to encourage and assist them. In hopes of procuring these auxiliaries, he set sail for France in the end of October, promising to return by the first of August in the following year†.

1523.
Hostilities.

Hostilities were recommenced on the borders in the spring, and continued through the summer of this year, by mutual depredations and incursions, which did much mischief to the wretched inhabitants of those parts, but determined nothing. In one of these incursions Thomas earl of Surry, who commanded in the north, took and burnt the town of Jedburgh, September 24th, and demolished the magnificent monastery of that place‡.

Albany
returns.

The duke of Albany having obtained some troops from the king of France, prepared to return with them into Scotland by the time appointed. But he was prevented by an English fleet fitted out to intercept him.

* Lessly, p. 405. Drum. p. 179.

† Ibid. p. 406. Buch. p. 263.

‡ Ibid.

On this occasion the duke acted with great prudence, and deceived his enemies. He removed his troops from the sea-coast, and directed his ships to separate, and put into different ports, at no great distance from one another. The English admiral, Sir William Fitz-Williams, seeing no fleet in any of the French harbours, and no appearance of an embarkation, left his station about the middle of August, and returned into port. The duke then collected his ships, and embarked his troops with great expedition at Brest; sailed from thence on the 21st, and arrived in the west of Scotland on the 24th of September, with a fleet of about fifty sail, three thousand infantry, and one thousand men at arms*.

A.D. 1523.



The regent having brought his fleet into the Clyde, and landed his troops, called a convention of the estates.

Expedition on.

In his absence the English party had increased, and several of the lords and barons thinking it imprudent to wage perpetual war with a too powerful neighbour, at the instigation of a distant ally, wished for a peace with England. But the duke, by his authority, his speeches, promises, and other arts, prevailed upon the convention to resolve to raise an army and continue the war. The army rendezvoused in Douglassdale, and passed the Tweed, October 20th, by the bridge of Milrofs, with a design to penetrate into England by the middle-marches. But here again the regent met with an unexpected check; some of the most powerful chieftains positively declared against an offensive war, and refused to enter England; which obliged him, with great reluctance, to repass the Tweed, and march down the north banks of that river to Coldstream, nearly opposite the castle of Werk. That castle, now entirely demolished, was then in perfect repair and very strong, as we are told by George Buchanan, the famous poet and historian, who was present at this siege. The duke sent four thousand French and Scots, with a train of battering cannon, over the Tweed, to besiege this castle, which consisted of a lofty tower or donjon, an inner inclosure, surrounded by a very thick wall and double ditch; and an outer inclosure much larger, surrounded also with a strong wall and ditch. The besiegers soon got possession of the outer inclosure; and a practicable breach being made in the inner wall,

* Drummond, p. 180. Buchan. p. 263.

they

A.D. 1523. they gave an assault, but were repulsed. Heavy rains falling at the same time, they raised the siege and returned with their artillery, for fear of being cut off from the main army by the swelling of the river. The duke, convinced that he could do nothing of importance with an army of which he had not the command, decamped, November 29th, and marching to Lauder, dismissed his troops. The earl of Surry, who had orders to remain on the defensive, also disbanded his army of forty thousand, and hostilities ceased for some time*. Though Scotland reaped neither honour nor profit from this expedition, it was of great advantage to France, by detaining so many forces in England.

1524.
Albany
leaves
Scotland.

The duke of Albany perceiving that his own power and the power of the French party were declining, and the English party increasing, proposed to go to France, with a design, it is probable, to procure a greater reinforcement of troops, and promised to return before the first of September. He resided some time with the king at Stirling, and gave him such advice and instructions as a youth in his thirteenth year was capable of comprehending. He directed the council, to whom he committed the management of affairs in his absence, to keep the king at Stirling, and not make any peace or truce with the English before his return. Attended by a splendid retinue of the nobility, he proceeded to Clyde, where his fleet waited for him, and sailed for France, May 19th, from whence he never returned again to Scotland†. He was a prince of great abilities and great virtues; equally brave and prudent; a lover of order and justice; quick and decisive in his resolutions; and possessed great command of temper in the most trying situations. Having no children of his own, he was so far from entertaining any unfriendly designs against his royal pupil, (of which Henry VIII. pretended to suspect him) that he viewed him with the eyes of a parent, and watched over him with the most tender care. But being a native of France, where he had great connexions, possessions, and offices, his attachment to that country had too great an influence on his conduct in the government of Scotland, which rendered his administration difficult

* Buchan. p. 265.

† Buchan. p. 265. *Epistole Regum Scotorum*, p. 332, 335.

and unpleasant to himself, and disagreeable to a great party of the Scots, who wished for a peace with England. A.D. 1524.

The duke of Albany, before his departure, carried on a kind of pacific correspondence with cardinal Wolsey, to prevent any hostilities that might detain him, in which he succeeded. The cardinal encouraged the correspondence with another view, in which he miscarried. He endeavoured to persuade him to come into England, to hold a conference with him, in which he said, they would not only settle a peace between the two kingdoms, but the general peace of Christendom. The cardinal's real design was, if the duke had come into England, to tempt him (with a promise of a large share of the kingdom of France, which they designed to dismember) to imitate the duke of Bourbon, who had revolted from his sovereign. But Albany well knew the cardinal had no intention to make a general peace, and was too wise to trust his person in England*. The queen at the same time corresponded with her brother in the same pacific strain, which contributed also to prevent hostilities in the spring of this year. Correspondence.

As no truce subsisted between the two nations, in the months of June and July, hostilities were renewed by mutual incursions, to the equal advantage, or rather disadvantage, of both†. To preserve the memory of these petty, but very destructive, wars, (which seem hardly worthy of a place in history,) may serve to impress our minds with a grateful sense of our superior security and happiness in the present times. Incurfions.

The earl of Angus and his brother, weary of the inactive life of exiles, made their escape from France in July this year, came to the court of England, and were well received by the king and his favourite, cardinal Wolsey, who resolved to employ them to support and strengthen the English party in Scotland, where the earl had great estates and many friends. But one difficulty occurred. They knew the animosity of the queen against the earl her husband, and were no strangers to the violence of her temper, and the rash courses of which she was capable, when provoked. They sent the earl and his brother Angus returns from France.

* Otterborne and Welhamstede, f. 11. Append.

† Hall, f. 129.

A.D. 1524 into the north, to the care, or rather custody, of lord Dacres, with strict injunctions not to suffer them to enter Scotland till further orders*.

The queen assumes the regency.

In the mean time, the queen dowager was very active in strengthening her party, in order to obtain the regency, by the exclusion of the duke of Albany; and she was the more active to accomplish her design, that she heard her hated husband was arrived in England, and expected in Scotland. Accompanied by the earls of Arran, Argyle, Lennox, and some other lords and gentlemen, the queen conducted the young king, her son, July 20th, from Stirling to Edinburgh, and there, with the consent of the great men of her party, took upon her the administration. James Beaton, the chancellor and archbishop of St. Andrew's, a zealous friend to the duke of Albany and the French interest, opposed this irregular measure; insinuating that nothing of that kind could be done till after the first of September, (when the regent had promised to return,) and by a regular parliament. For this opposition he was imprisoned, but soon after set at liberty†. That no interruption might be given to these proceedings, so agreeable to the court of England, hostilities were suspended in the months of August and September by two short truces.

Angus returns to Scotland.

As the earl of Arran had formerly been at the head of the French party, he was still suspected by Henry and his minister. They therefore sent the earl of Angus into Scotland, with instructions to endeavour to regain the favour of the queen his spouse, and to co-operate with the earl of Arran, if he continued steady in the English interest, but if he deviated from it, to oppose him; in which he was promised the most effectual support. The earl and his brother arrived in their native country in October, after a tedious exile, and were joyfully received by the numerous friends of their family. Their arrival soon produced another revolution.

Parliament.

The queen, to secure the power she had obtained, called a parliament, to meet, November 16th, at Edinburgh. Though the earl of Angus was in the country, he did not take his seat in this meeting, which consisted chiefly of the queen's party. By their second act, they deprived the duke of Albany of his two high offices, of

* Otterborne. Appendix.

Lesly, p. 413. Buchan. p. 266.
regent

A.D. 1524.

regent of the kingdom and tutor to the king, because he had not returned with succours from France before the first of September, as he had promised; and ordered a respectful letter to be written to the king of France, containing their reasons for this proceeding*. By the same act, they declared the king (then in the fourteenth year of his age) capable of governing his dominions, and appointed a council to advise and assist him in the administration. This secret or cabinet council was composed of the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, the earl of Arran, and the earl of Argyle, who were to superintend all negotiations with foreign princes and states, the coining of money, and the administration of justice; but were to do nothing without the queen's consent†. The guardianship of the king's person was committed to the queen-mother, who, with the advice of the privy council, was to make choice of wise and virtuous men to instruct him in learning and good manners‡. On November 18th, the parliament appointed Robert bishop of Dunkeld, Gilbert earl of Cassilis, and Alexander abbot of Cambuskenneth, ambassadors to the court of England, to negotiate a peace or truce, and a marriage of their young king and the princess Mary, the only child of Henry VIII. §. This parliament, having gratified the queen in all her wishes, was prorogued to February 25th, A. D. 1525.

The three ambassadors, in their way to London, made a truce, November 29th, for two months, with Thomas lord Dacres, warden general of the English marches ||. On their arrival in London, and entering upon the negotiation of a marriage between their king and the princess of England, Henry VIII. proposed the two following conditions: 1. That the Scots should dissolve their league with France, and make a similar league with England. 2. That the king of Scots should reside in the court of England till after the marriage was consummated. But these were unexpected conditions, concerning which they had no instructions. The truce was therefore prolonged to the 28th of March, to give them an opportunity of consulting their constituents; and the earl of Cassilis returned to Scotland for that purpose ¶.

1525.
Embassy
to Eng-
land.

* Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 351—356.

† Regist. Parliam. vol. vi. Register Office, Edinburgh.

‡ Ibid. § Rym. tom. xiv. p. 27.

¶ Ibid. p. 28.

¶ Ibid. p. 30. Lefly, p. 414.

A.D. 1525.

Parliament.

When the time to which the parliament had been prorogued approached, the political hemisphere, which had been so serene and calm at the former meeting, began to be overcast, and threatened a storm. Some discontent and jealousies prevailed among the noblemen of the queen's party; and the earl of Angus, her hated husband, came to Edinburgh, attended by a numerous train of his friends and followers. Alarmed at these appearances, she published a proclamation, prohibiting the parliament to meet in the city, and appointing it to meet in the castle of Edinburgh, where the king resided. The earl of Angus and several other noblemen strongly and justly reprobated this measure, as inconsistent with the safety of the members and the freedom of debate; and to prevent its being put in execution, they blockaded the castle with two thousand armed men, who suffered no provisions to be introduced, except for the king's table. The earl of Arran, who commanded in the castle, threatened to fire upon the city, which threw the inhabitants into great consternation. But when things were in this situation, some of the most respectable prelates interposed, and brought about an accommodation. The king was conducted to Holyrood-house, and the parliament was opened, with the usual parade, in the usual place*.

Though hostilities were thus prevented, the animosity of the parties was not extinguished. The debates on choosing the lords of the articles were violent, and many protests were taken on both sides. One of the chief transactions of this session was, the choice of new council, which consisted of the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane, the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Lennox. But this council was to transact nothing of importance without the consent of the queen. The last blockade of the castle was declared to have been for the good of the king and kingdom, for which no person should ever be called in question. The summons that had been issued against the earls of Angus and Lennox, for entering the city of Edinburgh in the night in arms, was recalled and annulled. The new council was authorised to name a committee to have the care of the king's person, with

* Lessly, p. 416. Regist. Parl. vol. vi.

power to conduct him from one place to another, but not to carry him out of the kingdom, under the pain of high treason; the queen to be at the head of this committee, and to have free access to her son at all times *. In a word, parties seem to have been nearly equal at this meeting; or if the earl of Angus had the advantage, he was unwilling to push it too far: for though the queen's power was diminished, she was still treated with great respect.

The earl of Cassilis was instructed to consent to the dissolution of the league with France, if Henry dissolved his alliance with the emperor, to whom the princess Mary had been contracted about three years before, but not to consent to the king's going out of his kingdom. Henry promised to treat with the emperor on the subject. But the news of the battle of Pavia, in which the French king was taken prisoner, had reached the court of England, and so entirely engaged the attention of Henry and his minister, that no further progress was made with the Scots ambassadors, who, despairing of success, returned home †.

What efforts the earl of Angus made to gain the affections of his royal spouse, we are not informed; but it is certain they were ineffectual. Her animosity against him became daily more violent, and she complained to a parliament that met at Edinburgh, July 11th, A. D. 1525, that though she had commenced a process against her husband the earl of Angus for a divorce, he still continued to uplift her rents and dispose of her estates, and craved redress. To this complaint the earl replied, that he was willing to give the queen his wife every manner of assurance of her personal safety, and every sort of satisfaction, but could not relinquish the rights of a husband, or consent to her separation from him ‡. It doth not appear that the queen obtained any redress; and it seems probable, that it was on this occasion she left her son at Edinburgh, and returned to Stirling in discontent.

The
queen's
complaint.

In the same parliament, July 17th, it was appointed that the lords of the secret council should perform their duty in the following manner: That one of the prelates

* Lesly, p. 416. Regist. Parl. vol. vi.

† Lesly, p. 416.

‡ Register of Parl. vol. vi.

A.D. 1525. and one of the earls of that council, assisted by three or four members of the ordinary council, should attend the court, and administer the government for three months, and then be succeeded by another prelate and another earl, with the like number of assistants for the next three months, and so in regular succession. By the same act the archbishop of Glasgow and the earl of Angus, and in company with them the bishop of Orkney, the earl of Morton, the abbot of Holyrood-house, the abbot of Arbroath, and the lord Seaton, were appointed to remain with the king, and to administer the government from July 17th, to November 1st; and during that time they were to have the custody of the king's most noble person *. By another act of the same parliament, July 31st, it was declared, that the transactions of the secret council, without the queen's concurrence, should be valid; and that the power conferred on her by the former parliament should be recalled, unless she returned within twenty days, and used the counsel of the lords †. This is a sufficient proof that the queen had retired from court some time before this; that her absence retarded business, and was disapproved by parliament.

When the earl of Angus and his co-adjutors were regularly invested with authority, and the custody of the king's person, by parliament, they entered upon the administration; and there can be no doubt that they employed their power for their own and their friends advancement. The other counsellors had retired, and the queen's consent to their transactions was no longer necessary. The earl of Angus himself was made chancellor, and warden of the east and middle marches; his uncle, Archibald Douglas of Kilspendy, was made treasurer; his brother, Sir George, was made lord chamberlain; and his other brother, William prior of Coldingham, it is said, was made abbot of Holyrood-house †. They did not, however, neglect the interests of the public. A parliament was held in September, in which a commission was given by the king and three estates to

* Register of Parl. vol. vi.

† Ibid.

1 This last, though affirmed by all our historians, could not be true; because it appears from an authentic record, that George Creighton was abbot of Holyrood-house on the 28th September this year. Much less could this be the cause of the queen's retiring to Stirling. Rym. tom. xiv. p. 91.

the earl of Angus, George abbot of Holyrood-house, A.D. 1525. and three others, to meet with the commissioners of the king of England, for confirming the peace between the two kingdoms. The commissioners of both nations met at Berwick, 10th October, and concluded a truce for three years; and agreed to meet at the same time, 12th January, A. D. 1526, to exchange ratifications of the treaty*.

The time now approached when the earl of Angus and his friends should resign their power to those who had been appointed by parliament to succeed them: but they discovered no disposition to comply with that appointment. They found themselves in possession of the person and authority of their king, and resolved to retain them as long as possible. When this resolution became apparent, it not only inflamed the resentment of the queen and their other enemies, but it offended the other members of the secret council and their friends, who desired and expected to enjoy the honours and emoluments of government in their turns. The archbishop of St. Andrews, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and other discontented nobles, held a meeting in the castle of Stirling, where the queen resided, and from thence sent a message to the earl of Angus at Edinburgh, accusing him of detaining the person of the king, and retaining the administration after his time was expired, and requiring him to resign them to those who had been appointed by parliament to succeed to that charge. To this message the earl of Angus returned no answer; but he prevailed with the king to declare to the messenger, that the earl had treated him so well, that he chose to remain with him; and charged him to communicate that resolution to the queen his mother, and the nobles who had sent him †.

These were not the real sentiments of the young monarch: for though the earl of Angus had indulged him in the gratification of all his youthful passions to gain his favour, he plainly perceived that he was a prisoner, and earnestly desired to be set at liberty; and he found means to communicate this desire to the queen and the nobles at Stirling, and conjured them to attempt his deliverance ‡.

The earl of Angus retains the administration.

The king wishes to be set at liberty.

* Rym. p. 114.

† Lesly, p. 417.

‡ Ibid.

A.D. 1526. As soon as the lords received this intimation of the king's desire, they raised their followers, and formed an army, with which they marched to Linlithgow. The earl of Angus, well informed of all their motions, had collected all his friends and followers, and, with the king in his company, marched from Edinburgh, January 12th, to meet and give them battle. But when he approached Linlithgow, the leaders of the other army, either thinking themselves too weak, or unwilling to attack the king in person, and expose him to the danger of an action, retired to Stirling without fighting. They soon after dismissed their followers, and returned to their own estates*.

Angus
fixed.

This feeble unsuccessful attempt fixed Angus more firmly in his seat. The queen was so much afraid of falling into his hands, that she fled into the north with the earl of Moray. The earls of Arran, Argyle, and the other discontented nobles, consulted their safety, by living in great privacy, and keeping at a distance from court†. The king of England took no umbrage at his proceedings, but rather countenanced them; and the ratifications of the treaty of three years truce were exchanged, March 15th, at Berwick‡.

Battle of
Melrofs.

Though the earl of Lennox remained at court at the earnest desire of the king, and seemed to be sincerely attached to the earl of Angus, he was secretly offended at his retaining the government, and thereby preventing him from enjoying it in his turn. The king had made him his confident, and communicated to him his hatred of Angus and the Douglasses, and his ardent desire to be delivered from them; and they formed a scheme for that purpose. The late truce had not put an end to the depredations on the borders, which were privately promoted by the laird of Buckleugh at the instigation of Lennox, in order to draw Angus with the king into those parts where Buckleugh was very powerful, and was to make an attempt to set the king at liberty. Angus, ignorant of this scheme, went, with the king in his company, and attended by a little army of his friends and followers, July 24th, to Jedburgh, where he was joined by the Humes and by the Kers of Cessford and Farne-

* Lefly, p. 418. Rym. p. 114.

† Rym. p. 128.

‡ Lefly, p. 418.

herst. Here he remained some days, punishing some of A.D. 1526.
the most guilty of the marauders, and taking securities
from others for their future good behaviour. As he was
returning, July 29th, he discovered a great body of
horsemen in order of battle, directly in his way to the
bridge over the Tweed at Melrofs. This hostile appear-
ance surprized the earl of Angus, but was expected by
the king and Lennox, who secretly rejoiced at the sight.
A messenger was sent to demand, in the king's name,
who they were, and why they appeared there in that
warlike posture? Their leader answered, that he was the
laird of Buckleugh, and that he came with a thousand
of his friends and followers to wait upon his sovereign,
and to shew him how many brave men he had always
ready to serve him. On receiving this answer, a herald
was sent as from the king, to command him to depart,
and dismiss his followers, under the pain of being treat-
ed as a traitor. Buckleugh replied, that he knew the
king's mind, and would not retire. Angus having com-
mitted the care of the king's person to the earl of Len-
nox, lord Maxwell, his brother Sir George Douglas, &c.
advanced to meet his enemies, whom he immediately
engaged. The conflict was for some time fierce and
doubtful. But the Humes and Kers, who had taken their
leave of the king a little before, hearing the noise, re-
turned full speed, and obtained the victory. The laird
of Buckleugh was wounded, eight of his men killed,
and the rest put to flight. Angus lost almost an equal
number of men; and the laird of Cessford, pursuing too
eagerly, was slain by one of Buckleugh's men, which gave
rise to a long and deadly feud between the Kers and
Scots*. After this action Angus marched back to Jed-
burgh, where he rested some days, and then returned
with the king to Edinburgh.

The queen and the archbishop of St. Andrews were
equally incensed against the earl of Angus: the former
earnestly desired to have her marriage with him dissolved,
and the latter encouraged her to bring an action against
him for that purpose in his court. This was accordingly
done, and the queen applied to the prelate for a divorce
from her husband; because, as she alledged, he was mar-
ried to a daughter of the earl of Traquair at the time of

The queen
divorced.

* Lesly, p. 420.

A.D. 1526. his marriage with her. The earl, who had been prompted to his courtship of the queen rather by ambition than by love, made no opposition, and the archbishop pronounced the sentence of divorce. As soon as this sentence was confirmed by the pope, the queen married Henry Stewart, a brother of lord Avondale. Her brother Henry VIII. was so much offended with this divorce and marriage of his sister, that he never after paid her much regard *.

1527. John Stewart earl of Lennox was an accomplished nobleman, remarkably handsome in his person, of engaging manners, and much beloved by the young king, who delighted in his company, and made him his confident. This excited suspicion and jealousy in the mind of Angus, which he could not conceal. Lennox perceiving that he was suspected, resolved to retire from court, and attempt to deliver the king by force, which he had failed to accomplish by art. To this he was urged by the king, who furnished him with letters to several noblemen who were disaffected to the earl of Angus †. We know not the precise time when Lennox left the court; it was, we are told, not many months after the king's return from Jedburgh to Edinburgh in August 1526, and therefore most probably in the beginning of the year 1527.

Angus and Arran unite. After the departure of Lennox, Angus suspected, or was informed, that he intended to rescue the king out of his hands, and endeavoured to strengthen his party, that he might be able to repel the dreaded storm. With this view he applied to the earl of Arran, who he knew had a misunderstanding with Lennox, though he was his nearest relation. Arran had been married first to a sister of lord Hume, by whom he had no children, and from whom he was divorced on a very frivolous pretence. He was then married to a niece of James Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews, by whom he had children. Lennox, who was his sister's son, he was told, intended to call in question, at a proper season, the legality of his divorce from his first wife, and the legitimacy of his children by his second wife, in which, if he succeeded, he would become heir to the honours and estates of his family, and to his chance of succeeding to the crown. This

* Lesly, p. 419.

† Ibid. p. 421.

had occasioned an estrangement between Arran and his nephew, which made him the more readily listen to the proposals of Angus, who engaged to admit him to a participation in the government, and the two powerful chieftains agreed to support one another with all their forces *.

Soon after the departure of Lennox from court, an assembly of the discontented nobles was held at Stirling, in which it was resolved to rescue the king, and wrest the government out of the hands of Angus by force of arms. They then separated, to prepare for executing this resolution, and agreed to rendezvous at the same place in August. Lennox having raised his own friends and vassals, and being joined by a thousand highlanders, and two thousand men under the earl of Cassilis and the lord Kilmares, marched to Stirling, where he met with so many forces from Fife, Perthshire, and other parts, as made an army of ten thousand men, with which he determined to attack the earl of Arran, who had taken post at Linlithgow, before he could be joined by the earl of Angus, who was still at Edinburgh. Arran, however, either suspecting, or having received intelligence of this design, sent an express to Angus to join him immediately. Lennox marched from Stirling early in the morning, September 3d; but when he approached Linlithgow, he found that the enemy had taken possession of the bridge over the Avon, about a mile to the west of that town, which obliged him to make a circuit, and pass the river at Emanuel Nunnery, about a mile above the bridge. The eastern banks of the Avon at this place are very steep, and the troops, fatigued with their long march, were put out of breath by climbing them, when they were attacked by the enemy advantageously posted on the rising grounds: they fought, however, with great bravery for some time, when a cry arose that the Douglasses were in sight, with which many were intimidated and began to fly. Angus had marched from Edinburgh the same morning, but was retarded by the king, who pretended sickness, and made various delays; but on hearing the report of cannons, he pushed forward with the van of his army at full speed, leaving the king to the custody of his brother Sir George Douglas. When

A.D. 1527.

Battle of
Linlith-
gowbridge.

* Godscroft, p. 254.

A.D. 1527. he reached the field of battle, he saw the enemy flying, and found the earl of Arran weeping over the body of his nephew the earl of Lennox, who had been taken prisoner and butchered in cold blood by the bastard of Hamilton. Angus was so much affected at the sight, that he could not refrain from tears; but when the king heard of the fate of his favourite, he was still more deeply affected, and mourned for him long and bitterly *.

Queen and
archbishop
fly.

The two victorious earls, having rested and refreshed their forces a few days at Linlithgow, marched to Stirling, and from thence to Fife, compelling all the barons and gentlemen who had been in the late insurrection, to compound for their delinquency by their lands or money, or to join their party to save their lives. The queen and the archbishop of St. Andrews, who were most obnoxious, fled in disguise, and concealed themselves so effectually, that they could not be discovered: the archbishop, in the garb of a shepherd, tended a flock of sheep several months on Bogrionneumuir †.

Anarchy.

Scotland was at this time a scene of the most deplorable anarchy and confusion. The magistrates in many places had no authority, and where they had any, they employed it as an instrument of wreaking their vengeance on those of the opposite party. The earl of Cassilis, a nobleman of great honour and bravery, after his escape from the battle of Linlithgow, was surprised and slain by the sheriff of Ayresshire, at the instigation of the bastard Hamilton, because he refused to become a partisan of the Hamiltons. Deadly feuds between the Lesleys and Forbeses in the north, and among the Mackintoshes in the Highlands, were prosecuted with the most barbarous and destructive cruelty ‡. The earl of Moray having received a commission from the king, defeated the Mackintoshes, and took many of them prisoners, of whom he hanged no fewer than two hundred, who discovered a degree of fidelity to their leader, which would have done great honour to better men in a better cause. Each of them was offered his life and liberty, if he would discover the lurking-place of his chieftain Hector Mackintosh; but they rejected the offer, and chose rather to die than to betray the chief §. The earl of An-

* Lesly, p. 422. Drummond, p. 290.

† Lesly, p. 423.

‡ Pitcottie, p. 139.

§ Ibid. p. 424.

gus, after his return from Fife, marched with the king A.D. 1527. and an army of six thousand men into Liddesdale, (where the greatest disorders prevailed,) obliged the borderers to make their submissions, hanged twelve of the most guilty, and took hostages for the good behaviour of the rest *.

The archbishop of St. Andrews, weary of leading the life of a lurking fugitive, and seeing no immediate prospect of a revolution in his favour, found means to convey to Sir George Douglas proposals for an accommodation with his brother the earl of Angus, accompanied with a promise to himself of certain advantageous leases of lands and tithes. The proposal was joyfully received, and the accommodation was soon concluded. The archbishop returned to his castle of St. Andrews, and to the possession of all his benefices; the public tranquillity seemed to be completely restored, and the authority of the Douglasses firmly established †: for the reconciliation and submission of the archbishop were soon followed by that of the queen, her husband Henry Stewart, and his brother James lord Avondale, who surrendered the castle of Edinburgh, March 24th, (which they had taken by surprise,) and were pardoned at the intercession of the queen ‡. After the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh, the court removed to Falkland, where the king, indulged in the gratification of all his youthful passions, appeared to be perfectly pleased with his situation.

These fair appearances of tranquillity and submission seem to have put the Douglasses off their guard. The earl of Angus having staid about a month at Falkland, returned to the south (where he had great estates) to attend to his private affairs. The archbishop of St. Andrews invited Sir George Douglas to pass some days with him in that city at Easter, and to receive the promised leases. Archibald Douglas, lord treasurer, went at the same time to Dundee on business, or, as some say, to visit a lady, leaving the king to the care of the captain of the guard of a hundred men, which constantly attended him, and a few inferior officers of the court. The king, encouraged by the absence of his three most watchful keepers, resolved to attempt an escape. He di-

1528.
Tranquillity restored.

The king's escape from Falkland.

* Lessly, p. 426.

† Ibid. p. 427.

‡ Ibid.

A.D. 1528. rected the laird of Fairnee, the chamberlain of Fife, and Forester of Falkland, to send messages to all the neighbouring gentlemen to attend the king next morning at a royal hunt. He supped sooner than usual; and during supper he entertained the captain of the guard with discourse about the next day's diversion, recommending to him to see all the household early to rest, and to awake him next morning at four o'clock; he then retired to his bed-chamber, and went to bed: but as soon as all was quiet he arose, and putting on the livery of a yeoman of the stable, silently slipped out of the palace, and passed the guard undiscovered: when he came to the stable he found a groom and page (who were in the secret) waiting with horses ready saddled: they mounted, rode full speed to Stirling, and were received into the castle which belonged to the queen, and had been neglected by the Douglasses *. The news of the king's escape flew like lightning; the barons and gentlemen of the neighbourhood made haste to attend him with their followers; expresses were sent to those at a distance, and he soon found himself surrounded by such a body of men as put him out of danger.

Attempt
to retake
the king.

In the mean time all was dismay and confusion at Falkland. When the captain of the guard entered the king's chamber in the morning to awake him, and perceived it empty, he was alarmed. Search and inquiry were made every where, but the king could not be found, nor any intelligence procured; some surmised that he was gone to Bambrigh to visit a certain lady; but the earl of Rothes arriving from thence to attend the hunt, assured them that he was not there. Expresses were dispatched to the lord treasurer at Dundee, to the chamberlain at St. Andrews, and to the earl of Angus in Lothian, to acquaint them with what had happened. The two former reached Falkland the same forenoon, and the earl the next morning, when it was known that the king had escaped to Stirling. A council was held, in which it was resolved to raise an army, and attempt to recover by force the prize they had lost. But on this occasion the Douglasses found, what almost all fallen ministers have found, that they had fewer real friends and more secret enemies than they imagined. Having at length

* Drummond, p. 293. Pitfcottie, p. 140, 141.

collected a body of their friends and followers at Edinburgh, they marched towards Stirling, but were met by a herald, who commanded them, in the king's name, not to come within ten miles of the court, under the pain of being proclaimed traitors. Some of the leaders were for pushing forward and risking a battle; but this appeared to the earl of Angus and others too dangerous: they therefore changed their resolution, and posted themselves at Linlithgow in the way between Stirling and Edinburgh *.

A.D. 1528.

The king held a council, July 2d, at which the arch-
bishop of St. Andrews, seven earls, nine lords, and
many gentlemen, were present, to whom he complained
of the ignominious restraint in which he had been held
by the earl of Angus and his friends for almost three
years, and discovered that his resentment against them
was very strong. By the advice of this council a pro-
clamation was issued, and sent by a herald to Linlith-
gow, commanding the earl of Angus to confine himself
to the north of the river Spey, his brother Sir George
and his uncle Archibald to enter themselves prisoners in
the castle of Edinburgh, and the rest of their army to
disperse. But with this command they did not comply †.

Council.

The king being now in the eighteenth year of his age,
and at full liberty, summoned a parliament to meet at
Edinburgh, September 6th, to call those to account who
had detained his person, usurped his authority, and
were still in arms against him. Soon after, the earl of
Angus marched back from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, of
which he hoped to get possession, and to prevent the
meeting of a parliament, from which he had every thing
to fear. But he was prevented by lord Maxwell and the
laird of Cochinvare; and the king arriving at the head
of two thousand men, he retired, August 25th, to his
castle of Tantallon ‡.

Angus re-
pulsed.

The parliament met at the appointed time, at which
the earl of Angus, his brother and uncle, though they
had been summoned, did not appear; but John Bannan-
tine, who was a member, and one of their retainers,
had the courage to protest, that nothing done against
them in that parliament should be of any avail, because

Angus, &c.
forfeited.

* Lesly, p. 428.

† Ibid. Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 270. Pitscottie, p. 142.

‡ Ibid. Id.

A.D. 1528. they could not attend it without being guilty of treason, as the proclamation commanding them not to come within ten miles of the court under the pain of treason had not been recalled. This protest was disregarded. The king declared with a solemn oath, that while he was detained by the Douglasses, he was daily in fear of death. This declaration made a deep impression on the minds of the members. The earl of Angus, his brother Sir George Douglas, his uncle Archibald Douglas, with their most intimate friend Alexander Drummond of Carnock, were condemned as traitors, and their estates forfeited *.

Treaties. The Douglasses were not dispirited by this severe sentence, but revenged themselves on the most active of their enemies by plundering their estates. They relied much on the powerful intercession of Henry VIII. for procuring their pardon; and if that proved unsuccessful, they were certain of an asylum in England. It appears from the narrative in a treaty concluded at Berwick, December 12th, A. D. 1522, between the commissioners of England and Scotland, "That the king of England
" had diverse and syndry tymes addressed his maiestie ho-
" nourable letters to the right hie and excellent his
" derrest Neve the king of Scottis, in the favour of the
" erle of Anguse, George Douglas his brother, and
" Archibald Douglas his uncle, being forfallit in Scot-
" land upon lese majestie, to be reconfilet to the favour,
" mercy, and grace, of the said king of Scottis †." In an article of the same treaty it is stipulated, that if the king of England at any time received the earl of Angus, his brother, his uncle, and their friends, into his dominions, it should be no breach of the peace, provided the earl surrendered his castle of Tantallon, and that he or his followers made no incursions into Scotland. The same commissioners, at the same place, December 14th, concluded a truce for five years between the two kingdoms; the articles of which were nearly the same with those of former truces ‡.

Tantallon The resentment of king James against the Douglasses
surrendered. was still too strong to listen to any application in their

* Lesly, p. 428. Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 270. Pitscottie, p. 142.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 277.

‡ Ibid. p. 278—282.

favour: he was so far from this, that he marched from Edinburgh, December 10th, at the head of an army, and besieged their castle of Tantallon; but after lying about a month before it, and having lost many men and horses, he turned the siege into a blockade, and had recourse to negociation. The governor, Simon Panango, a soldier of fortune, seeing no prospect of relief, surrendered the castle on honourable terms *.

The Douglasses having lost their strongest fortress, perceived they could not long maintain their ground in Scotland; and being invited by Henry VIII. they retired into England with their principal followers, who chose to share their fortunes, or despaired of pardon. They were there most kindly received, and honourably entertained for many years; only Alexander Drummond of Carnock obtained a pardon, and returned home †.

A. D. 1528.
The Douglasses retire into England.

The retreat of the Douglasses restored the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, which had been disturbed by their ambition. But great disorders still prevailed on the borders, which were encouraged by the chieftains in those parts, who paid little regard to the late truce. To give a check to these disorders, James called a convention of his nobility in May this year at Edinburgh, in which he presided in person, though he was only entered into his nineteenth year. William Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scott of Tushelaw, commonly called the King of Thieves, two most notorious offenders, who had been guilty of many atrocious crimes, were condemned to death; the earl of Bothwell was banished; the lords Maxwell and Hume, with the lairds of Buckleugh, Cessford, Farneherst, Polwart, Johnstone, and several others, were committed to prison by this convention ‡. Thus James gave an early specimen of his strict administration of justice, and spirited exertions for suppressing theft and robbery, for which he was afterwards so famous.

James, not contented with what he had done at the convention, engaged his nobles to attend him with their followers at a royal hunt; and he set out from Edinburgh, June 2d, attended, it is said, by twelve thousand men. To conceal his real design, he hunted some days

* Godscroft, p. 259, &c.

† Ibid

‡ Lessly, p. 430

A.D. 1528. in the forest by the way, and then fell suddenly into Ewfdale and Eskdale, and seized many of the marauders of those parts by surprise, of whom he hanged no fewer than forty-eight. Among these was the famous John Armstrong of Kilknocky, the boldest, most patriotic, and successful free-brother of those times. He was constantly attended by a troop of twenty or thirty stout men, well mounted and armed: he never robbed a Scotchman, but made most destructive incursions into England, and laid the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland under contribution. This audacious plunderer, proud of the injuries he had done to the English, and probably expecting to be rewarded for them, had the effrontery to appear before his sovereign with his myrmidons in rich and splendid dresses; but they soon found their error: they were seized, found guilty, and executed, though Kilknocky, who was very rich, made mighty offers to obtain a pardon. This spirited conduct of the young king had a very happy effect, and struck terror into the boldest offenders. He returned to Edinburgh, July 28th, and set the imprisoned chieftains at liberty, when they had given hostages for their good behaviour*.

Three
years of
peace.

Those periods of time are the most happy which afford the fewest materials for history, when a kingdom enjoys internal tranquillity and external peace, and the persons and properties of the people are secured by the steady impartial administration of justice. Such was the state of Scotland in the years 1530,, 1531, and 1532, which reflects great honour on the memory of its youthful monarch.

1533.
A truce.

Several applications had been made to James by his uncle Henry VIII. for the restoration of the Douglasses, without effect. These exiles, irritated at this inflexibility, excited some disturbances on the borders. But as both courts sincerely desired peace, a stop was soon put to these disturbances by a meeting of commissioners at Newcastle, October 1st, who concluded a truce for one year†.

1534.
Treaty of
peace.

Still further to confirm and prolong that peace between the two kingdoms, which was so beneficial to both, the two British monarchs appointed plenipotentiaries to meet

* Lessly. p. 433. Buchan. p. 272.

† Rym. p. 480.

and negotiate a perpetual or temporary peace. The commissioners for Scotland were, William Stewart, bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir Adam Otterburn : those for England, Sir Thomas Audeley, chancellor ; Thomas Cromwell, secretary ; Edward Fox, almoner ; John Trigowell ; and Richard Gwent. They met at London, and on May 11th concluded and signed a treaty of peace, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of him who died first. The day after, the same plenipotentiaries signed another treaty, containing only two articles : by the first the king of England engaged to surrender to the king of Scots, the fortress of Edrington near Berwick, with all its lands : by the second article it was agreed, that the king of England might entertain in his dominions Archibald late earl of Angus, George his brother, and Archibald his uncle ; provided they made no hostile incursions into Scotland *.

King James being now in the twenty-fourth year of his age, began to entertain serious thoughts of marriage, to which he had many inducements. He was the only surviving male of his family, and was far from being fond of the Hamiltons, who were next in the line of succession to the crown, and imprudently discovered very sanguine hopes, which gave him great offence. These hopes did not seem to be ill-founded. The king was much addicted to vague amours, and rashly exposed himself to danger in the prosecution of them, as well as in pursuing those desperate banditti, with which his kingdom was infested. He was also most earnestly importuned to marry by the queen his mother, and by his nobility. Impelled by such powerful motives, he began to look around him for a proper match. His reputation for courage and activity was now very high, his friendship was courted by the greatest princes, and he was in no danger of having his addresses rejected. Godescalco Erico, ambassador from the emperor Charles V. arrived in the court of Scotland in April this year, with the ensigns of the order of the Golden Fleece, and an offer to James of his choice of three princesses of the imperial family, viz. Mary queen dowager of Hungary, the emperor's sister ; Mary of Portugal, daughter of his sister Eleanora ; and Mary of England. By these advances James very justly

A.D. 1534

James resolves to marry.

* Rym. p. 529—539.

A.D. 1534. suspected that the emperor designed to draw him into his party against his ancient ally the king of France, and his uncle the king of England. He returned a polite answer, full of respect and gratitude to the emperor, but declined to accept any of the matches proposed. To render this refusal less offensive, he expressed a desire to espouse the princess Isabella of Denmark, the daughter of another of the emperor's sisters. But that princess was already contracted to the elector palatine, of which it is probable James was not ignorant*.

Embassy
to France.

King James appears to have had an early and steady attachment to the French, and to their king Francis; with which, it is probable, his tutor, the duke of Albany, had inspired him in his youth. When that duke renewed the ancient league between France and Scotland, A. D. 1517, he negotiated a contract of marriage between his pupil the king of Scots, then in his sixth year, and the eldest daughter of Francis, then an infant. That princess was dead; but James still retained an inclination to a match in the royal family of France. With that view he sent David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath, and the lord Erskine, to the court of France, to demand the princess Magdalene, the king's eldest daughter, for their sovereign. The ambassadors were well received, and no objections were made to the marriage, but that the princess was of a delicate frame, not likely to live long, or to have any children. Francis at the same time recommended Mary of Bourbon, daughter of Charles duke of Vendosme, as a proper consort for their king; and still further to testify his regard, he sent him the ensigns of the order of St. Michael †.

Embassy
from Eng-
land.

Henry VIII. was at no less pains to conciliate the affections and secure the friendship of his nephew the king of Scots, than the emperor, or the king of France. In the beginning of this year he sent him, by William Barlow, bishop of St. Asaph, a long letter, explaining the reasons of his conduct in procuring a divorce from Queen Catherine and marrying Anne Boleyn; in withdrawing from the obedience of the pope, and in the other measures he was then pursuing. Not contented with this, he soon after sent lord William Howard, attended by a splendid retinue, into Scotland, with the

* Buchan. p. 274.

† Lesly, p. 440.

ensigns

ensigns of the order of the garter to the king. Lord William, accompanied by bishop Barlow, resided for some time in Scotland, and had frequent conferences with the king; in which they endeavoured to convince him of the wisdom and rectitude of his uncle's proceedings, and to persuade him to imitate his example, by withdrawing from the obedience of the pope, and enriching the crown by seizing some of the superfluous wealth of the clergy, particularly of the monks. But the principal object of the ambassadors was, to prevail upon him to agree to an interview with his uncle at York. In order to this, they made him the most tempting offers; that Henry would create him duke of York and lieutenant of the kingdom, and declare him next in the line of succession to the crown after his own legitimate children, of which he had then only one daughter, an infant. The clergy of Scotland were greatly alarmed at the thoughts of this interview, and endeavoured to prevent it, by representing the extreme danger of trusting his person to a prince who had claimed the superiority of his dominions, and still supported the Douglasses, who had usurped his authority, and deprived him of his liberty. To give weight to their arguments, they offered him a considerable sum of money as a free gift, and also an annual addition to his revenue. These arguments and offers prevailed, and determined James to decline the interview, but in the least offensive manner, and on some fair pretence. The council of Scotland, therefore, objected to York, as too distant, and proposed Newcastle, as a more proper place for the interview: and if this proposal had been fairly laid before Henry, it is probable he would have given his consent. But lord William Howard, who was young, proud, and passionate, being provoked that his offers had not been readily accepted, returned to London, and made a very unfavourable report to Henry of the dispositions of James and his ministers, which had a very unhappy effect, and produced a coolness between these two princes which was never removed*.

The pope resolved to launch the thunders of the church against Henry VIII. and was anxious to secure the attachment of his nearest neighbour and relation, the king of Scots, to the holy see. With this view, he sent a legate into

Embassy
from
Rome.

* Herbert, p. 184. Buchan. p. 275.

A.D. 1534. Scotland, with a letter and a consecrated cap and sword to the king, which were received with great respect and ceremony. The letter contained a most violent declaration against Henry, and an earnest exhortation to James, to employ all his power to extirpate so great a monster of iniquity from the earth. To this flaming epistle James returned a civil answer, assuring his belinefs of his steady attachment to the church, and his resolution to suppress heresy in his own dominions *.

1535.
Parlia-
ment.

By the first act of a parliament that met at Edinburgh, June 7th this year, 1535, holy church was secured in all her privileges, liberties, and immunities. By the second act of this parliament, those who lay under the sentence of excommunication above forty days are subjected to very severe penalties; "because the damnable persuasions and perverse doctrines of heretics gave occasion to many to despise that sentence, and other censures of holy church †." Many excellent statutes were made in this parliament for establishing a strict police and regular administration of justice, which King James had very much at heart.

James
visits the
Isles.

Few princes have possessed more activity than James V. He sometimes spent whole days, and part of the night, on horseback, in his expeditions against the banditti of the borders and of the north. Having reduced those parts of his kingdom to tolerable order, he now resolved to visit the numerous islands with which it was surrounded, whose inhabitants paid little regard to government. He sailed from the Forth in July, with five stout ships well manned, accompanied by the earls of Arran, Argyle, Huntley, and several other lords and gentlemen, and first visited Orkney, where he held courts, and punished such as were found guilty of robbery, oppression, and other crimes. He then sailed to the Hebrides, or Western Isles; and as his arrival was unexpected, the proprietors and chieftains of those isles had no opportunity of escaping; he seized such of them as were accused of plundering their neighbours, or of making depredations on the continent, and imprisoned them in the castle of Dunbarton. In the whole of this voyage, he gave directions to make soundings, to examine the harbours, to measure the distances of one island from ano-

* Lessy, p. 441.

† Black Acts, James V. f. 68.

ther, and from the continent; by which he gained a more perfect knowledge of these remote parts of his dominions than any of his predecessors. The observations that were made in this voyage were afterwards published for the benefit of navigators. He landed at St. Ninians in Galloway, and proceeded to Edinburgh, where he arrived towards the end of the year *.

A.D. 1535.

As King James now meditated a more distant voyage, he thought it prudent to order some of the most potent chieftains on the borders into confinement; to prevent disturbance in his absence. The laird of Buckleugh was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, lord Hume in the castle of Down, the laird of Fairnihurst in Falkland, and the laird of Johnstone in Dundee. This appears to us an arbitrary, but it was then a necessary measure, for preserving peace with England, and preventing internal commotions. "Thereafter," says Pitscottie, "there was great peace and rest a long time, and the king had great profit; for he had ten thousand sheep going in Eatrick forest, in keeping by Andrew Bell, who made the king as good account of them as if they had gone in the bounds of Fife †."

1536.
Chieftains
confined,

King James next called a convention of his nobility, and communicated to them his intention of going to France to finish the negociations of his marriage, which had been too long protracted, exhorted them to preserve peace and good order, and to be obedient to the regents he had appointed. A fleet of five ships was being ready, he sailed from Leith, July 24th, but was driven back into the Forth by a storm. Having repaired the damages the fleet had sustained, he sailed again from Kirkcaldy, August 31st, attended by a splendid train of his nobility, and in ten days landed at Dieppe in Normandy. From thence he proceeded with his suite to Rouen, where he was joined by the earls of Moray, Lennox, and Cassilis, the lord Erskine, and the abbot of Arbroath from Paris. Resolved to see his intended bride, he went to Vendosme *incognito*; and not being so much charmed with her appearance as he expected, he returned to Rouen without being discovered, or at least without making any advances to the lady ‡.

* Drum. p. 303. Pitscottie, p. 152. Buchan. p. 275.

† Pitscottie, p. 153. ‡ Lessly, p. 442.

A.D. 1536.

A decisive battle, it was then expected, would soon take place in Provence between the Imperial and French armies, commanded by the emperor and the king of France. James, prompted by his natural intrepidity, and ardently desirous of fighting by the side of the ancient ally of his family and country, set out immediately to join the French army; but before he reached the scene of action, the emperor had retired without fighting, and the king of France was on his return to his capital. As soon as Francis heard of the approach of the king of Scots, he dispatched the dauphin to meet and conduct him. When the two kings met, they embraced in the most affectionate manner, and proceeded together to Paris, where James was royally lodged and entertained. For some time there was nothing but a succession of feasts, and tilts and tournaments, at which martial exercises the young king acquired great honour, by his courage, strength, and dexterity. Having frequently seen and conversed with the princess Magdalene, he was charmed with her delicate beauties and gentle disposition; and the princess was no less charmed by the personal accomplishments and gallantry of her royal lover; and Francis, convinced of their mutual affection, no longer opposed their union. All preliminaries being settled, their marriage was solemnized with great pomp, January 1st, A. D. 1537*.

1537.
Arrival of
the king
and queen.

James received with his royal bride a fortune of 100,000 crowns of the sun, with an annuity of 30,000 francs; and he settled upon her as great a jointure as any queen of Scotland had ever enjoyed. Francis detained his daughter and son-in-law at his court several months after their marriage. At length James becoming impatient to return to his own dominions, Francis made him a gift of two ships laden with cannon and military stores, and loaded him and his queen with presents and jewels. The king, with his queen and court, arrived at Rouen in the beginning of April, and there (April 3d) executed a deed of great importance; viz. a revocation of all grants that had been made from the crown, of lands, rents, offices, wardships, &c. during his minority†. This was not intended to be executed, but to be kept as a rod over the heads of those who had receiv-

* Lesly, p. 442, 443.

† Black Acts, James V. f. 76.

ed these grants, to secure their good behaviour, that they might not be actually resumed. The king, queen, and all their suite, attended by the high admiral of France, and a splendid train of lords and ladies, sailed from Newport in the end of April, and landed at Leith, May 17th. They were there received with the strongest expressions of respect and joy by a prodigious confluence of ladies, lords, and gentlemen, who had come from all parts of the kingdom to congratulate the king and queen on their arrival. The queen, by her gentleness and affability, gained the hearts of all who approached her; and this marriage gave universal satisfaction *.

This joy was soon succeeded by a sorrow no less universal. The young queen was seized with a fever in the end of June, and died at Holyrood-house, about the middle of July, to the unspeakable grief of her royal consort, and the great concern of her subjects†.

James was at all times a severe justiciary; but about this time his severity degenerated into cruelty, and two executions took place that fixed an indelible stain upon his memory. John, eldest son of lord Forbes, was a dissolute youth, surrounded by dissolute companions, among whom was one Strahan, a fellow of low birth and profligate manners. This fellow being refused a favour by Forbes, went to the earl of Huntley, (between whose family and that of the Forbesses a feud had long subsisted,) and informed him, that Forbes had been engaged in a plot to kill the king several years before. Forbes was apprehended, condemned, and executed, on the sole evidence of this worthless informer. He was generally believed to have been innocent of the crime for which he suffered, but his notorious profligacy made him be little regretted. The other execution was far more piteous and deplorable. Lady Jean Douglas, sister to the banished earl of Angus, was a lady of great beauty and virtue. She was first married to the lord Glamis, and after his death to Archibald Campbell of Keepneth. In her widowhood she had been courted by John Lyon, a near relation of her first husband, who was so much enraged at her rejecting him, that he accused her and her husband, and her son lord Glamis, who was a mere boy, and an old priest, of a plot to poison the king. Nothing

* Lesly, p. 445, &c.

† Ibid.

A.D. 1537. could be more improbable than this accusation. They lived privately at a great distance from the court, with which they had no communication. They were all, however, seized, and committed to prison in the castle of Edinburgh. The lady was brought to her trial, and though she defended herself with great presence of mind and the most pathetic eloquence, she was found guilty by a majority of the jury, and condemned to the flames. This cruel sentence was executed on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, in the presence of a prodigious crowd of spectators. Her youth, her beauty, and her noble birth, but above all, the calm intrepidity with which she submitted to her cruel fate, made a deep impression on all who beheld the affecting scene, and they went away convinced that this unfortunate lady had fallen a sacrifice to the king's implacable hatred to her family. How much should princes guard against implacability? Her husband was killed in attempting to escape from the castle. Her son lord Glamis was detained in prison till after the king's death. The old priest, being as contemptible as he was innocent, was set at liberty. Lyon, the author of all this misery, was soon after seized with remorse, and confessed the falsehood of his accusation, for which he was banished. A punishment as much too slight as the other was too severe. *

1538. The king's second marriage. James did not continue long a widower. When he was in France he had seen and admired Mary of Lorraine, daughter of René duke of Guise, and widow of the duke of Longueville; and about three months after the death of his queen, he sent his natural brother, the earl of Moray, and his favourite, David Beaton, (who had lately been made a cardinal,) to the French court, to demand that lady in marriage. The proposal was agreeable to the king, the lady, and her family, and the marriage was solemnized by proxy, January 10th, A. D. 1538, at Paris, in presence of the whole court. The lord Maxwell was sent with a fleet to bring home the new queen, who landed at Cryle in Fife in the beginning of June, was conducted to St. Andrews, and there married to the king in person by the archbishop James Beaton †. Several months after this marriage were spent in visiting the principal towns of the kingdom, into which

* Lesly, p. 446.

† Buchan: p. 277. Drum. p. 315.

the queen was welcomed, and entertained with pageants, A.D. 1538. maskings, and other amusements usual in those times; and she rendered herself very popular by her affability, and the high satisfaction she expressed at the manner of her reception *.

Scotland at this time enjoyed both external and internal quiet, which in those days was not very common. The pleasure which this gave, both to the king and his subjects, was much increased by the birth of a prince at St. Andrews, April 10th. The prince at his baptism was named James, and proclaimed prince of Scotland and duke of Rothsay †. James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, died soon after he had performed this ceremony, and was succeeded by his nephew cardinal David Beaton, bishop of Merempoix in France, and abbot of Arbroath in Scotland, the king's great confidant and prime minister ‡.

Henry VIII. was at this time in no little perplexity. The pope had at length published the dreaded sentence of excommunication against him; exhorting and commanding all Christian princes to make war upon him, as a rebel against God and his vicar upon earth. An interview had taken place between the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, at Nice, that gave him great alarm. He knew that many of his own subjects were discontented, and that cardinal Pole and others fomented those discontents. He was anxious, therefore, to discover the sentiments and secure the friendship of his nearest relation and neighbour the king of Scots. In order to effect this, he dispatched Sir Ralph Sadler as his ambassador to the court of Scotland; and to procure him a favourable reception, sent with him a present of fine horses, of which he knew James was exceedingly fond. He was furnished also with very particular instructions: 1. To discover how James stood affected towards his uncle. 2. Whether he had said, "That whatever the emperor and the king of France did against Henry, he would do the same?" 3. To endeavour to raise suspicions in his mind against cardinal Beaton. 4. To persuade him to enrich the crown with the spoils of the monasteries. 5. To prevail upon him

1539. Birth of a prince.

1540. Embassy from England.

* Lesly, p. 447, 448.

† Ibid. p. 449, 450.

‡ Ibid.

A.D. 1540. to have an interview with his uncle. The ambassador was admitted to a private audience in February, soon after his arrival; in which he very artfully introduced all the subjects in his instructions. James expressed his esteem and affection for his uncle the king of England, and his desire to cultivate his friendship, in very strong terms. He denied, with many oaths, that he had ever used the expressions imputed to him, and declared he was not to be influenced by the persuasions or example of other princes. But when the ambassador introduced the subject of cardinal Beaton, he found his confidence and attachment to him was too strong to be shaken, and was glad to change the conversation. He was equally inflexible as to the monasteries. They were ancient establishments, he said, for the worship of God; that it was unjust to punish the whole, for the faults of a few; that he would do nothing contrary to his conscience, to please any man; and that he was under no necessity to seize their revenues, because they were always ready to give him whatever he demanded of them. He expressed no aversion to an interview with his uncle, but proposed that the king of France should also be present. When the ambassador represented the inconveniency with which that would be attended, he put an end to the conversation, by saying, he would talk with him more fully on that subject at another time. The ambassador had an audience of the king, when he took his leave, in which, it is probable, the subject of the interview was discussed and settled *.

Death of
the two
princes.

The queen was delivered of a prince at Stirling in the summer, who was named Arthur, but died on the eighth day after his birth. On the same day his elder brother, prince James, died at St. Andrews. The king's mind received so violent a shock by the loss of his two only sons in one day, that he never recovered his former cheerfulness, and sometimes sunk into deep dejection. To divert his melancholy, the court made a progress into the north after the queen's recovery. They were attended by the noblemen and gentlemen of the country through which they passed, and entertained in the most respectful and affectionate manner. At Aberdeen they spent fifteen days; and the city, the university, and the

* Sadler's Letters, p. 1—64.

clergy, made the greatest efforts to procure them a variety of amusements. They spent some days at Dundee and Falkland, and then returned to Edinburgh *. A.D. 1540.

A constant intercourse was kept up during all this year between the two British courts, for regulating the time, place, and other circumstances of the intended interview; and Henry afterwards complained that he had been shamefully imposed upon by the fair speeches of the Scots ambassadors, and the friendly affectionate strain of King James's letters †. Upon the whole, there seems to be sufficient evidence, that king James had actually agreed and promised to meet his uncle at York, and that he really intended to do it, though he was afterwards prevailed upon to change his mind. Interview agreed upon.

A parliament met at Edinburgh, December 3d this year, in which the revocation that had been made by the king at Rouen was ratified and confirmed; and all the great estates of the Douglasses, and of all who had followed their fortunes, were annexed to the crown ‡. Besides these, the isles of Orkney and Shetland, several of the western isles, the earldom of Bothwell, the lordships of Glamis and Avondale, and many other estates, were also annexed to the crown by the same parliament. This was probably done by the superior influence of the clergy in the parliaments of those times, to save their own possessions, and to gratify the king's rapacity, (which was become very great) at the expence of the laity. Parliament.

The court of Scotland was at this time full of factions and intrigues about the approaching interview with the king of England. The nobility in general, and more particularly such of them as secretly favoured the reformation of the church, (which were not a few) and hated the clergy for their pride and cruelty, and envied them for their wealth, wished for the interview, and endeavoured to persuade the king to keep his appointment with his uncle, by representing how much a good understanding between them would redound to his own advantage, and to the peace and prosperity of both kingdoms. On the other hand, there was nothing the clergy dreaded so much as this interview with an excommunicated heretic, who had renounced the authority of the 1541.
Intrigues.

* Lesly, p. 451.

† Hollingsh. p. 323.

‡ Black Acts, James V. f. 77, &c.

A.D. 1541. pope, demolished the monasteries, and laid his unhallowed hands on the sacred patrimony of the church; especially as they well knew that Henry had solicited this interview so earnestly in order to persuade his nephew to imitate his example: they endeavoured therefore by every possible means to dissuade and deter James from keeping the appointment; they represented to him the extreme danger of venturing his person so far into the dominions of a prince so powerful and ambitious as Henry; and did not neglect to put him in mind of the dishonourable detention and long imprisonment of his ancestor James I. and to desire him to reflect, that this interview might endanger his salvation as well as his liberty, by infecting him with the infernal poison of heresy, and expose him to the dreadful sentence of excommunication. These arguments were well adapted to influence a prince who was abundantly superstitious, and knew nothing of the controversy. But they used a still more powerful argument, which they knew he could not resist: they promised to advance a great sum of money immediately, to add fifty thousand crowns a year to his revenue, and that if a war ensued, they would support him with all their wealth. These promises turned the scale, and James resolved not to attend the interview*.

Interview
prevented.

As Henry knew nothing of this resolution, he directed great preparations to be made at York for the entertainment of the king of Scotland, and came to that city in August with a numerous and splendid retinue. After waiting some days, a messenger arrived with letters from James, containing the strongest professions of respect and affection to his uncle, but excusing himself from attending the interview, because he was engaged in some affairs of importance, which made it improper for him to leave his kingdom, and that he would soon send an ambassador to explain his reasons more fully. Henry, who was naturally proud and passionate, was exceedingly enraged at this affront. His anger was much inflamed by the intelligence he soon after received, that a party of Scots had made an incursion into Northumberland, and plundered the country. He determined therefore to be revenged on the king and kingdom of Scotland, for

* Herbert, p. 327. Lefly, p. 453-4. Buchan. p. 278.

the insults he had received. But on his arrival at Westminster in September, the discovery of the incontinence of his beloved queen Catherine Howard, engaged his whole attention for a considerable time, and diverted him from prosecuting his revenge against Scotland *. A.D. 1541.

Though King James had been prevailed upon not to attend the interview at York, he wished to avoid a war if possible. With this view he sent ambassadors to the court of England in December 1541, to soothe and appease the resentment of his highly-offended uncle. These ambassadors (Henry says) "gave him good words, sweet words, pleasant words, not only to excuse what was past, but also to persuade kindness and perfect amity to ensue †." They so far succeeded, that they prevailed upon Henry to appoint commissioners to meet with those of Scotland upon the borders, to settle all disputes. The commissioners of both nations accordingly met, but they could come to no agreement about a certain district of no great extent or value on the border, to which each country claimed a right. They separated, however, in a friendly manner, and the wardens on both sides issued their orders for preserving peace ‡. 1542.

As the borderers knew that there was a misunderstanding between the two kings, they paid little or no regard to these orders. A considerable body of Scots entered England, July 4th, and committed great depredations. King James, still wishing to prevent a war, dispatched Sir James Learmont, of Dearsy, to the court of England, to apologise for this outrage, and offer reparation of all injuries that had been done. But while the ambassador was soothing Henry with promises of the most ample reparation, and the strongest assurances of future peace, the Scots borderers made another incursion into England, no less destructive than the former. Henry's patience was now exhausted. He sent a fleet into the Forth, which captured twenty-eight merchant ships; and he commanded Sir Robert Bowes, captain of Norham castle, and warden of the east marches, to invade Scotland with all the forces he could raise, to retaliate the late injuries. Sir Robert, accompanied by the earl of Angus, his brother Sir George Douglas, the gentlemen of Northumberland and Durham, with their fol-

* Hollingsh. p. 323.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

A.D. 1542. } lowers, entered Tiviotdale, designing to destroy the towns of Jedburgh and Kelso; but they were encountered at Hadden-rig, August 24th, and, after a sharp conflict, totally defeated by the earl of Huntley and lord Hume; Sir Robert Bowes, and his brother Sir John Withrington, Sir Ralph Ivers, Sir Brian Latoun, Mr. Heron, and about two hundred other gentlemen, were made prisoners *.

Negotiations.

Henry, irritated at this defeat, and still more at the refusal of the Scots to ransom their prisoners, commanded the duke of Norfolk at the head of a great army, attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Rutland, Angus, and Surry, to march into Scotland, and take a severe revenge for all the injuries he had received. James, not yet prepared to resist so great a force, tried to divert the storm, by sending the lord Erskine, and some other commissioners, to negotiate a peace or truce, or at least to gain a little time. They met the English army at York; and Henry, after all that had happened, gave a commission to the duke of Norfolk, the lord privy seal, and the bishop of Durham, to treat with them. Henry, notwithstanding his expensive preparations for war, seems to have wished for peace, and to have desired to gain, rather than to distress, his nephew. The conduct of the Scots commissioners makes it probable that their desire of peace was not so strong as they pretended. They profess that they came with a design to settle all the preliminaries of an interview between the two monarchs; but when they produced a commission, it was found that they had no power to treat of an interview. They then asked six days to procure a more ample commission, which was granted: but when the new commission arrived, it gave them power to agree to an interview, but fixed the time, place, and the other circumstances of the meeting, without a power to depart from one article. The English commissioners observing that this was not to treat but to dictate, the Scots requested time to procure more unlimited powers. This third commission was unexceptionable; but it was accompanied with instructions not to recede from one article in their former commission. When the English

* Hollingsh. p. 323. Lesly, p. 456. Buchan. p. 279.

discovered this, they put an end to the conferences in A.D. 1542. which they had lost so much time *.

Francis I. who was at this time at variance with Henry VIII. sent an ambassador to king James, with a supply of military stores, and assurances of effectual support in a war with England. Encouraged by these assurances, and his late success at Hadden-rig, and spirited up by his clergy, he resolved on war, and summoned his nobles and barons to a rendezvous at Falamuir, with all their followers in arms, to repel the English, who intended to invade the kingdom †.

As soon as the conferences at York broke up, Henry Manifesto. commanded the duke of Norfolk to proceed with his army to the invasion of Scotland; and at the same time published a very long manifesto of the reasons of the war. In the first part of this curious publication, he magnifies his own great humanity and tenderness in not crushing his nephew in his infancy, and conquering his kingdom, when it was in such confusion that it could have made little resistance. He then displays in strong colours James's ingratitude for this extraordinary kindness, his receiving English rebels, his refusing to ransom English prisoners, his defeating an English army that had been sent to plunder his country, his refusing to resign a certain district on the borders, his permitting his subjects to make incursions into England, and his breach of faith in not attending the interview at York. In the last part he insists at great length on the superiority of the kings of England over the kingdom of Scotland, which he derives from his illustrious predecessor Brute the Trojan. He concludes with a declaration, that he did not make war to establish that superiority, but to punish the ingratitude and unkindness of his nephew king James, in whose veins the royal blood of England was chilled by the cold air of Scotland †.

The duke of Norfolk had been so long detained with Invasion. his army at York, that they did not enter Scotland till October 1st, or penetrate above two miles into the country. The people had removed their cattle and corn from the borders; and the earl of Huntley, the lord Hume, and other chieftains, hovering about them, prevented

* Hollingsh. p. 324.

† Lesly, p. 456.

† Hollingsh. p. 322—328.

A.D. 1542. their foraging, and harassed them by frequent skirmishes. The duke, considering that the season was too far advanced, the enemy too well prepared, and that provisions were becoming scarce, repassed the Tweed in a few days, with no little precipitation, and considerable loss of men and horses *.

King James, who lay at this time in Etrick forest with an army of thirty thousand men, called a council of war, and proposed to pursue the enemy, and invade England; on which he left them to deliberate. But the members of the council were almost unanimous in their opposition to this proposal, the deplorable disaster of Floddenfield being still fresh in their memories. They represented therefore to the king, by their general the earl of Moray, his natural brother, that he had done enough for his own honour, and the protection of his subjects, by compelling the enemy to retire, without having done any mischief; that though they had retired, they had not disbanded, and would soon be reinforced; that the season of the year was too far advanced; that it would be exceedingly imprudent to expose his royal person to danger, when he had no issue to succeed him; and finally, they put him in mind of the untimely fate of his heroic father on a similar occasion. This remonstrance threw James into a most violent rage and perturbation. He exclaimed against his nobles as traitors and poltroons, and threatened them with his severest vengeance, declaring that he would execute what they had not the courage to attempt †. The army disbanded, and the king returned to Edinburgh.

Expedition.

James did not remain long at Edinburgh. The lord Maxwell, a brave and loyal nobleman, warden of the west marches, desirous of dissipating the chagrin and appeasing the anger of his sovereign, proposed to make an attempt upon Cumberland, if a competent force could be collected with secrecy and expedition. Cardinal Beaton and the clergy (who were the real authors and fomenters of this war) exerted themselves with great diligence, by sending messengers and writing letters to their dependants and friends, to go immediately with their followers in arms into Annandale, where they would be informed

* Lesly, p. 457.

† Buchan. and Lesly, *ibid.* Drummond. p. 341.

of the service in which they were to be employed. Several noblemen engaged in this expedition, and an army of ten thousand men was assembled with great secrecy in a very short time. The king rode privately with a few attendants to Lochmaben, where the troops rendezvoused: from thence they marched (with a train of artillery for besieging Carlisle) towards England. A D. 1542.

The sudden unexpected approach of so great an army, caused a prodigious alarm in Cumberland. The warden lord Wharton, and the gentlemen of the country, immediately flew to arms, and with about five hundred horse advanced to the banks of the Esk, to retard the passage of the enemy, and give time to the country to arm; but when they reached the rising grounds above Netherby, and had a full view of the Scots army, they observed that all was in confusion and disorder, and saw great bodies of men retiring, or rather flying, different ways. This strange appearance was owing to the following cause:—The clergy, and particularly cardinal Beaton, had inspired King James (who was naturally of a suspicious temper) with a violent jealousy of and animosity against his nobility, as secret favourers of heresy, and friends to England. This animosity was greatly inflamed by their late refusal to invade that kingdom. Though he permitted therefore the lord Maxwell, who had planned this expedition, to conduct the army to the border, he secretly gave a commission to Oliver Sinclair, one of his most hated minions, to be general and commander in chief as soon as they entered England. Oliver, proud of his elevation, when the army was preparing to pass the Esk, November 25th, produced his commission, and caused himself to be raised on the shoulders of two tall men and proclaimed general. It is impossible to conceive the consternation and confusion this produced. The noblemen and principal gentlemen resolved to give themselves up prisoners to the English, rather than fight under the banner of such a contemptible leader, or expose themselves to the fury of their infatuated sovereign. The common people, seeing all subordination at an end, went off in companies, and returned to their own homes. The English, perceiving the disorder of their enemies increasing, and their army disbanding, passed the river, and made as many prisoners

A.D. 1542. as they pleased, without losing or drawing one drop of blood. Among the prisoners were, two earls, Cassilis and Glencairn; five lords, Maxwell, Somerville, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming; with the master of Erskine, Oliver Sinclair, and about two hundred other gentlemen *.

The news of this most disgraceful affair threw King James into a perturbation and depression of spirits, from which he never recovered. Next day he returned to Edinburgh, from whence he went to Falkland, where, excluding all company except a few of his favourite domestics, through want of sleep and anguish of mind he was soon confined to his bed. When in this condition, the news arrived that his queen was delivered of a princess at Linlithgow. But this gave him no comfort. "The English," said he, "will either conquer the kingdom in her minority, or will acquire it by marriage." After languishing a few days longer, he expired, December 13th, A. D. 1542, in the thirty-first year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign †.

* Lesly, p. 458. Buchan. p. 299.

† *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. ii. p. 157.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K VI.

CHAP. II. SECT. I.

*Ecclesiastical History of England from the Accession of
Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Accession of Henry
VIII. A. D. 1509.*

THE ecclesiastical transactions in the reign of Henry Cent. XV.
VII. that merit a place in history, were not many, and shall be related in as few words as possible.

Cardinal Bouchier, who had been archbishop of Canterbury thirty-two years, died in January, A.D. 1486, and was succeeded by John Morton, bishop of Ely, who had contributed greatly to the elevation of Henry to the throne. This primate convened a synod of the prelates and clergy of his province, February, 13th A. D. 1487, at St. Paul's, for the reformation of the manners of the clergy. Complaints were made to the synod, that the preachers of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, in their sermons at Paul's cross, inveighed against the vices of the clergy in the hearing of the laity, who all, said they, hate the clergy, and delight to hear their vices exposed. The prior of St. John was called, and appeared before the synod, and promised to correct this great abuse.

Cent. XV. The invectives of these preachers, however, do not seem to have been without foundation; for many of the London clergy were accused in this convocation, of spending their whole time in taverns and ale-houses, of concealing their tonsure, and allowing their hair to grow long, and of imitating the laity in their dress. They were severely reprimanded for these enormities. This convocation granted a tenth of their benefices for one year to the king, and instituted a new holy-day to commemorate the transfiguration of Christ, to be observed every year on the seventh of August*.

Pastoral
letter.

Immediately after the convocation was dismissed, the primate published a pastoral letter for the reformation of the lives and habits of the clergy. In this letter the good primate doth not trouble his clergy with recommending a single virtue, or reproving a single vice; but he charges them, with great solemnity, not to wear short liripoops of silk, nor gowns open before, nor swords, nor daggers, nor embroidered girdles; to be very careful of their tonsure, and to keep their hair always so short that all the world may see their ears; and he threatens them with very severe censures, if they do not observe these injunctions. He recommends residence on their benefices to all rectors and vicars who have only one living, and no dispensation; nor canonical impediment, nor lawful excuse for non-residence, that they may preserve their flocks from that rapacious wolf the devil†.

Papal bull.

The dissolute manners of the clergy, especially of the regulars, made a mighty noise at this time, and gave great offence to the laity, who were provoked to see the immense possessions bestowed on the church by the mistaken piety of their ancestors, so shamefully abused. The court of Rome became apprehensive that this discontent of the laity might produce disagreeable effects. Pope Innocent VIII. sent a bull to archbishop Morton, in March 1490, in which he acquaints him, that he had heard with great grief from persons worthy of credit, that the monks of all the different orders in England had grievously degenerated; “and that giving themselves up to a reprobate sense, they led lewd and dissolute lives, by which they brought ruin upon their own souls, set an ill example to others, and gave great offence to

* Wilkin: Concil. tom. iii. p. 618.

† Ibid. p. 620.

“many.”

“ many.” His holiness then directed the primate to admonish all the abbots and priors, of all the convents in his province, to reform themselves, and those under them; and if any of them did not obey that admonition, he gave him authority to visit and reform them by ecclesiastical censures, to cut off incurable members by deprivation, and to call the secular arm to his assistance when it was necessary *.

Cent. XV.

In obedience to this bull the primate sent monitory letters to the superiors of all the convents and religious houses in his province, admonishing and commanding them, by the authority he had received from the pope, to reform themselves and their subjects, from certain vices of which they were said to be guilty, and of which he accused them. The monitory letter that was sent on this occasion to the abbot of St. Alban's hath been published. If that abbot and his monks were stained with all the odious vices, of which the primate says in his letter they were notoriously guilty, they were a most execrable crew, and stood much in need of reformation. Some of these vices are so detestable, that they cannot be so much as named in history. “ You are infamous, (says he to the abbot,) for simony, usury, and squandering away the possessions of your monastery, besides other enormous crimes mentioned below.” One of these crimes was, that he had turned all the modest women out of the two nunneries of Pray and Sapwell, (over which he pretended to have a jurisdiction,) and filled them with prostitutes; that they were esteemed no better than brothels, and that he and his monks publicly frequented them as such. His grace seems to be well informed; for he names some of these infamous women and their gallants. The monks were at least as profligate as their abbot: for besides keeping concubines both within and without the monastery, he accuses them of stealing the church plate and jewels, and even of picking the jewels out of the shrine of their patron St. Alban. He allows them sixty days to reform from all their vices, especially from cutting down the woods, and stealing the plate and jewels of the monastery; but if they did not reform in that time, and become very chaste, honest, and good monks, he threatens them with a visitation *.

Monitory letter.

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 630.

† Ibid p. 632.

What

Cent. XV. What effect this monitory letter had on the abbot and his monks, we are not informed: it is probable that it was not great. For we learn from the same letter, that they had been several times admonished before to no purpose. When the monastics lived in idleness, wallowed in wealth and luxury, and were doomed to celibacy, the temptations to certain vices were too strong to be overcome by monitory letters, which they probably considered as things of course.

Convocations.

The avarice of Henry VII. was soon discovered, and became universally known; and the clergy secured his favour by granting him money from time to time. Both the convocations of Canterbury and York met, A. D. 1491, and each of them granted him a tenth of their livings for one year*.

Petition to the pope.

Henry VII. neglected no opportunity of depressing the house of York, and exalting that of Lancaster, from which he pretended to derive his title to the throne. Henry VI. the last king of the house of Lancaster, had been buried first in the abbey of Chertsey, to which there was a prodigious concourse of people to behold the miracles that were said to be wrought at his tomb. To put a stop to this, Richard III. removed the body from Chertsey, and interred it in the collegiate church in the castle of Windsor, to which the people had not such easy access. Henry presented a petition to the pope, A. D. 1494, for his permission to translate the sacred remains of that pious king from Windsor to Westminster, a place of much greater celebrity, where many of the kings and queens of England lay intombed, though the dean and chapter of Windsor opposed the translation†. A mighty king applies to a foreign priest to overcome the resistance of his own chaplains; so small was the authority of kings, and so great the authority of popes, over the ecclesiastics of those times!

Still further to aggrandise the house of Lancaster, Henry, in the same year, 1494, petitioned the pope to canonise Henry VI. and transmitted a long list of the wonderful miracles wrought by that pious prince, both in his life-time and after his death; particularly that he had given sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, strength to the lame, and had cured all other diseases. The pope

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. p. 634, 635.

† Ibid. p. 635.

granted a commission to the archbishop of Canterbury, Cent. XV. and the bishop of Durham, to examine into the sanctity of his royal candidate for canonisation, and into the reality of his miracles *. This affair, however, was never accomplished, and Henry was never canonised, being as unfortunate after his death as he had been during his life; nor are we informed what put a stop to this pious project. The most probable conjecture is, that Henry VII. found that the canonisation of a king would cost more money than he had imagined, or was disposed to expend.

Archbishop Morton died A. D. 1500, and was succeeded by Henry Dean, bishop of Salisbury. This being the year of jubilee, prodigious multitudes crowded to Rome from all Christian countries, to partake of the pardons and indulgences that were then dispensed in great profusion. But as many good Catholics, who lived in distant countries, wished to share in those benefits, but were not able to bear the fatigue or the expence of so long a journey, the pope Alexander V. to accommodate them, and to dispose of the spiritual treasures of the church, which are inexhaustible, sent agents into every country, furnished with sufficient quantities of these sacred commodities, which they sold to all who chose to buy them. One Jasper Pons, a Spaniard, was sent into England on this occasion, who managed this traffic with so much address, that he collected and carried off a great mass of money, without giving much scandal †.

One of the arts employed by the nuncio to get money Bull. and avoid scandal was this: He gave out, that all the money he received for pardons, indulgences, &c. was to be expended on an expedition against the Turks. To procure credit to this assertion, he brought a bull from the pope to the king, in which his holiness acquainted him, that he and his brethren the cardinals, in a solemn conclave, had resolved upon an expedition against the Turks, those cruel enemies of the Christian faith; that they had settled the plan of operations, and wanted nothing but money, fleets, and armies, for which they depended on the religious zeal of Christian princes and states. He acquainted him with the plan of operations; that the kings of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia, were to invade

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. p. 460.

† Antiq. Britan. p. 332.

Romania;

Cent. XV. Romania; the French and Spaniards to attack the Turks in Greece; and the English, Venetians, and other maritime powers, to make an attempt on Constantinople with a strong fleet and army. He concluded with conjuring the king, in the most earnest manner, to engage with all his power in this most holy and pious undertaking. To this bull Henry returned a civil but evasive answer; the nuncio conveyed his money to Rome, and the expedition against the Turks was no more mentioned*.

Cent.
XVI.

Henry Dean, archbishop of Canterbury died, A. D. 1502, and was succeeded by William Warham, bishop of London. The disciples of Wickliff, then commonly called Lollards, had been so long and so cruelly persecuted, that their numbers were much diminished; and many who had imbibed those dangerous opinions, carefully concealed them. It appears also, that the Lollards at this time were not in general so ambitious of the crown of martyrdom as they had been formerly; for many of them, when they were accused of heresy, and threatened with the cruel death inflicted on heretics, recanted, and burnt their faggot, to preserve themselves from burning. The fires, however, in which heretics were consumed, were not extinguished. Many, both men and women, were reduced to ashes for the crime of heresy in the last years of Henry VII. of whose sufferings those readers who take pleasure in perusing such shocking relations will find a full account in the work quoted below†.

CHAP. II. SECT. II.

Ecclesiastical History of England from the Accession of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509, to the Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

Cent.
XVI.

The
church
reformed
by the
state.

THAT the state of religion and of the church of England underwent great changes in the reign of Henry VIII. is universally known. But it is necessary to remark, that

* Bacon, ad an. 1500.

† Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. i. p. 710—715.

these

these changes were brought about by the state, and not by the church, and that therefore the history of them belongs to civil rather than to ecclesiastical history; for this reason, the occasions, causes, and other circumstances of the most important of these changes, have been related in their proper places, in the first chapter of this book; and it only now remains to give a brief account of the transactions of this period that were more strictly ecclesiastical, which may be comprised within moderate limits.

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Few nations in Europe seemed to be more firmly attached to the court and church of Rome, than the English at the accession of Henry VIII. The clergy, both secular and regular, were universally devoted to the papacy, and more the subjects of the pope than of their native sovereign. They defended all the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the church with much zeal, and persecuted all who presumed to call any of these in question with unrelenting cruelty. The laity, indeed, sometimes raised at the vices, and repined at the riches of their spiritual guides; but the far greatest number of them entertained no doubts of the infallibility of the pope, or of the truth of any of the tenets of the church. The king had been inspired by his instructors with the highest veneration for his holy father at Rome, and with the most violent hatred to heresy and heretics. This attachment of the king and the clergy to the see of Rome, continued unabated during the first nineteen years of this reign. The transactions therefore of that period were of the same kind with those of former periods, and do not merit a minute investigation.

The English attached to Rome.

The popes of the times we are delineating seldom neglected to present some consecrated trinket that was valued, and that cost them little, to those princes at their accession, from whom they expected substantial favours. Julius II. sent a consecrated rose of gold, dipped in chrism, and perfumed with musk, to archbishop Warham, April 5th, A. D. 1510, to be presented to the king at high-mass, with his apostolical benediction. Henry received the precious rose, and more precious benediction, with profound reverence and excessive joy*.

Consecrated rose.

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 652.

Cent.
XVI.

Subsidy.

Dispute
between
the pri-
mate and
his suffra-
gans.

The convocation of the province of Canterbury met at St. Paul's, February 16th, A. D. 1511, and made the king a more valuable present, by granting him a subsidy of 25,000l*.

Great profits accrued in those times to the archbishops and bishops, and the officers of their courts, from the registration and probation of testaments, the administration of the goods of intestates, and the trial of causes in their several courts; and violent disputes arose about the division of these profits. In former times the testaments of all persons were proved and registered in the court of the diocese wherein he had resided and died, and the several bishops and their officials had the administration of the goods of those who died intestate within their dioceses. Causes were also tried in the court of the diocese in which the parties resided, though an appeal lay to the archbishop's court. This arrangement had been established by a constitution of the papal legate Ottabon, and confirmed by uniform practice. But the late archbishop Morton, being a cardinal, chancellor of the kingdom, and prime minister, had great power, which he employed in making encroachments on the privileges and emoluments of his suffragans and their courts. He pretended that the testaments of all persons, who had effects in different dioceses, or who died possessed of *bona notabilia*, should be proved and registered in the archbishop's court, and that the goods of intestates in these circumstances should be administered by his officials. Besides this, he brought almost all litigations into his own court (to which he gave the new name of the prerogative court) by prohibitions, advocations, and admitting appeals before sentence. These innovations were opposed by his suffragans, and by none so keenly as by William Warham, who acted as advocate to Richard Hill, bishop of London, who appealed to the pope against them. But when Warham was advanced to the primacy, he changed his mind, and carried these encroachments farther than his predecessor cardinal Morton had done, and rejected all the proposals of his suffragans for an accommodation†. This contest continued long, and was conducted with great violence and rancour; which is one proof, among many others, that the celibacy of the clergy did not di-

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 652.

† Ibid. p. 653—659.

minish their love of money, or make them more indifferent about amassing wealth.

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Divisions and disputes prevailed among the regular, as well as among the secular clergy of England in this period, particularly between the Franciscans, or gray friars, and the Dominicans, or black friars, about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, maintained by the former, and denied by the latter. This question was agitated several years with great warmth, and appeared to be of such importance, that it engaged the attention of the whole Christian world. At length, however, an end was put to this controversy by a decree of the pope in favour of the Franciscans; a new festival was instituted to commemorate the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin, and all who denied it were declared to be heretics*.

Divisions
among the
regulars.

If the clergy at this time were at variance among themselves, they were at still greater variance with the laity about the immunities of the church; that is, of the clergy, and their exemplification from the jurisdiction of the civil courts and civil magistrates. This had been a bone of contention between the clergy and laity for several centuries, and had sometimes involved both in very great distress. This controversy was revived and inflamed by an act of parliament, A. D. 1512, by which all who were accused of murder and robbery, were to be tried in the civil courts, except bishops, priests, and deacons; and if found guilty, were to be denied the benefit of the clergy†. This act was exclaimed against by the great body of the clergy as a most impious invasion of the immunities of the church, because subdeacons, acolyths, exorcists, &c. were thereby subjected to be tried for murder or robbery by laymen, and to be hanged if they were found guilty. The pulpits every where rung with declarations against this act; and the abbot of Winchelcomb, in a sermon at Paul's cross, declared, that all persons, whether spiritual or temporal, who had assented to that infamous act, had incurred the censures of the church. This zealous abbot also published a book, to prove that the persons of clerks, in the lower as well as the higher orders, were sacred, and that they could not be tried or punished by the laity for any crimes‡.

Disputati-
on.

* Fox, vol. ii. p. 732.

† Statutes, 4 Henry VIII. cap. 2.

‡ Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 12, 13.

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The Temporal Lords, and the House of Commons, exasperated at this attempt of the clergy to emancipate themselves from the restraints of law, and from punishment for the greatest crimes, petitioned the king to repress their insolence, and compel them to retract their opinion. The matter was debated before the king in council, the judges, and a numerous audience, both of the clergy and laity. The abbot of Winchelcomb was advocate for the immunities which the church and clergy claimed; and Doctor Standish, one of the king's spiritual council, pleaded against them. After a long debate, the audience in general being convinced that Doctor Standish had the better of the argument, requested the bishops to command the abbot to recant his opinion. But this they positively refused; declaring, that it was their own opinion, and the doctrine of holy church *.

Richard
Hunne's
affair.

When things were in this state, an event happened that inflamed the animosity between the clergy and the laity, especially in London. One Richard Hunne, a respectable citizen, was sued by the priest of his parish, in the legate's court, for a mortuary, which he pretended to be due to him for the burial of a child of his only five weeks old. Hunne, by the advice of his council, sued the priest in the king's bench, in a premunire, for bringing him before a foreign court. The clergy, to extricate the priest, accused Hunne of heresy, and imprisoned him in the Lollard's tower at St. Paul's, where he was found hanged, December 4th, A. D. 1514. The clergy gave out, that he had hanged himself. But this was not believed, and the coroner's inquest, after a careful examination of the body, the posture in which it was found, and other circumstances, brought in their verdict, wilful murder by those who had the charge of the prison. Many witnesses were examined, whose evidence tended to criminate the bishops, Sumner, and the bell-ringer; and Sumner afterwards confessed, that the chancellor Doctor Horsey, himself, and the bell-ringer, had first murdered Hunne, and then hung up his body against the wall †.

Burnt for
heresy
after his
death.

This affair made a prodigious noise in London, and excited violent outcries against the clergy, which were

* Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 13.

† Ibid. p. 14. Fox, vol. ii. p. 739—744.

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rendered more vehement by the method that was taken to silence them. Fitz-James, bishop of London, and other prelates with whom he consulted, imagined, that if Hunne was convicted of heresy, the people would no longer espouse his cause, or lament his fate. That bishop therefore, attended by the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, twenty-five abbots, priors, and six doctors, six notaries, and great multitudes of the secular and regular clergy, held a court at St. Paul's, December 16th, for the trial of one who had been ten days in his grave. At that court Richard Hunne was accused of various heresies contained in the preface to Wickliff's bible, which had been found in his house, and was esteemed a sufficient proof that he had held all these heresies. Proclamation was made, that if any one chose to answer for the accused he should appear immediately. No counsel chose to plead the cause of such a client before such a court. Hunne was pronounced a heretic, his body was taken up, December 20th, and burnt in Smithfield*. The people were shocked at this horrid spectacle, and greatly disgusted with their spiritual guides.

The discontent excited by these acts of cruelty was not confined to the people of London. The parliament that met, February 5th, A. D. 1515, restored the children of Richard Hunne to their father's effects; and the House of Commons sent up a bill to the House of Peers, April 3d, for bringing his murderers, particularly Doctor Horsey, to justice. But the clergy were too numerous in that house for such a bill to pass. The bishop of London made a violent declamation against it; in which he affirmed, that Hunne had hanged himself; that the coroner and his jury were perjured caitiffs; and that if the bill passed, the heretics would become so bold, that he would not be safe in his own house. The bill was thrown out after the first reading†.

The clergy were greatly offended with Doctor Standish, for his pleading against their immunities; and the convocation, which sat at the same time with the parliament, brought him before them, and threatened him with the severest censures. Expecting neither mercy nor justice from his enraged brethren, he implored the king to pro-

His children restored.
Dr. Standish questioned.

* Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 14. Fox, vol. ii. p. 739-744.

† Burnet, p. 15.

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test him from the danger he had incurred by acting in the capacity of his spiritual counsel. The clergy assured the king, that they did not intend to question Doctor Standish for any thing he had said in the late conference, but for certain lectures at Paul's cross; in which he had advanced many things contrary to the law of God and the liberties of holy church, which they were bound to maintain. On the other hand, the temporal lords, the judges, and the House of Commons, petitioned the king to preserve the undoubted rights of his crown, and his temporal jurisdiction over all his subjects, and to protect Doctor Standish from the malice of his enemies*.

Conferen-
ces and
disputes.

These petitions threw the king into great perplexity. He had a great veneration for the church and clergy, but he was also fond of power, and tenacious of his rights. On this occasion he consulted Doctor Veysey, dean of his chapel, (of whose learning and probity he entertained a good opinion,) and charged him, upon his allegiance, to give him his real sentiments on this important question. Having taken some time to consider, the doctor declared to the king, upon his faith and conscience, that the trial of clerks by the secular judges, for crimes committed against the laws of the land, was neither contrary to the law of God, nor inconsistent with the true liberties of the church. This opinion, and the arguments with which it was supported, gave Henry great satisfaction. Two very solemn conferences were held before him, and many of the prelates, lords, judges, and principal men, both of the clergy and laity, in which this question was debated at great length, and with no little warmth, by Doctor Standish and Doctor Veysey on one side, and the champions for the immunities of the church on the other. At the last of these conferences, when the greatest part of the audience seemed ready to adopt the opinion of the two doctors, cardinal Wolsey fell upon his knees before the king, and most earnestly intreated him to refer the matter in dispute to the pope, to avoid his incurring the censures of the church. On which the king said, that he thought Doctor Standish and others of his council had answered all their arguments fully. The lord chief justice Fineux observed, that bishops could not try clerks for capital of-

* Burnet, p. 15.

fences; and if they were not amenable to the civil courts, they might commit the greatest crimes with impunity. The king then, addressing himself to the clergy, said, "Know you well, that we will maintain the right of our crown and our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time." The archbishop of Canterbury, alarmed at this declaration, fell on his knees and begged that the final determination of this question might be delayed till they had time to consult the court of Rome. But to this no answer was given; the king retired, and the conference ended*.

A warrant being issued for apprehending Doctor Horsey, the bishop of London's chancellor, in order to his being tried in the King's Bench for the murder of Richard Hunne, he absconded, and was concealed in the archbishop's palace at Lambeth. At last, when this affair threatened very serious consequences, it was terminated by a compromise, most probably suggested by the clergy. It was agreed, that the convocation should drop all proceedings against Doctor Standish; that Doctor Horsey should appear in the court of King's Bench, and plead not guilty; and that the attorney-general should acknowledge the truth of his plea, to prevent a trial. All this was accordingly done; and in those days it was thought no small triumph, that a great king had brought a clerk to the bar, though he did not, or durst not, bring him to trial†.

Though the clergy in this period were divided among themselves, and at variance with the laity, there was one thing in which they agreed too well, and were too well seconded by the secular arm; the persecution of the unhappy Lollards. The infernal spirit of persecution, which had languished in some degree in the preceding reign, raged with great violence in the first nineteen years of the present reign: for though Henry VIII. was tenacious of the rights of his crown, he had no regard to the rights of conscience, and no mercy on those who presumed to judge for themselves in matters of religion, or to dissent in the least from the established system of belief and worship. To give a minute detail of all the

* Burnet, from Keilway's Reports.

† Ibid.

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horrid cruelties that were inflicted on those who were condemned as heretics for reading the scriptures, for denying transubstantiation, purgatory, the worship of images, the invocation of saints, the infallibility of the pope, or any other tenet of the church, would not only swell this section to a most inconvenient size, but would greatly distress every reader of feeling and humanity. It is sufficient to remark, that all who were convicted of what was then called heresy, both women and men, old and young, and adhered to their opinions, were condemned as obstinate heretics, delivered to the secular arm, and burnt to ashes, without mercy, and without exception. The number of those unhappy victims was considerable, particularly in the diocese of Lincoln, under bishop Langland, the king's confessor, and a most cruel persecutor*. Those who through fear of the painful death with which they were threatened, abjured or renounced their opinions, (which were very many,) had various penances prescribed to them, and various punishments inflicted upon them, of which some were very severe and ignominious†. Some of the English prelates at least seem to have resolved to extinguish heresy, by the total extirpation of heretics. But in this they did not succeed. On the contrary, the more fiercely persecution raged, the more heresy and heretics increased; the greater was the compassion of the people for the sufferers, and their indignation against the persecutors.

Henry
writes
against
Luther.

Henry VIII. was not only a most dutiful son, but a most zealous champion of the church of Rome in the first half of his reign, and fought the battles of the pope, both by his sword and by his pen. With this last instrument he took the field against Martin Luther, by his book, *de Septem Sacramentis*, of the Seven Sacraments. A splendid copy of this royal performance was presented to the pope in full consistory in October, A. D. 1521, by Doctor John Clark, dean of Windsor, the king's ambassador at Rome, and received with great respect and ceremony. The pope assured the ambassador, that he would recommend the book to all Christian princes, and publish it with as honourable a testimony from the holy see as ever was given to the works of St. Austin and St. Jerome; and that he would immediately adorn

* Fox, p. 744—750.

† Ibid. p. 450, &c.

the king with some honourable title, as a reward for his religious zeal and learned labours. Accordingly, his holiness, by a bull, in the same month bestowed on Henry the title of Defender of the Faith; and in the same bull he extolled his book, as a most wonderful performance, sprinkled with the dew of Divine grace; and returned immense thanks to Almighty God, who had been graciously pleased to inspire his majesty's excellent mind, always inclined to that which was good, with so much grace from Heaven *. Henry was now the greatest favourite of the court of Rome; and if he had died at this time, would probably have been canonized.

Few authors have had the pleasure of receiving such Luther extravagant praises for their works, as Henry received replies. for this performance. But neither the lustre of his crown, nor the acclamations of his admirers, intimidated his antagonist. Luther, irritated at some contemptuous expressions that the king had used, published an answer to his book; in which he treated him with unbecoming asperity, or rather scurrility, of which he afterwards repented. Of this it will be sufficient to give one example. "If he had erred like other men, he might have been forgiven; but when he knowingly and wittingly invents lies against the majesty of my King in heaven, I have a right to bespatter his English majesty with mire, and to trample the crown of this blasphemer against Christ under my feet †." When Luther's passion subsided, he became sensible of the error he had committed, and wrote a long letter of apology, dated September 1st, A. D. 1525; in which he most earnestly implored forgiveness for the intemperate language of his book, to which, he says, he had been excited by his majesty's enemies, and not by his own inclination ‡. But the king was not to be appeased. To expose Luther he published his letter, and an answer to it, "to shew the world that he was not so weak as to be ensnared by the flattery of a little foolish friar, nor so fickle as to retract what he had written, and what he knew to be right §."

* Collier, Records, vol. ii. No. iv.

† Ibid. No. iii.

‡ Ibid. No. v.

§ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 59.

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Luther's
books pro-
hibited.

This controversy between the king and Luther, and the title of Defender of the Faith, which he had received from the pope, of which he was exceedingly vain, inflamed his zeal for the church of Rome, and his hatred of the reformers in Germany, and of those who inclined to their opinions in England. Luther had also irritated his great favourite, cardinal Wolsey, by calling him, in his apologetical letter to the king, "that plague of your kingdom, that monster, hated by God and man, the cardinal of York." Luther's person being out of the reach both of the king and cardinal, who were equally incensed against him, they spent their resentment upon his works, and on those who read them. The cardinal, by virtue of his legantine commission, sent a mandate to all the bishops, abbots, and priors, in England, enjoining them to cause an order to be read in all the churches under their jurisdiction, in the time of divine service, commanding all persons, both of the clergy and laity, who had any books written by that pestilent heretic Martin Luther, to deliver them to their ordinary within fifteen days, under the pain of being reputed and punished as heretics. With this mandate he sent a paper to be affixed to the door of every church, containing forty-two propositions, extracted from the works of Luther, which had been condemned by the pope as damnable heresies*. But all these precautions did not prevent the importation of Luther's works, or their being translated into English, but rather increased the curiosity of the people to be acquainted with them.

Convoca-
tions.

A misunderstanding had prevailed for some time between cardinal Wolsey and Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. The cardinal, by his legantine power, his place of chancellor, his immense revenues, and his high favour with the king, quite eclipsed the archbishop, by drawing almost all causes into his courts, and disposing of almost all preferments, both in church and state. But great as his power was, he sometimes stretched it too far. Archbishop Warham had summoned a convocation of the prelates and clergy of his province to meet at St. Paul's, April 20th, A. D. 1523, and the cardinal had summoned a convocation of his province of York to meet at Westminster at the same time. But as soon as the

* Strype, p 37—40. Records, No. ix.

convocation of Canterbury met, and were about to proceed to business, the cardinal summoned them to attend him, April 22d, in a legantine council at Westminster. This extraordinary step gave great offence to the prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury. They obeyed the summons: but when they came to treat of business, the proctors for the clergy observed, that their commissions gave them no authority to treat or vote but in convocation. This objection proved unanswerable, and the cardinal, to his great mortification, was obliged to dismiss his legantine council. The convocation of Canterbury returned to St. Paul's, and granted the king one half of all their benefices for one year, to be paid in five years. The reasons they assigned for granting this extraordinary subsidy were these: "That their most pious king had prevented a schism in the papacy; that by a great army, and a most expensive war, he had preserved Italy and Rome from being conquered by the French; and that he had lately defeated and confounded all the Lutheran heretics, raging like madmen against the church and sacraments, by his most learned book, which it was impossible to praise sufficiently *." The convocation of the province of York sat at the same time at Westminster, and granted the king the same subsidy †.

Though cardinal Wolsey had been constrained to dismiss his legantine or national council, on account of the irregular manner in which it had been called, he was determined to hold such a council, and to shine at the head of all the clergy of England. He therefore summoned all the prelates, both of the regulars and seculars, and the representatives of the inferior clergy, to appear before him, June 2d, at Westminster. The pretence for calling this council was to reform the manners of the clergy, which the cardinal said had been recommended to him by the pope; and in doing it, he declared he was determined to employ all the power and wisdom that God had given him ‡. What was done in this council for the reformation of the clergy we are not informed; but there is sufficient evidence that no remarkable reformation took place at this time, and that the cardinal,

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 699.

† Ibid. p. 698.

‡ Ibid.

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who appeared so zealous for reforming others, had not the wisdom to reform himself. The truth is, that a vicious corrupt clergy, though they may talk and flourish about reformation and purity of manners in their synods and councils, are not likely to be either very zealous or very successful in promoting the real reformation of themselves or others.

Persecu-
tion.

There was one vice, indeed, which the clergy most zealously endeavoured to extirpate. This was what they called the damnable sin of heresy; which consisted in reading the New Testament in English, the works of Wickliff and Luther, and of others of that learning, in denying the infallibility of the pope, transubstantiation, purgatory, praying to saints, worshipping images, &c. &c. Notwithstanding the cruel punishments that had been inflicted on those who entertained these opinions, their number was still considerable; particularly in London, and in Colchester, and other parts of Essex. They called themselves *the Brethren in Christ*, and met together with great secrecy in one another's houses, to read the New Testament and other books, and to converse on religious subjects. Many of them were apprehended and brought before Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of London, and Doctor Wharton, his chancellor. But bishop Tunstal being a prelate of uncommon learning and eloquence, and of great humanity, he generally prevailed upon them to renounce, or rather to dissemble, their opinions, by which they escaped a painful death, but incurred the painful reproaches of their own minds*. This persecution was conducted with much greater severity in the dioceses of Lincoln and Coventry†.

Wolsey's
greatness.

Cardinal Wolsey was now, A. D. 1527, in the zenith of his power and greatness. The pope being detained in prison by the emperor, constituted Wolsey his vicar-general; investing him with all the power of the papacy. Having thus obtained the power, though not the name, of pope, he ruled the church with the most despotic sway, and encroached on the most undisputed rights of the other bishops, as well as of the laity. Among other encroachments, he established a court in his own house, called *York-house*, for all testamentary matters, which annihilated both the business and emolu-

* Strype, b. i. ch. 7, 8.

† Fox, p. 896, &c.

ments of the prerogative court of the archbishop of Canterbury. Against this innovation the archbishop remonstrated again and again, in very strong but decent and respectful terms. But to these remonstrances the haughty vicar-general paid no regard, till he received a message from the king, of whom alone he stood in some awe*.

Great
changes.

Such were the principal transactions, and such the state of the church of England, in the first nineteen years of the reign of Henry VIII. In that period the king was the most zealous champion of the court and church of Rome, and fought the battles of four successive popes by his sword, his purse, and his pen. In consequence of this, he was the greatest favourite of the court of Rome, loaded with the most extravagant praises, adorned with the title of Defender of the Faith, and honoured with the precious presents of consecrated swords, capes, and roses. But the last nineteen years of this reign present us with a very different state of things. In that period the king broke off all subjection to, and connexion with the court of Rome; became their most violent enemy, and laboured to induce other princes to shake off the yoke. He assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England; was acknowledged such by his parliament, by the clergy, by almost all his subjects, and persecuted those to death who refused to acknowledge his supremacy and renounce the pope. By this conduct he cancelled all his former merits with the pope, the cardinals, and all the zealous sons of the church of Rome, who loaded him with curses instead of praises, and represented him as worse than Judas, Caiaphas, or Pilate, and the greatest enemy to God and holy church that ever appeared. At last his holiness thundered out against him the dreadful sentence of excommunication; gave him to the devil, absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanded them to depose him. He enjoined all Christian princes to declare war against him, and to seize all his dominions and every thing that belonged to him, to which he gave them a right†. These great and surprising changes were brought about at once, but by various steps, which we shall now endeavour to trace.

* Strype, b. i. ch. 6.
iii. p. 792.

† Ibid, ch. 43. Wilkin. Concil. tom.

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Instability
of the
church.

Though the authority of the pope, and the tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome, seemed to be firmly established in England in the first part of this reign, the foundations on which they rested were in some degree undermined, and the fabric was not so firm as it appeared. The revival of learning, and the invention of printing, made books more attainable, and some degree of knowledge more general, than they had been in former times. This also gave an opportunity to persons of different opinions to communicate their sentiments to the public. A great number of small books against the authority of the pope, transubstantiation, purgatory, images, pardons, pilgrimages, &c. were published in England, and many of Luther's works were imported and translated. All these were circulated with great secrecy, and perused with great avidity by the people; which rendered great multitudes of them secretly disaffected to the church. The clergy were very sensible of their danger from this quarter, and exerted all their power to prevent the circulation of these books, especially of the New Testament in English, which they represented as perfect poison to the souls of Christians. But all their efforts were ineffectual. The nobility and principal gentlemen hated the clergy, on account of their exorbitant power and riches, their pomp and pride, their rapacity, luxury, and other vices, and the laity in general wished to see them humbled. In a word, the zealous attachment and great power of the king, seem to have been the chief support of the papal power and popish church in England at this time; and when these supports were withdrawn, the ponderous fabric could no longer stand. How these supports came to be withdrawn, is now to be narrated.

Henry's
doubts
about his
marriage.

Henry VIII. lived in great conjugal harmony with his queen Catherine of Spain, his brother's widow, about eighteen years. When he first began to entertain doubts of the legality of his marriage cannot be ascertained: but it was not till A. D. 1527 that he began to disclose these doubts to his confessor Longlands, bishop of Lincoln, to his favourite cardinal Wolsey, and to some others. Having studied this question with great attention, and consulted many of the most learned men in his dominions, he came to be fully convinced that his marriage was incestuous, and contrary to the laws of God and nature; and that the pope could not dispense with these laws.

laws. This conviction, and perhaps some other considerations, made him ardently desirous of obtaining a divorce, that he might be at liberty to contract a more unexceptionable marriage; and he resolved to apply to the pope for that purpose.

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From the time that Henry applied to the court of Rome (A. D. 1526) for a divorce, that affair influenced all his councils and negociations, and directed all his civil and political transactions for several years. It was impossible therefore to give a clear, distinct, intelligible account of these transactions, without relating his negociations at the court of Rome for obtaining the divorce, the delays, artifices, and double dealing of that court, which at length provoked him to withdraw his obedience to the pope, and assume the supremacy in his own dominions, which made way for the many important changes that followed in the church and state of England. For these reasons, the history of the king's divorce from queen Catherine, and of its immediate consequences, hath been already given in the first chapter of this book, to which the reader is referred. We shall now proceed to relate such transactions as were purely ecclesiastical, and that seem to merit a place in history.

History of
the divorce
already
related.

While Henry was negotiating his divorce at the court of Rome, he encouraged his prelates and clergy to persecute all heretics without mercy; and issued a proclamation, commanding his chancellor, the judges of both benches, the justices of the peace, and all other civil officers and magistrates, to assist the bishops in extirpating all heresies and heretics *. Thus instigated and supported, some of the English prelates were exceedingly zealous and active in the cruel business of persecution. Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur, of Cambridge, were men of learning; and having imbibed the principles of Luther and the other reformers of Germany, they propagated these principles in the university, and other places, with ability and success, by their writings, their preaching, and their conversation. They were both apprehended and imprisoned, A. D. 1527; and after suffering a long imprisonment and many hardships, they were prevailed upon by the importunity of their friends, and the dread of a painful death, to ab-

Persecu-
tions.

* Fox, p. 930.

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jure their opinions. But Bilney was soon after seized with the most excruciating remorse for his hypocrisy, and could enjoy no peace of mind till he returned to the profession of his real principles. He was again imprisoned, and soon after burnt at Norwich as a relapsed heretic, and endured the flames, with great composure and fortitude *. About the same time (1530) Thomas Hil-ton, a priest, after a long and severe imprisonment, was burnt at Maidstone †. Doctor John Stokesley, bishop of London, was a more cruel persecutor than any of the English prelates of this time. By him Richard Bay-field, a priest and monk of St. Edmondsbury, was tried and convicted of heresy, for importing, reading, and circulating a great number of books written by Luther, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and others of that damnable sect. When the sentence was ready to be passed, the bishop sent a letter to the mayor and sheriffs of London, requiring them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to be present at passing the sentence, and to take the prisoner into their custody, and burn him to ashes ‡. Soon after this James Bainham, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, eminent for piety, virtue, and learning, was apprehended by an order of the chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and conducted to his house at Chelsea, where he treated him for some time with great kindness, and endeavoured to persuade him to renounce his opinions. But finding all his efforts ineffectual, he commanded him to be tied to a tree in his garden, called the Tree of Truth, and whipped him with his own hand. He then committed him to the Tower, and put him to the rack, to extort from him the names of his friends in the Temple, who entertained the same opinions. All his goods were confiscated, and his wife committed to prison, because she would not discover where her husband's books were concealed. Bainham bore all these sufferings with fortitude, without betraying his friends, or abandoning his principles; and the chancellor, despairing of making any impression on him, sent him to bishop Stokesley to be tried for heresy. He was accordingly tried before the bishop, December 26th A. D. 1531, in Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea, and returned such pointed answers, mostly in scripture language, to a great number

* Fox, p. 910—924.

† Ibid. p. 910.

‡ Ibid. p. 933.

of interrogatories, as discovered him to be a man of learning, good sense, and great integrity. He was found guilty of heresy; and the bishop and chancellor having assailed him with earnest intreaties and persuasions, to save himself from an exquisitely painful death, before the irrevocable sentence was pronounced, his courage failed him, and, with great anguish and agitation of mind, he subscribed his abjuration. But he soon and bitterly repented of what he had done, and wrote a letter to the bishop, expressing his sorrow for his abjuration, on which he was apprehended and condemned as a relapsed heretic, and burnt in Smithfield *. Several other persons in different parts of England, at this time, shared the same fate, and were committed to the flames for heresy.

Cardinal Wolsey selected from both universities several persons who were most eminent for genius and learning, to adorn the new and magnificent college he founded at Oxford; and among others, he made choice of John Frith, of Cambridge. But it was soon discovered that Frith and several others of this select society were infected with heresy, and they were cast into prison, and very harshly treated. The cardinal, who to his honour was averse to persecution, being informed of this, commanded them to be set at liberty, thinking they had suffered sufficiently for their imprudence in discovering their opinions. Soon after Frith recovered his liberty, he went to the continent, where he remained about two years, and returned to England. His return was not long a secret; and so much diligence was used by Sir Thomas More and Bishop Stokesley, in searching for him, that he was at last discovered and apprehended, and committed to the Tower. When he was in the Tower he was engaged in a controversy with Sir Thomas More on transubstantiation, contending that the belief of that doctrine was not necessary to salvation, which Sir Thomas asserted. He had also a dispute with the chancellor and his son-in-law, Mr. Rastal, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, on purgatory. He was drawn into both these controversies much against his will, and managed them with great modesty, as well as learning. But his antagonists had a more effectual way of silencing him

* Fox, p 937—939.

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than by their writings. They brought him to trial for heresy, and pronounced him guilty, because he denied that the belief of transubstantiation and purgatory was necessary to salvation. For that crime, this amiable, virtuous, and learned man, (for such he appears to have been,) was burnt in Smithfield, July 4th, A. D. 1533; and in his company one Andrew Hewel, a young man who had been instructed by him, and seemed ambitious to share his sufferings *. Though Mr. Frith behaved with the most undaunted firmness after he was apprehended, he had neglected no means of escaping from his pursuers, and had suffered great hardships for several months in wandering about under different disguises, in hopes of getting beyond seas. But the ports were strictly guarded, that he could not escape.

Tracee's
testament.

So ardent was the zeal of some of the English prelates at this time against what they call heresy, that they not only wreaked their vengeance on the living, but on the ashes of dead heretics, by committing them to the flames. William Tracee, a gentleman in Gloucestershire, in his last will, declared, that he did not think it necessary to pray to faints, or to celebrate masses for the souls of the dead, and therefore he left no money for that purpose. When this testament was produced in court to be proved, it was challenged as heretical, and carried to archbishop Warham. Tracee was tried and found guilty of heresy, A. D. 1533, and a sentence was pronounced, that his body should be taken out of the grave and burnt. The execution of this sentence was committed to Doctor Parker, chancellor of Worcester, by whom it was executed. Though Henry was sufficiently fierce against heresy and heretics, he was shocked at this transaction when it came to his knowledge. Doctor Parker was questioned for burning Tracee's body without a writ *de heretico comburendo*, (which he did not think necessary in burning a dead heretic,) and compounded the delinquency by paying 300*l.* to the king †.

Many ab-
jured.

Besides these above mentioned, a great multitude of men and women, in different parts of England, were cruelly persecuted at this time for denying transubstantiation, purgatory, the worship of images, praying to faints, and other peculiar tenets and ceremonies of the

* Fox, p. 941—946.

† Ibid. p. 951.

church of Rome. But the far greatest part of these sufferers, after enduring imprisonment and other hardships, were prevailed upon, by the importunity of their friends and the fear of death, outwardly to renounce opinions which they inwardly believed, and became hypocrites rather than martyrs. Enough hath been said on this unpleasant subject at present, to shew the cruel intolerant spirit of the king and the clergy of England, immediately before their separation from the church of Rome; and to preserve the memory of those good, pious, and brave men, who preferred death to dissimulation, and resigned their lives rather than their principles, which they thereby more effectually recommended, than they could have done by any other means.

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When the patience of Henry VIII. was worn out by the dilatory and delusive conduct of the court of Rome, and he almost despaired of obtaining what he thought justice from that court, in the affair of his divorce, the ardour of his attachment to Rome began to abate: he could not bear to hear that the power of the pope was not unlimited; that he could not dispense with the laws of God; and even that the authority which the bishops of Rome had so long exercised over the universal church, was an usurped authority, from which he at length determined to emancipate himself and his subjects. This he knew would save them no little labour and a great deal of money, and would bring a great accession both of power and revenue to the crown. He was aware that he would meet with great opposition in the execution of this design, and that the court of Rome would move heaven and earth to raise him up enemies, both at home and abroad. He resolved therefore to proceed with caution, and to carry the parliament, the convocation, and his other subjects, along with him in every step.

Henry resolves to break with the pope.

So early as A. D. 1529, Henry threw out a threatening, that if the pope did not do him justice without delay, he would withdraw himself and his subjects from all obedience to him, and connexion with him. This threatening was not, perhaps, sincere; it is certain it was not believed. The pope and cardinals could not imagine that the great champion of the church, who had been so proud of the honours he had received for fighting their battles with his sword, his purse, and his pen,

Parliament.

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pen, would ever forsake them: it had therefore no effect; and Henry meeting with fresh delays and disappointments, resolved to execute, or at least to shew the pope that he could execute, what he had threatened. The parliament that met for the first time, November 5th, A. D. 1529, proved very complying with the king's views, and was therefore continued about six years by various prorogations; and in its several sessions made great changes in the state of the church of England. In the very first session, the House of Commons discovered not a little dissatisfaction with the conduct of the clergy, particularly with the exorbitant exactions of the spiritual court in the probates of wills, and of the parish priests in mortuaries; and laws were made for regulating and restraining these exactions*. When these bills were passing the House of Commons, some of the members spoke with great warmth against the extortions of the spiritual courts, and others painted the cruelty of incumbents in demanding mortuaries in very strong colours†. In a word, the clergy of England, immediately before the reformation, and at the opening of this parliament, were in very disagreeable circumstances; they were not only hated by all who secretly wished for a reformation, for the cruelty with which they persecuted those whom they denominated heretics; but they were envied and disliked, on several accounts, by the generality of the laity of all ranks: and they were also in a præmunire, and at the king's mercy, which made them more tractable, and more feeble in their opposition to the great changes that soon after followed, than they would have been in better circumstances.

In the next session of this parliament, which commenced July 30th, A. D. 1530, a bolder step was taken. The House of Lords wrote a spirited letter to the pope, accusing him, in very plain terms, of ingratitude and injustice in delaying and declining to grant their sovereign the divorce which he solicited, and which had been pronounced just and necessary by the most famous universities and most learned men in Europe. In conclusion, they declared, that if his holiness refused or delayed to grant their just request, they would seek and

* Statutes, 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 5, 6.

† Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 739.

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find relief some other way *. This famous letter was subscribed by twenty-eight spiritual and forty-two temporal lords. It was evidently intended to alarm the pope, by shewing him that if the king was provoked by further delays to withdraw his obedience to the see of Rome, he would not be deserted by his subjects, nor even by his clergy. But it did not produce the desired effect. His holiness returned a smooth and artful answer, (September 27th, A. D. 1530,) in which he bestowed the highest commendations on the king, expressing his own gratitude for his many great services, and his earnest desire to oblige him as far as he could with justice, in the strongest terms. But that when the queen suspected the two cardinals appointed to try the cause in England of partiality, and appealed to the apostolical tribunal, he could not refuse to admit her appeal without injustice. That all the subsequent delays had been owing to the king himself, who refused to send a proctor to Rome to plead his cause. He concluded with saying, “As for
“ what you mention in the end of your letter, that un-
“ less we grant your request herein you shall imagine
“ that the care of yourselves is remitted into your own
“ hands, and that you are at liberty to seek remedy
“ herein elsewhere: this is a resolution neither worthy
“ of your prudence, nor becoming your Christianity;
“ and we therefore, of our fatherly love, exhort you to
“ abstain from any such rash attempt †.”

The king now almost despaired of obtaining a divorce by a sentence of the pope, and therefore he brought that affair before his parliament in its next session, March 30th, A. D. 1531, as hath been already related. He laid the same business also at the same time before the convocation, and produced the opinions of so many universities and learned men against the legality of his marriage, as convinced a great majority of both the upper and lower house, that the marriage was contrary to the laws of God and nature, and that the pope could not dispense with these laws. The king being now confident of the concurrence both of the parliament and convocation in any steps he should find it necessary to take against the pope, he boldly assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England. This title ap-

The king
supreme
head of
the church.

* Herbert, p. 141.

† Ibid. p. 145.

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peared for the first time in the petition of the convocation of the province of Canterbury to the king, for relief from the penalties of their præmunire, by a pardon. It did not pass in the convocation without opposition; but being assured by Thomas Cromwell, and some others of the privy council, that their petition would be rejected if they gave not the king that title, the opposers silently acquiesced. Both the clergy and the laity in the north were more bigotted than those in the south; and the giving the king this title met with more opposition in the convocation of York than of Canterbury; but as they found they could not obtain their pardon on any other terms, they at length submitted *. Only Culbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, protested against that title †.

Annats
given to
the king.

This was not designed to be an insignificant empty title, but was intended to convey to the king, in his own dominions, all the powers and revenues which the pope had long possessed in England. To convince the court of Rome that this was his intention, and that he could accomplish it, the next session of parliament, A. D. 1532, transferred one considerable branch of revenue, the annats or first fruits, from the pope to the king ‡. This was a severe blow, as these annats amounted to no small sum, and as it was a prelude to similar transfers of other branches of the papal revenues. This proceeding was very disagreeable to many of the English clergy, as they saw its tendency to a breach with Rome, and to subject them in all things to their own sovereign, and the laws of their country, in common with the laity. Archbishop Warham, finding that the torrent began to run against the pope and church, particularly in the House of Commons, protested in the hands of a notary public before three witnesses, February 24th, 1532, in his palace of Lambeth, against all the laws that had been made, by the present parliament, in derogation of the authority of the pope, or the rights and immunities of the church §. The design of this private protest against those laws to which he had given his consent in public, is not very obvious.

* Burnet, p. 112.

† Ibid. p. 117.

‡ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 745.

§ Ibid. p. 746.

The House of Commons in this session presented a petition to the king against the clergy, complaining that they harrassed the laity by vexatious prosecutions in their spiritual courts; and that they made and executed laws and canons without the royal assent; and that some of these canons were contrary to the laws of the land. The king transmitted this complaint of the commons to the convocation that was then sitting, and commanded them to return an answer. In this answer (which is written with uncommon art) they affirm, that they exercised their spiritual jurisdiction with the greatest lenity, except "upon certain evil-disposed persons, infected and utterly corrupt with the pestilent poison of heresy; and to have peace with such, it had been against the Gospel of our Saviour Christ, wherein he saith, *non veni mittere pacem, sed gladium.*" In their answer to the second article of complaint, they assert roundly, "We repute and take our authority of making laws to be grounded upon the scripture of God, and determination of holy church." They add, that as they derived their authority to make laws from God, "we may not submit the execution of our charge and duty, certainly prescribed by God, to your highness's assent, although in very deed the same be most worthy." With respect to the inconsistency which the commons pretended was between the laws of the land, and the canons of the church, they observed, that as the canons were made by the authority, and were perfectly agreeable to the will of God, it would be proper for his grace and his parliament to change their laws, and bring them to a perfect conformity to those of the church. This was a strain rather too bold for the times, as they soon after found *.

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The commons complain of the clergy.

Convocation.

The king was far from being pleased with this answer, and soon brought the clergy to lower their tone. He sent them two propositions, to which he demanded their assent: "1. That no constitution or ordinance shall be hereafter by the clergy enacted, promulgated, or put in execution, unless the king's highness do approve the same by his high authority and royal assent. 2. That whereas divers of the constitutions provincial, which have been heretofore enacted, be

* Wilkin. p. 730.

"thought

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“ thought not only much prejudicial to the king’s prerogative, but also much onerous to his highness’s subjects, it be committed to the examination and judgment of thirty-two persons; whereof sixteen to be of the upper and lower house of the temporality, and other sixteen of the clergy; all to be appointed by the king’s highness: so that, finally, whichsoever of the said constitutions shall be thought and determined by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, worthy to be abrogate and annulled, the same to be afterwards taken away, and to be of no force or strength.” Nothing could be more disagreeable to the generality of the clergy than these two propositions, which tended to deprive them of the independent power of making and executing laws, which they pretended they had received from God, and to subject the sacred canons of the church to be examined and repealed by laymen. The convocation held several meetings on this subject, and proposed various emendations: in particular, they proposed to submit all their canons to the examination of the king alone: “ Having (say they) especial trust and confidence in your most high and excellent wisdom, your princely goodness, and fervent zeal to the promotion of God’s honour and the Christian religion, and especially your incomparable learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of.” But all this flattery was ineffectual. No alteration of the propositions would be admitted, and they were at last (May 16th, A. D. 1532) obliged to give their assent to the propositions as they stood. But before they did this, they gave in a paper to the king, in which they declared, that they gave their assent to these propositions only in consideration of his high wisdom, great learning and infinite goodness to them and the church; and asserted in the strongest terms, their divine right to make and execute laws without the royal assent, “ which (add they) your highness yourself, in your own book, most excellently written against Martin Luther, doth not only acknowledge and confess, but also with most vehement and inexpugnable reasons and authorities doth defend, which we reckon, that of your honour, you cannot, and of your goodness

“ neffs

“ nefs you will not revoke.” This was a severe stroke, which was probably remembered to their disadvantage*.

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Death of
archbishop
Warham.

Archbishop Warham did not long survive this mortifying transaction. He died in the month of August, A.D. 1532. Hewas a man of learning, and possessed uncommon prudence and command of temper, which he had frequent opportunities of exercising. In the former part of his pontificate he was eclipsed and controlled by the overpowering influence of cardinal Wolsey, who, by his favour with the king, and his legantine commission from the pope, ingrossed almost all power, both in church and state; and in the last part of it, he was much disquieted by the misunderstanding between the king and the pope, by the attacks of the laity upon the church and clergy, and by the increase of those opinions which he esteemed heretical. His severity in the prosecution of heretics was the greatest blemish in his character; but it should be considered, that in those times mercy to those who dissented from the church was considered as one of the greatest crimes in a prelate, and persecution to death as one of the greatest virtues; so strangely were the minds of men perverted by bigotry and superstition.

Henry having for some time entertained a very high opinion of the learning, prudence, and integrity of Doctor Thomas Cranmer, resolved to raise him to the primacy, and with that view recalled him from his embassy at the imperial court. Cranmer, who was neither covetous nor ambitious, was far from being delighted with the prospect of this great promotion; on the contrary, foreseeing the difficulties and dangers with which it would be attended, he declined it with much earnestness and sincerity. But the king was positive; and he complied, in hopes of promoting a reformation in the church, of which he was sensible of the necessity*.

Doctor
Cranmer
primate.

A difficulty soon occurred. Doctor Cranmer had strong scruples about taking the oath of canonical obedience to the pope, both because he thought it inconsistent with the oath he was to take to the king, and because he apprehended that it would restrain him from promoting that reformation in the church which he intended; and for these scruples

consecrated

* Wilkin. p 748—755.

† Strype's Life of Cranmer, ch. 4.

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it is certain there was some ground. But as the king at this time entertained hopes of a reconciliation with the court of Rome, which he still desired; and as the pope had approved of the election of Doctor Cranmer, and had sent over all the bulls for his consecration; it was thought necessary not to omit the oath which these bulls required. This question was at length referred to certain canonists and casuists, who proposed the following salvo, that the primate elect, before he took the oath to the pope, should make a formal protestation: "That he did not intend, by taking the oath, to restrain himself from doing what he thought to be his duty to God, to his king, and his country." This salvo, though liable to great objections, was adopted. He made the proposed protestation before he took the oath of canonical obedience, and was consecrated, March 13th, A. D. 1533, by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph *. As both the parliament and convocation were then sitting, the new primate was immediately engaged in very important transactions, which have been already related, viz. the dissolution of the king's marriage with his first queen Catherine of Spain, and the confirmation of his marriage with his second queen Anne Boleyn †.

Breach be-
tween
Rome and
England.

Several efforts were made by Henry, A. D. 1533, aided by his ally the king of France, to prevail upon the pope to dissolve the marriage between him and his queen Catherine, to prevent a total rupture between Rome and England, and to pave the way for a reconciliation. But all these efforts were unsuccessful, and a rash sentence pronounced by the pope (under the influence, it is said, of passion) in a full consistory, March 23d, A. D. 1534, confirming the marriage between Henry and Catherine, and declaring it lawful, brought that tedious and perplexing affair to a crisis, and produced a total breach between the court and church of Rome and the court and church of England ‡: one of the most important and propitious events in the history of Great Britain.

Acts of
parlia-
ment.

The breach being now made became daily wider and wider; mutual injuries were multiplied; and the English parliament made several acts, and the convocation several canons, which rendered a reconciliation almost impossible. The act that had been made in a former

* Burnet, p. 128.

† See chap. i. sect. ii.

‡ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii p. 769.

session of this parliament against the payment of first fruits to the pope was confirmed, and many new clauses added concerning the election and consecration of prelates, without any application to Rome for bulls of any kind; and those who violated this law were declared to be in a premunire *. By another act, all appeals to the pope and his court at Rome were prohibited, under the same penalty; and the power of determining causes in the last resort was in some cases conferred on the primate, and in others on the king †. By another law, which is very long and particular, all payments to the pope, for Peter-pence, dispensations, procurations, provisions, bulls, delegacies, rescripts, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, rehabilitations, abolitions, &c. &c. are prohibited ‡. By these laws the pope was deprived of all the power and all the revenues he had long possessed in England. This was a severe blow, which, it is probable, his holiness did not expect. These laws were first brought into the House of Commons, and they treated the pope with little respect or ceremony, calling him and his predecessors impostors, who had long deceived the world by false pretences, and usurpers of powers and prerogatives to which they had no title. If any person in England had used this language only a few years before, he would have been committed to the flames. The same parliament in its next session, November, A. D. 1534, granted to the king, as supreme head on earth of the church of England, and to his heirs and successors, all the powers, prerogatives, and emoluments, they had taken from the pope, which brought a great accession both of power and revenue to the crown §.

Precautions.

Henry and his ministers were at no little pains to reconcile the minds of his subjects of all ranks to this great change in the government of the church, and to eradicate their veneration for the pope, and their respect for his authority, to which they had been so long accustomed. With this view he procured and published the opinions of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge: "That the bishop of Rome had no more authority in England by the word of God, than any other foreign bishop." All the English bishops subscribed and sealed, and took a solemn oath to adhere to the same opinion. The

* Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20.

† Ibid. cap. 19.

‡ Ibid. cap. 21.

§ Statutes, 29 Hen. VIII. cap. 1. and 2.

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name of the pope was struck out of all the books that were used in the service of the church. A very strict injunction was issued, commanding all prelates to preach every Sunday and holiday in support of the king's supremacy, and against the authority of the bishop of Rome, and to command their clergy to do the same. Instructions were sent to all the sheriffs to keep a watchful eye on the clergy in their several counties, and to send up the names of such as did not preach against the pope's authority, and in vindication of the king's supremacy; or did it in a delusory superficial manner. Even schoolmasters were enjoined to give proper instructions to their scholars on these subjects. Several books were written and circulated with great industry, to convince the world, that the dominion which the bishop of Rome claimed and exercised over the Christian church, as Christ's vicar upon earth, was an usurpation, and had no foundation in scripture*. Spies were sent into all parts of the country, and even into Scotland, to hear and report the observations that were made upon the late transaction†. These prudent precautions were neither unnecessary, nor without effect: they were not unnecessary, because several of the clergy, particularly the friars, travelled up and down the country, preaching with vehemence in support of the papal pretensions, and inflaming the minds of the people against the king for assuming the supremacy. They were not without effect, because they put a stop to the inflammatory declamations of those dangerous incendiaries; and encouraged such of the clergy as wished for a reformation, and even some who had nothing at heart but their own promotion, to endeavour by their preaching and writings to convince the people, that the claim of the bishop of Rome to the government of the whole church was not well founded; and that the king had an undoubted right to the supremacy in his own dominions, by which the peace of the kingdom was at this time preserved‡.

Still further to secure the public tranquillity, the sentence of divorce that had been pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury between the king and his first queen Catherine, and the sentence of the same prelate

* Wilkin. p. 771—776.

† Strype's Mem. ch. 21.

‡ Strype, ch. 20. 21, 22, 23, 24.

confirming the king's marriage with his second queen Anne Boleyn, were confirmed by parliament; and by the same act the succession to the crown was settled on the king's issue male by Queen Anne, or any future queen; and failing them, on the princess Elizabeth and her issue, by which the princess Mary was excluded as illegitimate. This act was to be published in every county of the kingdom before the 1st of May, A. D. 1534; and if any person after that day, did any thing, by act or writing, to disparage the king's present marriage, or to defeat the succession as then settled, he was to be punished as a traitor; and all subjects above the age of twenty-one were appointed to take a solemn oath, acknowledging the legality of the king's marriage with Queen Anne, and engaging to support the succession*. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, (as hath been before narrated,) fell sacrifices to this law; and the execution of two persons so eminent for their rank, and so renowned for their piety, virtue, and learning, struck terror into all others. The oath was taken not only by the laity of all ranks, but by all the clergy both regular and secular, though it contained a clause acknowledging the king's supremacy; and declaring that the bishop of Rome had no more authority in England than any other foreign bishop†. The pope therefore appeared now to have lost all his influence, and all his partisans in England. But this was a fallacious appearance. Great multitudes took this oath only to save their lives, and with a resolution to break it as soon as they could do it with safety.

Though the church of England was now separated from the church of Rome, it still retained all the doctrines and ceremonies, together with the odious persecuting spirit, of that church. The king, in the beginning of 1535, issued a proclamation, threatening death without mercy to all who denied or disputed the doctrine of transubstantiation, or any of the other doctrines of holy church, or who contemned or violated any of the laudable rites and ceremonies heretofore used; as holy bread, holy water, procession, kneeling, and creeping to the cross on Good Friday, &c. &c. By this proclamation such of the clergy as had married were deprived of

Proclama-
tion.

* Statutes, 25 Hen. cap. 22.

† Wilem. Concil. tom. iii. p. 774. 780, 781, 782.

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their orders and benefices, and declared to be laymen; and such as presumed to marry afterwards were not only to be deprived, but also imprisoned and punished as the king pleased *. Several Anabaptists, who had fled from persecution in Germany, and had taken shelter in England about this time, were apprehended and put to death, not only for their doctrine concerning baptism, but chiefly for denying transubstantiation *. In a word, no idea was yet entertained of the right of private judgment in matters of religion. Henry was the pope of England; heresy was still accounted the greatest of all crimes, and subjected those who were convicted of it to the most cruel of all punishments.

Cromwell
vicegerent.

The king being now fully invested with the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, and with all the powers annexed to that title, resolved to exercise these powers in their full extent. To accomplish this, he appointed Thomas Cromwell, then secretary of state, his vicar-general and vicegerent, with authority to visit all ecclesiastical persons and communities in his dominions, to rectify and correct all abuses, and, in a word, to do every thing that he himself could do as supreme head of the church of England. He granted him also a power to give commissions, under the great seal, to such persons as he should think proper, to assist him in performing the duties of that high and arduous office. Cromwell accordingly gave commissions to Doctors Leighton, Lee, London, and many other persons, containing very ample powers to visit all churches, metropolitical, cathedral, and collegiate; all monasteries and priories, both of men and women; to inquire into the conduct of archbishops, bishops, and dignitaries; of abbots and priors, abbeesses, prioresses, monks, and nuns, both as to spirituals and temporals; and to censure and punish such as were found delinquents, according to their demerits †.

Visitation
of monas-
teries.

Though these commissioners were authorised to visit the secular clergy, even of the highest dignity, this, it is probable, was not designed to be executed, but only to exhibit an appearance of impartiality, and to conceal from the monastics the dreadful blow that was intended

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 778.

† Ibid. p. 784, 785.

† Ibid. p. 779.

to be given to them. It is certain the instructions that were given to these visitors relate only to convents, and bore the following title: "Articles to be inquired into in this royal visitation of monasteries, especially of those who are exempt from the jurisdiction of their diocesan, who are now at last subjected to the jurisdiction of his majesty." These instructions are very particular, and consist of no fewer than eighty-six articles: many of them relate to the state and management of their revenues, their relics, jewels, plate, furniture, corn, cattle, and goods of every kind. Several of them seem to intimate a suspicion, that the monks and nuns did not observe their vows of chastity very strictly, and suggest the inquiries to be made on that subject. They were to inquire, whether the monks of any monastery were defamed for incontinency; whether women were observed to resort to it by back-ways; and whether boys and young men frequently slept with the abbot, or the monks. With respect to nunneries, they were directed to examine very carefully the height of the outward wall, the strength of the doors and windows, and of their bars and bolts; to search very diligently for dark and secret passages; to inquire whether the gates and doors were kept shut, and whether the keys were ever committed to the keeping of any of the young nuns, &c. &c*.

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Henry had various reasons to dislike the monks: he was provoked by their declamations, both public and private, against his divorce: he suspected them of conveying intelligence to his enemies abroad, and of fomenting disaffection among his subjects at home. Though they had lately taken a solemn oath to support his supremacy, he knew they were still devoted to the pope, his greatest enemy. Their spoils also presented a tempting bait to a prince who was at once profuse and covetous. It was evidently hazardous to attempt to overturn an establishment so ancient, so opulent, and which had long been esteemed sacred. But several circumstances now concurred to render such an attempt less dangerous than formerly. The monks were hated by the secular clergy, had lost the favour of the laity of all ranks by their vices, and could expect no protection

Henry dis-
likes the
monks.

* Wilkin. Cancil. tom. iii. p. 786—789.

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Reports of
the visi-
tors.

from their great patron at Rome. Henry was encouraged to attack them by Cranmer and Cromwell, who thought their revenues might be employed to better purposes; and the present visitation was intended to pave the way for their suppression, by detecting and exposing their secret enormities and vices.

The visitors, having received their commissions and instructions, were dispatched into different parts of the kingdom at the same time, that the monks might have as little warning of their approach as possible. They executed their commissions with zeal and diligence, and made some curious discoveries almost in every house, and not much to the honour of its inhabitants. In making these discoveries they were greatly indebted to the violent factions and animosities which reigned among the monks and nuns, who informed against one another, and against their superiors. Accounts of their proceedings were transmitted by the visitors to the vicar-general, and contained sufficient materials to render the monastics completely infamous, and the objects of universal detestation, for their gross absurd superstitions and idolatry, their infernal cruelty, their shameful impositions on the credulity of the people, their abandoned unnatural incontinency, their drunkenness, gluttony, and other vices. Some of the old abbots and friars did not attempt to conceal their amours, which they knew to be impossible. The holy father the prior of Maiden Bradley, assured the visitors that he had only married six of his sons and one of his daughters out of the goods of his priory as yet; but that several more of his children were now grown up, and would soon be marriageable. He produced a dispensation from the pope permitting him to keep a mistress; and he acquainted them, that he took none but young maidens to be his mistresses, the handsomest he could procure; and when he was disposed to change, he got them good husbands*. But the page of history must not be stained with the abominations contained in the reports of these visitors. It may be sufficient to lay before the reader, a short description of their contents in the preamble to the act of parliament which they produced: "Forasmuch as manifold sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living, is daily used and committed in abbeys, priories, and other re-

* Strype, ch. 34, 35.

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“ religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns; and al-
 “ beit, many continual visitations hath been heretofore
 “ had by the space of two hundred years and more,
 “ for an honest charitable reformation of such unthrifty,
 “ carnal, and abominable living, yet nevertheless little
 “ or none amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious
 “ living shamefully increaseth and augmenteth, &c. *”

It is but just to notice, that though the corruption of the
 monastics in England at this time was very general, it
 was not universal: some in almost every monastery were
 regular in their conduct, and at their own desire were
 set at liberty. A few convents were found to be well
 governed, and unexceptionable: and for the preservation
 of these, the visitors pleaded with great earnestness †.
 This affords a presumptive proof, that the complaints of
 the delinquent monks, of the extreme severity of the vi-
 sitors, were not well founded.

Having received ample information of the state of the
 convents, and the manners of their inhabitants, it was
 debated in council what was proper to be done; and on
 this subject several schemes were proposed †. It was be-
 lieved to be dangerous to attempt the dissolution of all
 the religious houses in the kingdom at once; it was
 therefore very prudently resolved to begin with the smal-
 ler monasteries, which were said to be the most corrupt,
 and were certainly the weakest. The reports of the vi-
 sitors were laid before parliament, which furnished the
 enemies of the monastics with materials for declaiming
 against them, and almost stopped the mouths of their
 friends. By the last act of the long parliament in April
 1536, all the houses of monks, canons, and nuns, that
 had not above 200*l.* of yearly revenue, and did not con-
 tain above twelve members, were dissolved, and all their
 lands and goods granted to the king. By the same act,
 all the resignations that had been made of religious houses
 by their superiors to the king were confirmed §. The
 number of religious houses dissolved by this act was three
 hundred and seventy-six, and their former possessors
 were removed into the greater convents of the same or-
 der. The annual revenues arising from their lands was
 computed to be 32,000*l.*; and their jewels, plate, and

Small mo-
nasteries
dissolved.

* Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28.

† Strype, p. 250.

‡ Ibid. p. 271, &c.

§ Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28.

furniture,

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Transla-
tion of the
bible.

furniture, with their corn, cattle, and other goods, were estimated at 100,000*l.*: but both these computations were much below their real value.

Several severe proclamations had been issued by the king, at the requisition of the clergy, against all who read, or kept by them, Tindal's Translation of the New Testament into English. A copy of this book found in the possession of any person was sufficient to convict him of heresy, and subject him to the flames. The bishops were at incredible pains to prevent the importation of those dangerous volumes, to seize them after their importation, and to punish the importers and purchasers. They pretended that Tindal's Translation was full of errors, and heresies; and they promised to prepare and publish a more faithful translation: but they were in no haste to perform their promise. In the mean time, those of the people of all ranks who suspected that many errors prevailed in the church, and wished for a reformation, became more and more importunate and impatient to have the use of the scriptures in their native language. At length archbishop Cranmer wishing to gratify this laudable desire of the people, obtained the king's permission to prepare a translation of the Bible, to be published by authority. To accomplish this work, Cranmer divided the New Testament into nine parts, chose nine of the best Greek scholars he could find, and committed the translating of one of these parts to each. When they were all translated and returned to him, he sent one of these parts to one of the most learned of his brethren the bishops, to be corrected, and returned with their observations. Eight of the nine bishops complied with this requisition; but Stokesley, bishop of London, returned his part (the Acts of the Apostles) with a surly message: That he disapproved the allowing the use of the scriptures to the people, which would betray them into damnable errors, and disturb the peace of the church. The primate expressing some surprise at this message, one of the company observed, that Doctor Stokesley would give himself no trouble about any testament in which he had no legacy; and besides (said he) the apostles were so poor that they are quite below the notice of my lord of London. This translation was not published till about three years after the order for preparing it was granted*.

* Burnet, p. 195.

In a convocation of the province of Canterbury at St. Paul's, June 21st, A. D. 1536, the lord Cromwell took his seat above the archbishop as the king's vicegerent. In the fourth session, June 23d, doctor Gwent, prolocutor of the lower house, brought up a complaint to the higher house, that many dangerous errors and damnable heresies were now publicly preached in all parts of England; and produced a schedule of no fewer than sixty-seven of those abuses, errors, and heresies, and required that they should be reformed. Many of these pretended errors and abuses are now the established doctrines and practices of the church of England; such as preaching against transubstantiation, purgatory, extreme unction, auricular confession, penances, pardons, indulgences, praying to saints, worshipping images, and relics; pilgrimages, holy water, hallowed oil, bread, candles, ashes, and palms; and in a word, against all doctrines that have no foundation in scripture, and all ceremonies that are merely of human invention. Against all these, the clergy of the lower house of convocation complained, that some heretical preachers declaimed, and many of the people talked, with impunity*. This is a sufficient proof, that the principles and spirit of the reformation had at this time made no great progress among the clergy of the province of Canterbury. Though they had, with extreme reluctance, renounced the supremacy of the pope, they still retained their attachment to all the tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome.

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XVI.Convoca-
tion.

The clergy of the province of York were still more averse to all reformation, than their brethren in the south. The vicegerent had sent ten interrogatories to them, to which he required their answers. We may guess at the questions by the answers. To the first they answered—That all who preached against purgatory, worshipping of saints, pilgrimages, images, &c. should be committed to the flames as heretics. To the second—That neither the king, nor any temporal man, could be supreme head of the church by the laws of God. To the third—That they were not sufficiently instructed in the fact to return any answer. To the fourth—That no clerk ought to be put to death without degradation. To the fifth—That no man ought to be drawn out of

York con-
vocation.

* Wilkin. p. 805.

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sanctuary, but in certain cases expressed in the laws of the church. To the sixth—That the clergy in the north had not granted the tenths and first-fruits to the king in convocation; and by the laws of the church, they can make no such grant; and that they had not given their consent to the act of parliament. They think, that by the laws of God no temporal man can claim such tenths and first-fruits. To the seventh—That laws given to God, the church, or religious men, may not be taken away, and put to profane uses, by the laws of God. To the eighth—We think dispensations lawfully granted by the pope to be good; and pardons have been allowed by general councils, and the laws of the church. To the ninth—We think, that by the law of the church, general councils, interpretations of approved doctors, and consent of Christian people, the pope of Rome hath been taken for the head of the church, and vicar of Christ; and so ought to be taken. This was a very extraordinary answer from men who had lately renounced the supremacy of the pope, and acknowledged the supremacy of the king by a solemn oath. They had probably obtained a dispensation from Rome. To the tenth they answered—We think, that the examination and correction of deadly sin belongeth to the ministers of the church, by God's law *. Besides these answers, they boldly demanded the restoration of the monasteries, and the repeal of several acts of parliament. In these answers and demands we discover the seeds of that formidable rebellion, called the Pilgrimage of Grace, that broke out in the north in October, A. D. 1536, about two months after this convocation. The demands of the insurgents were in the same spirit, and almost in the same words, with the answers of the convocation.

England was at this time a scene of great anxiety and agitation, of violent animosities and disputes between the friends and enemies of reformation. The bishops were equally divided. Cranmer of Canterbury, Goodrich of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worcester, Fox of Hereford, Hildley of Rochester, and Barlow of Saint David's, favoured, and endeavoured to promote, a reformation both in the doctrines and ceremonies of the church; which was opposed with equal zeal by Lee

* Strype's Appendix, No. lxxiv.

of York, Stokesley of London, Tunstall of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Sherborne of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle *. The dignitaries in the several sees generally co-operated with their bishops; the inferior clergy, and the laity of all ranks, were no less divided, and as warmly engaged in this controversy. Many books were published on both sides, and passionate altercations raged in cities, towns, and villages, between the two parties. The king, desirous to allay this ferment, which threatened the most dangerous commotions, gave a commission to the bishops and some other learned men to draw up certain articles of union, to be published by royal authority, as the creed and ritual of the church of England, in which all the subjects were to be commanded to acquiesce. After many meetings and much altercation, the commissioners finished their work; each party relinquishing some of their peculiar opinions, in order to preserve others. It consisted of two parts: the first contained the doctrines necessary to be believed; and the second, the ceremonies proper to be retained to promote devotion. In the first part, the people were commanded to believe every thing contained in the scriptures and three creeds; that called the Apostle's, the Nicene, and the Athanasian. The three sacraments, of baptism, of penance, and of the altar, are explained, and declared to be necessary to salvation. In the explanation of baptism, the necessity of baptizing infants is asserted, and rebaptism is declared to be a damnable heresy. In the explanation of penance, auricular confession to a priest is made necessary; and the people were to be taught to give no less faith and credence to the words "of absolution pronounced by the ministers of the church, than they would give unto the very voice and words of God himself, if he should speak unto us out of heaven." This most impious and pernicious doctrine was too honourable and advantageous to the clergy to be soon relinquished. In the explanation of the sacrament of the altar, transubstantiation is asserted in the strongest terms that could be devised. This first part concludes with an explanation of the doctrine of justification, nearly the same with that which hath been adopted by all Protestant churches. In the

* Fuller, p. 212.

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second part, concerning ceremonies, images were to be continued in churches, and the people were to be permitted to present offerings to them, to kneel, and to burn incense before them; but they were to be taught that this was not done to the images themselves, but to the honour of God; "for else there might fortune of idolatry to ensue, which God forbid." This doth not seem to have been the most effectual way to prevent idolatry. Saints were to be honoured, but not with that confidence and honour that are only due unto God: that it was proper to pray to them to be our intercessors, and to pray for us to Almighty God. The people were to be instructed, "to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy, and also to cause others to pray for them in masses and exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for them; whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain." By this the emoluments of the clergy were secured under the name of alms. The people were to be enjoined and exhorted to observe almost all the former ceremonies; but they were to be taught, "that none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven*." These articles were published by the king, and all his subjects were commanded to receive and obey them. The friends of reformation seem to have gained some advantage on this occasion. The scriptures and the three ancient creeds were made the standards of doctrine, without any mention of tradition. Four of the seven sacraments were omitted; purgatory was left doubtful, pilgrimages were not enjoined, and several other things were explained and softened. Both parties, however, were discontented. The Papists complained that too much of the former system was given up; and the Reformers, that too much of it was retained. These articles were subscribed by all the members of both houses of convocation†.

Injunctions.

Thomas Lord Cromwell, the king's vicar-general, published injunctions from time to time, directing the clergy what doctrines they were to preach, and instructing them, in an authoritative manner, how to perform the various duties of their sacred office. This was humiliat-

* Fuller, p. 215, &c.

† Wilkin. p. 817.

ing to the clergy, but it was necessary. Many of the parish priests never preached, and others of them preached only on such subjects as tended to inflame the bigotry and superstition of the people. The vicar-general, therefore, in his injunctions, commanded all rectors, vicars, and curates to preach one sermon in each quarter of the year: "Wherein," says he, "ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to works of charity, mercy, and faith, specially prescribed and commanded in scripture, and not to repose their trust and affiance in any other works devised by men's fantasies, besides scripture; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, to images or relics, or kissing or licking the same. If ye have heretofore declared to your parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth pilgrimages, feigned relics, or images, or any such superstition, ye shall now openly before the same recant and reprove the same; shewing them, as the truth is, that ye did the same upon no ground of scripture, but as one led and seduced by a common error and abuse crept into the church, through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same*." These and several other injunctions in the same strain and spirit, that were published by the vicar-general, A. D. 1536-7, were drawn up by archbishop Cranmer: but they were very disagreeable to the great body of the clergy, who still retained a cordial affection to all the gainful tenets of the church of Rome. So much were many of the clergy dissatisfied with these injunctions, that they read them in such a manner that none could understand them, and told their people in private, to do as their fathers had done, and that the old way was the best†.

Henry VIII. became more and more tenacious of his new title of supreme head of the church of England, when he found that it brought him a very great accession both of power and revenue. At the same time he knew that the monastics of all the different orders in his dominions were secret enemies to his supremacy, and devoted to the pope. He determined, therefore, first to disgrace them, by exposing their vices and impostures, and then

* Wilkin. p 816.

† Strype's Cranmer, p 71.

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to ruin them, and enrich the crown with their spoils. In order to this, he appointed a new visitation, A. D. 1537, of all the remaining religious houses in the kingdom; and the commissioners were instructed to make strict inquiry into the vices, the superstitious practices, and the cheats of the religious of both sexes, by which they deceived the people and nourished superstition, to enrich themselves. Many of the monks were so much alarmed at the report of this visitation, that they surrendered their houses and possessions to the king, without waiting the arrival of the visitors. These surrenders were made on various pretences; but the principal motives that influenced the surrenderers were, to prevent the publication and punishment of their vices, crimes, and impostures, and to procure better treatment and more liberal pensions. The chief employment of the visitors, in this and the two following years, seems to have been settling the surrenders of monasteries, and the pensions of the abbots, priors, and monks; making surveys of their estates; taking possession of their relics, jewels, and plate (which in some houses was of great value); selling their furniture; pulling down their churches, and such of their other buildings as were only suited and useful to monastics; disposing of their bells, lead, and other materials. It is almost incredible how many magnificent churches, cloisters, dormitories, libraries, and other buildings, which had been erected at an immense expence of money and labour, were unroofed and ruined, in the short space of three or four years. To this dreadful havoc Henry and his courtiers were prompted, partly by their avarice, and partly to prevent the re-establishment of the monastics*.

Monasteries suppressed.

To finish this great affair, a parliament was called, which met at Westminster, April 28th, A. D. 1540. On the 13th of May, a bill was brought into the House of Peers for granting to the king, and his heirs and successors, all the houses, lands, and goods of all the abbies, priories, nunneries, chantries, hospitals, and religious houses, that had already been surrendered or suppressed, or that should hereafter be surrendered or suppressed. The journals take no notice of any opposition to this bill in the House of Peers: but it certainly met with opposi-

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 235, &c.

tion. There were no fewer than twenty abbots in that house, who could not all be silent on that occasion*. Besides, we are informed that Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Latimer bishop of Worcester, and several other prelates that favoured the new learning, (as the reformation was then called,) pleaded earnestly for the preservation of three or four houses in every county, to be converted into schools for the education of youth, and hospitals for the relief of the poor; and that by their opposition to his favourite bill, they incurred the king's displeasure, which he soon after made them feel†. Great art was used to persuade the temporal peers and the gentlemen of the House of Commons to pass this bill, against which they had many objections. They were assured, "That if the monasteries were suppressed, and their
"houses, lands, and goods granted to their king, there
"should be created forty earls, sixty barons, three thousand knights, and forty thousand soldiers, with skilful
"captains, and competent maintenance for them all;
"and that no more loans or subsidies should ever be demanded‡." This bill accordingly passed both houses with much less opposition than might have been expected; and in consequence of it, all the possessions of six hundred and forty-five convents, ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and an hundred and ten hospitals, were annexed to the crown. The yearly rent of their lands was estimated at 160,000*l.*; which (if we may rely on the opinion of a right reverend and well-informed historian) was not one-tenth of their real value§. The jewels, plate, furniture, and other goods, which had belonged to all these houses, must have amounted to a prodigious sum, of which no computation can now be made. In many of the richer monasteries their vestments were of cloth of gold, silk and velvet, richly embroidered; their crucifixes, images, candlesticks, and other utensils, and ornaments of their churches, were of gold, silver gilt, and silver||. The gold taken from the shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, filled, it is said, two chests, which eight strong men could hardly

* Journals, Dugdale, p. 501.

† Strype's Cranmer, p. 72.

‡ Coke's 4 Institute, f. 44.

§ Burnet, p. 269.

|| See Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. xvi.

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carry. Much of the jewels and plate in some monasteries was conveyed away before their dissolution, and some of it was probably secreted by those who had it in charge; but after all, immense quantities came into the treasury, where it did not long continue.

The abolition of all the monastic orders in England, and the alienation of their property, was a very bold measure, and affords a striking proof of the great power and awful determined character of the king, and of the superior abilities, courage, and wisdom of his minister and vicegerent Cromwell. It contributed greatly to promote the permanent prosperity of the kingdom in many respects, as well as the reformation of religion, which could not have been accomplished while those nurseries of idleness, vice, and superstition remained.

Lambert
burnt.

Though Henry had now emancipated himself and his subjects from the dominion of the pope, he still continued as much attached as ever to some of the most absurd tenets of the church of Rome, particularly transubstantiation; and persecuted those who presumed to call that doctrine in question with the most unrelenting cruelty. A remarkable example of this occurred, A. D. 1538. One John Nicolson, who taught a school in London, and to conceal himself from his former persecutors, had assumed the name of Lambert, being brought before archbishop Cranmer, and accused of heresy, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist, appealed to the king, as supreme head of the church of England. Henry, vain of his theological learning, and instigated by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the most artful of men and the greatest of flatterers, determined to bring Lambert to a solemn trial before himself in Westminster-hall. Letters were written to all the prelates and principal nobility to attend this trial. When the appointed day arrived, the king appeared in great state, clothed in white, and seated under a canopy of the same colour, to denote the purity of his faith. The spiritual lords were seated on his right hand, and the temporal peers on his left; and the hall was crowded with spectators, attracted from all parts of the kingdom by the news of this extraordinary trial. When the prisoner was brought into the court, he appeared to be greatly amazed and disconcerted at the sight of the august assembly, and the stern countenance of the king,

who,

who, standing, commanded one of the bishops to declare the occasion of the meeting. This being done, the king, after railing at the prisoner with great vehemence for having changed his name, asked him, "Dost thou believe the real corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?" "I believe," said Lambert, "with St. Augustine, the presence of Christ in the sacrament in a certain manner." The king, in a passionate tone, commanded him to give a direct answer to the question. Lambert fell upon his knees, and began to praise the king for his goodness, in condescending to hear one of the humblest of his subjects; but Henry interrupted him, saying, he came not there to hear his own praises; and commanded him instantly to answer his question; which he did, by acknowledging that he did not believe the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. Ten bishops had been appointed to manage this debate, of which Cranmer was the first; who, addressing the prisoner with great mildness, attempted to prove, from our Saviour's appearing to Paul at his conversion, that a body might be in more places than one at the same time. But Gardiner thinking that he used too much gentleness, broke in and urged the same argument with great asperity of language. He was followed by Tonsil of Durham, Stokesley of London, and other six prelates, who in succession argued for the corporal presence from various topics. Lambert, who was a man of good sense and learning, and had made this controversy very much his study, answered all his opponents in their turns, with great acuteness and strength of argument, though he was often interrupted, insulted, and ridiculed. At length, worn out with the fatigue of standing five hours, and disputing with so many antagonists, he remained silent. The king then asked him, "Will you live, or die?" "I commit my soul," said he, "to the mercy of God, and my body to the mercy of your majesty."—"I will have no mercy," said Henry, "on heretics;" and commanded Cromwell to read the sentence, which condemned the prisoner to be burnt as an obstinate heretic. This cruel sentence was executed with circumstances of uncommon cruelty*. It is impossible to contemplate this pompous display of bar-

* Fox, p. 1024.

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barous inhuman bigotry without surprise and horror. May God preserve this happy island from the return of that infernal spirit! Some have imagined that Cranmer, on this occasion, argued against the conviction of his own mind. But this is a mistake; there is sufficient evidence that at this time, and for some years after, he was a firm believer of the corporal presence*.

Many ho-
lidays abo-
lished.

While Henry was thus sacrificing his innocent subjects to his bigoted attachment to the tenets of the church of Rome, he was doing some things which contributed not a little to reformation. The Romish calendar was crowded with saints; and the prodigious number of holidays greatly impeded industry, and promoted riot and debauchery. He issued a proclamation, A. D. 1536, abolishing all the holidays in harvest, from July 1st to September 29th, except three, commanding the feasts of the dedication of all the churches in England, commonly called wakes, to be kept on one day, the first Sunday in October, and prohibiting the observation of the feasts of the patrons of the churches†. This act and proclamation was sent to all the bishops, with a letter from the king, commanding them strictly to see it put in execution in their respective dioceses; and it was enforced in subsequent injunctions. By this, many days were rescued from riot, to be employed in useful labour.

Bible
translated.

There was nothing the friends of the old learning (as the tenets of popery were then called) more dreaded and deprecated, than the translation of the scriptures into English, and granting the use of them to the people; nor was there any thing that the friends of reformation more ardently laboured to procure. This was a long and violent struggle between the two parties. Archbishop Warham sent a pastoral letter to all the prelates of his province, A. D. 1526, acquainting them that certain children of iniquity, blinded by malice, had translated the New Testament into English, to spread heresy, and ruin men's souls; and that some of these pernicious books had been brought into England. He directed them, therefore, to command all persons within their dioceses, who had any of these dangerous books, to deliver them up to their bishop, or his commissary, within thirty days, under

* Strype's Cranmer, ch. 18. p. 66.

† Wilkin. tom. iii. p. 823.

the pain of excommunication, and of being punished as heretics *. Four years after this, the cry for a translation of the Bible, and the opposition to it still continuing, the king published a proclamation; in which he told his subjects, that he had consulted the two primates, and several other bishops and learned men; “and that, by all those virtuous, discreet, and well-learned personages in divinity, it is thought that it is not necessary the scriptures be in the English tongue, and in the hands of the common people. And that having respect to the malignity of this present time, with the inclinations of the people to erroneous opinions, the translation of the New Testament and the Old into the vulgar tongue of the English, should rather be the occasion of continuance or increase of errors among the said people, than any benefice or commodity towards the weale of their souls †.” Such were the sentiments of the king and prelates of England on this subject at that time. But after Henry began to quarrel with the pope, and Cranmer was advanced to the primacy, he changed his opinion, and began to listen to the opinions of his subjects, to have the scriptures in a language they understood. When Doctor Cranmer was advanced to the primacy, he stood in the highest degree of favour with the king, which was the cause of his unexpected promotion. This gave him so much influence and authority in the church, that the convocation of his province, December 9th, A. D. 1534, consented and agreed that he should make application to the king, to name and appoint certain honest and learned men to translate the scriptures into English, to be put into the hands of the people, for their instruction †. Cranmer applied to the king accordingly, and obtained a commission to himself and some other learned men, to prepare a translation of the Bible, for the instruction of his subjects. For expedition in this work, which he had much at heart, he divided the Bible into several parts, and gave one to each translator. When the translation was finished, the printing of it was committed to Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, who obtained permission from Francis to print it at Paris ‡. But on a complaint from the French clergy, the part that was then printed was seized. The printers, however, were per-

* Wilkin. p. 706.

† Ibid. p. 741.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. xxxi.

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mitted to retire with their types and presses, and finished their work in London. When Cranmer received some copies of this Bible, he said it gave him more joy than if he had received a present of 10,000*l*. The king, by proclamation, A. D. 1537, commanded one of these Bibles, at the equal expence of the incumbent and the parishioners, to be deposited in every parish-church, to be read by all who pleased; and as some towns and parishes did not obey this first proclamation, it was enforced in a second, with severe penalties*. At last Cromwell procured permission, A. D. 1539, to all the subjects, to purchase copies of this English Bible for the use of themselves and their families†. By such slow steps, the people of England obtained the inestimable privilege of perusing the word of God in their own language, which had been long denied them. This privilege was not obtained without much difficulty and opposition from the popish party.

Other
books.

Besides this translation of the Bible, some other books were published about this time, by the king's authority, for the instruction of his subjects; as the King's Primer, A. D. 1535, which was a collection of twenty-nine small tracts, consisting of explanations of the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and several psalms and prayers for different occasions; the Bishops' Book, A. D. 1537, or the Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man, which was drawn up by a committee of bishops, and revised and corrected by the king‡. Though these books contained too many of the peculiar tenets and superstitious ceremonies of the church of Rome, they contributed not a little to diffuse a spirit of inquiry among the people, and thereby promoted the reformation. The Bishops' Book, or the Institution of a Christian Man, was subscribed by the two archbishops and nineteen bishops, and confirmed by an act of parliament. The publication of the English Bible, and of these books, gave great joy to the friends of the reformation.

Images
removed.

The images and relics of saints had long been the chief objects of the superstitious veneration of the people of England, and of all the other nations of Europe in com-

* Wilkin. p. 856.

† Strype's Cranmer, ch. 17. Append. No. xxv.

‡ Strype's Mem. ch. 31. Cranmer, ch. 13.

munion with the church of Rome. This kind of devotion was very much encouraged by the clergy, especially by the monastics, who had the custody of those images and relics, and were enriched by the offerings of their deluded worshippers. To increase their gains, they published accounts of miraculous cures pretended to be wrought by certain images, and were guilty of many other deceits and impositions. Some of these were discovered and exposed at the dissolution of the monasteries, which gave a check to that species of superstition *. But many images and relics still remained in cathedrals and other churches, that were the objects of popular veneration, and attracted crowds of pilgrims. The king therefore sent instructions to all the bishops, A. D. 1538, directing them to command their clergy to teach the people in their sermons, “not to repose their trust and affiance “on works devised by men’s fantasies, as in wandering “to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, “to feigned relics or images, or kissing or licking the “same, or such like superstition.” They were further instructed, that if they knew of any such feigned images in any of their dioceses, that were abused with pilgrimages or offerings, to take them down without delay for avoiding that most detestable offence of idolatry †. Besides these general instructions, particular injunctions were given for pulling down some of the richest and most frequented shrines, as that of St. Richard at Colchester, and of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury ‡. But as Becket had long been esteemed the greatest of saints, attracted the greatest crowds of pilgrims, and received the most valuable of offerings, he was treated with greater ceremony. He was solemnly tried before the king in council, and found to be neither a saint, nor a martyr. Not a saint, because he had rebelled against his sovereign; not a martyr, because he had fallen in a fray, in which he was the aggressor. He was therefore condemned as a traitor, all the rich ornaments of his altar and shrine confiscated, his festival abolished, and all his images thrown down §.

* A crucifix at Boxley in Kent, which moved its head, arms, and legs, by springs and wheels concealed in the body of it, was managed by a priest. The blood of Christ at Hales in Gloucestershire, as it was pretended, was discovered to be the blood of a duck renewed weekly. Burnet, p. 242.

† Fox, p. 1002.

‡ Wilkin. p. 840.

§ Ibid. p. 835, 847.

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Thus far had the reformation of the church of England proceeded before the meeting of parliament in April 1539, when an effectual stop was put to its further progress, though much remained to be reformed. As the changes that had been made were chiefly owing to the influence of archbishop Cranmer and lord Cromwell with the king, so the stop that was now put to any further changes was partly owing to the decline of that influence, and partly to the insinuating arts and persuasions of the popish party. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, represented to the king, that the emperor and the kings of France and Scotland, at the instigation of the pope, were meditating an invasion of his dominions; that many of his own subjects were so much offended with the late innovations in religion, and so much disquieted by their fears of greater innovations, that they were ripe for rebellion; and that the only way to avert all these dangers, would be to convince the world by some signal act, that though he had withdrawn from the obedience of the pope, he had not renounced the Catholic faith. Some of the reformers also contributed not a little to alienate the king's mind from them, by declaiming with too much vehemence against certain doctrines of the church of Rome, to which he was still attached.

Influenced by these, and perhaps by other motives with which we are unacquainted, Henry resolved to proceed no farther in the road of reformation, and to secure the remaining tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome by a law, with the most intimidating sanctions.

Parliament.

The parliament met April 28th, and the lord chancellor Audley, May 5th, presented the following message from the king to the House of Peers: "That it was his majesty's desire, above all things, that the diversities of opinions concerning the Christian religion, in his kingdom, should be with all possible expedition plucked up and extirpated: and therefore since this affair was of so extraordinary a nature, that it could not well be determined in a short time, considering their various sentiments, by the whole house, the king thought it necessary, if it seemed good unto them, that they should chuse a committee of themselves to examine into these different opinions; and whatever they decreed concerning them, might be, with all convenient speed, communicated to the parliament." The house

house complied with this message, and chose a committee of ten members, five of the old and five of the new learning, which was thought to be most equitable *. But it did not contribute to expedition: for after eleven meetings and many warm debates, they could agree upon nothing; nor was there any probability that they ever would agree, which made it necessary to adopt some other method.

The duke of Norfolk, who was at the head of the popish party, and in high favour with the king, acquainted the peers, May 16th, that their committee could come to no agreement. He there laid before the house the six following articles, to be examined by the whole parliament; and that their determination upon them should be formed into a law, to which all the subjects should be compelled to conform by certain penalties:

1. Whether the sacrament of the altar be the real body of our Lord, without transubstantiation, or not †?
2. Whether the sacrament should be given to the laity in both kinds, or not?
3. Whether vows of chastity made by men or women ought to be observed by the law of God, or not?
4. Whether private masses ought to be retained by the law of God, or not?
5. Whether priests may marry by the law of God, or not?
6. Whether auricular confession to a priest be necessary by the law of God, or not?

These were the questions that were the great subjects of those violent disputes between the friends and enemies of the reformation, that disturbed the peace of the kingdom; and it was to put an end to these disputes, by giving victory to the one party, and imposing silence on the other, that a parliamentary decision of them was now required. The popish party possessed decisive advantages in the discussion of these questions in this parliament. The king ardently desired them to be determined in favour of that party, and his influence was irresistible. The parliamentary abbots had not yet resigned their seats, and twenty of them were actually present in the House

* Parliament. Hist. vol. iii. p. 140.

† Provided the corporal presence was acknowledged, the popish party was willing to give up this word.

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of Peers*. The other party, however, did not tamely yield the victory; but having scripture, reason, and the most ancient fathers on their side, they supported their opinions with great spirit, and protracted their proceedings to a great length. Archbishop Cranmer, it is said, maintained the tenets of the reformers no less than three days, with such dignity, eloquence, and learning, as compelled the admiration of his greatest enemies†. Numbers at length prevailed. All the six questions were determined in conformity to the doctrines of the church of Rome; and the lord chancellor reported to the house, May 30th, "That it was his majesty's pleasure, that some " penal statute should be enacted, to compel all his subjects, who were any way dissenters or contradictors of " these articles, to obey them." The house appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely and St. Asaph, with Doctor Petre, a master in chancery, to prepare one bill; and the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Winchester, with Doctor Trigonnell, also a master in chancery, to prepare another. Both bills were communicated to the king on Sunday June, 1st, and he preferred that prepared by the archbishop of York and his committee, who were all zealous for the old learning; and there is good evidence, that a great part of that bill was drawn by the king himself‡. To make it pass more easily, the lord Cromwell, by the king's direction, laid the above six questions before the lower house of convocation, June 2d, and obtained answers to them agreeable to the tenets of the church of Rome, expressed in very strong terms; to convince parliament, that these were the sentiments of the clergy§. At last this famous bill was brought into the House of Peers, June 7th, and passed June 10th; on which day the king sent a message to archbishop Cranmer, desiring him not to come to the house, since he could not give his assent. But he returned for an answer, that he thought it his duty to attend, and declare his dissent||. A very bold answer, considering to whom it was made. This bill passed the House of Commons on June 16th, and received the royal assent on the 28th, the last day of the session.

* Dugdale's Summons to Parl. p. 501.

† Wilkin, p. 848.

§ Ibid. p. 845.

‡ Herbert, p. 219.

|| Fox, p. 1037.

By this act, commonly called the Bloody Act, if any person by word, writing, printing, or any other way, denied or disputed the real presence of the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived by the Virgin Mary, in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, under the form of bread and wine; or that in the flesh under the form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ; or that with the blood under the form of wine is not the very flesh of Christ, he was to be adjudged an heretic, and to suffer death by burning; and all his lands, goods, and chattels, were to be forfeited to the king as in the case of high treason. If any affirmed or taught that communion in both kinds was necessary; or that priests might marry; or that vows of chastity were not perpetually binding; or that private masses were not lawful and laudable; or that auricular confession to a priest was not necessary; they were to suffer death as felons*. Commissioners were appointed in every county to discover and apprehend all offenders against any part of this act, that none who were guilty might escape.

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six articles.

The atrocious cruelty of this act is too obvious to need any illustration. Could any thing be more barbarous than to consign to the flames all who had the courage and honesty to acknowledge, that they could not renounce their reason, and disbelieve the united testimony of all their senses? To condemn the clergy to celibacy, was sufficiently cruel; but to punish a person to death for saying so, was the extreme of cruelty. But cruel as this act was, nothing could exceed the joy and exultation of the popish party on its passing, except the terror and dejection of the friends of the reformation. A member of the House of Peers wrote thus in a letter still extant: "And also news here, I assure you never prince shewed himself so wise a man, so well learned, and so catholic, as the king hath done in this parliament. With my pen I cannot express his marvellous goodness, which is come to such effect, that we shall have an act of parliament so spiritual, that I think none will dare to say, in the blessed sacrament of the altar doth remain either bread or wine after the consecration; nor that a priest may have a wife; nor

Cruelty of
that act.

* Statutes, 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14.

" that

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“that it is necessary we should receive our Maker
“in both kinds: nor that private masses should not be
“said as they have been; nor that it is not necessary
“to have auricular confession. Finally, all in Eng-
“land have cause to thank God, and most heartily to
“rejoice of the king’s most godly proceedings*.”
On the other hand, many of the reformers fled to the
continent to save their lives. Shaxton bishop of Salis-
bury, and Latimer bishop of Worcester, resigned their
sees, and retired to a private station†. Archbishop
Cranmer was greatly dejected, and sent away his wife to
her friends in Germany. The king, however, had still
so great a regard for him, that he sent the duke of Nor-
folk and lord Cromwell to dine with him, and to assure
him of his unchangeable esteem and favour‡.

Too cruel
to be exe-
cuted.

The king and the friends of Rome overacted their
part on this occasion, by making this act so sanguinary
that it could not be executed without rendering the
kingdom a scene of unexampled horror and bloodshed.
This soon appeared. The commissioners appointed to
put it in execution in London, in fourteen days commit-
ted and indicted no fewer than five hundred persons;
among whom were Shaxton and Latimer, and all the re-
forming preachers. The lord chancellor Audley waited
upon the king, and represented the fatal effects of these
violent proceedings in such strong colours, that Henry
relented, and commanded the prisoners to be libe-
rated§. This gave a check to the too forward zeal of
the commissioners in London and other parts of the
kingdom; and while the lord Cromwell retained his
office of the execution of this terrible act, it was in a
manner suspended. Melancthon, one of the most
learned and moderate of the German reformers, who
was much respected by the king, wrote him a long and
pathetic letter, expostulating with him on the severity
of this law, exposing the artifices of Gardiner, its chief
promoter, and conjuring him to pursue milder measures,
as more consistent with the spirit of Christianity. “O
“impudent and wicked Winchester! (said he,) who,
“under these colourable fetches, thinkest to deceive the

* Strype’s Cranmer, Append. No. xxvi.

† Rym. p. 641, 643.

§ Hall, f. 234.

‡ Strype’s Cranmer, ch. 19.

“ eyes of Christ, and the judgments of all the godly in
 “ the world. These things have I written that you may
 “ understand the crafty flights, and so judge of the
 “ purpose and policy of these bishops*.” This letter, it
 is probable, made some impression on the king’s mind.
 However that may be, the storm did not fall so suddenly
 on the reformed as they dreaded, and their enemies de-
 sired, though it afterwards fell very heavy.

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As the greater monasteries were surrendered in this
 and the following year, and a great mass of wealth in
 lands, money, and goods, had already come into the
 king’s hands, it was now thought to be time to perform
 some of the pompous promises that had been made to
 procure the dissolution of the religious houses. The lord
 Cromwell brought a bill into the House of Peers, May
 23d, to empower the king to erect new bishoprics,
 deanries, and colleges, by letters patent, and endow them
 out of the revenues of the suppressed monasteries. This
 bill was so universally acceptable that it passed that house
 the same day; and was sent to the commons, by whom
 it was passed with the same alacrity. A draught of the
 preamble of this bill, written in the king’s own hand, is
 still extant; to which is annexed, in the same hand, a
 scheme of eighteen new bishoprics, as many deanries,
 and several colleges, the places where they were to be
 seated, and the monasteries out of which they were to be
 endowed†. This is a proof that Henry intended great
 things. But before he proceeded to execute them, he
 had granted away so many of the lands, and squandered
 away so much of the money, that he could not perform
 what he had projected. In virtue of the above act, he
 erected only six new bishoprics, at the following places,
 viz. Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Che-
 ster, and Gloucester. These sees were all founded in the
 course of the years 1540, 1541, and 1542‡. This was
 one of the greatest advantages the nation derived from
 the suppression of the religious houses. Before this, se-
 veral of the dioceses were (and perhaps still are) too en-
 tensive.

New bi-
shoprics.

The parliament, after two prorogations, met again, Parlia-
 April 12th, A. D. 1540. The king had been long en-ment.

* Fox, p. 1070.
 pend. No. cvii.

† Burnet p. 262. Strype’s Mem. Ap-
 pend. Rym. tom. xiv. p. 795, &c.

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gaged in the irrational and hopeless project of compelling all his subjects to entertain exactly the same religious opinions, and to change these opinions as often as he changed his own. With this view the cruel act of the six articles had been lately made, to burn or hang all who dissented from the established system. The title of this act was: For abolishing diversities of opinions concerning the Christian religion. But with all its terrors it did not accomplish that end. Religious controversies and diversity of opinions still continued. The lord Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in spirituals, made a long speech to both houses, in which he acquainted them, that the king was grieved at the discord and dissension that prevailed among his subjects in religion; and that he earnestly desired to bring them all to a perfect agreement in religious worship. That in order to this, he had appointed one committee of bishops and learned men to prepare a system of the Christian doctrines, which all his subjects should be compelled to believe; and another committee to settle the religious rites and ceremonies, which all should be compelled to observe in worship. He told them further, that his majesty, who was a true Christian and a most learned divine, would assist both these committees. The parliament unanimously approved of the design, and appointed the committees to meet every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, in the forenoon, and every day except Sunday, in the afternoon, on that business. The committees laboured with great diligence in this arduous, or rather impracticable work, as appears from many of their papers that are still extant *. But as they were composed of an almost equal number of members, of the old and new learning, they proceeded very slowly, and could not finish their work in time to be presented to parliament before its dissolution. This was foreseen, and the parliament near the end of the session made a very extraordinary law, to oblige all the subjects of the kingdom to believe a system of doctrines not yet composed, and to observe a system of ceremonies not yet prepared. By this law it was enacted, "That whatsoever was determined by the archbishops and bishops, and other divines now commissioned for that effect;

* Strype's Mem. Append. No. lxxxviii. Burnet, book iii. Records, No. xxi.

“ or by any other appointed by the king, and published
 “ by the king’s authority, concerning the Christian faith,
 “ or the ceremonies of the church, should be believed
 “ and obeyed by all the king’s subjects, as well as if the
 “ particulars so set forth had been enumerated in this
 “ act *.” This seems to be the utmost bounds to which
 submission, not to say severity, could be carried.

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Thomas lord Cromwell, knight of the garter, lord Privy seal, lord chamberlain, and lord vicegerent, was created earl of Essex, April 14th; and to all these honours and great offices he had been raised from a very humble station by the king’s favour. But his fall was as sudden as his rise was great. When he was sitting in council, June 10th, not conscious of any guilt, or apprehensive of any danger, he was seized and committed to the Tower. He was attainted by an act of parliament for heresy and high treason, without being heard, and beheaded on Tower-hill, July 28th. The friends of the reformation soon found that they had sustained a mighty loss by the fall of this great man; for he was hardly laid in his grave, when three of the most learned and zealous preachers of the new learning, doctor Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, were burnt, July 30th, in Smithfield for heresy, on the act of the six articles †. Three papists, Powel, Fatherstone, and Abell, who had been found guilty of treason for denying the king’s supremacy, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the same time and place; which made a foreigner, who was a spectator of this horrid scene, cry out, “ Good God! how unhappy are the people of this
 “ country, who are hanged for being papists, or burnt
 “ for being enemies to popery ‡.”

Persecu-
tion.

Doctor Edmund Bonar had been a most active agent for the king in his contest with the court of Rome, and a zealous advocate for his supremacy, which recommended him to Cromwell and Cranmer; and by their influence he was promoted to the see of Hereford, and soon after translated to that of London. But they were deceived by appearances, and knew not his real character. He was a bold, ambitious, unprincipled, and cruel man. Perceiving that the popish party prevailed at court, and being placed at the head of the commissioners for execut-

* Burnet, p. 283. † Fox, p. 1095. ‡ Ibid. p. 1096.

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ing the act of the six articles in London, he acted with great violence and cruelty in that capacity. Of his cruelty at this time, we shall only give one example, as too many of the same kind will afterwards occur. One Richard Mekins, a young man, or rather a boy, not above fifteen years of age, had been heard to say, that the sacrament was only a ceremony, or a signification. For this he was imprisoned and brought to trial. Bonar in his charge to the grand jury, exhorted them to have no mercy on heretics of any age or condition. Two witnesses were produced; the one declared that he heard the prisoner say, that the sacrament was only a ceremony; and the other, that he heard him say, that it was only a signification. The jury gave in their verdict, that they found nothing. On this Bonar stormed, and sent them back to reconsider the matter. They gave the same verdict a second time, which threw the bishop into a violent rage, and made him pour out a torrent of threats and curses. The jury being asked, on what they founded their verdict; answered, On the inconsistency of the evidence. Being told by the recorder, that as the court sustained the evidence of these witnesses, that was a sufficient reason for them to sustain it; they found the bill, and the petty jury found the prisoner guilty of speaking against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. This unhappy youth was quite illiterate, and professed his willingness to believe any thing they pleased to dictate, to save his life; but in vain. He was committed to the flames, and reduced to ashes*. A strain of cruelty that is almost incredible, but is too well attested to be doubted. Several others were burnt in different parts of England; and multitudes were imprisoned, and involved in great distress, by the commissioners for executing the act of the six articles.

The king
unsteady.

From this period Henry became very unsteady and fluctuating in his sentiments and conduct with respect to religion, sometimes forwarding, but more frequently restraining reformation, and even restoring some of the superstitious ceremonies that had been abolished. He renewed, however, this year, 1514, May 6, his injunctions to the clergy, to provide English Bibles of the largest volume, and deposit them in their churches, for the use

* Hall, f. 244. Fox, p. 1096.

of their people; his former injunctions on that subject having been generally disobeyed by those who were enemies to reformation*. He also republished, October 4th, his injunctions for removing out of cathedrals and other churches, all shrines and images to which pilgrimages had been made, and offsprings had been presented, with all tables recording pretended miracles, as his former injunctions for that purpose had been very imperfectly executed†. But about the same time he published a proclamation, commanding the festivals of several saints, which had been abolished, to be restored and observed‡.

He had been prevailed upon, chiefly by the importunities of Cromwell and Cranmer, to appoint an English translation of the Bible to be made, and a copy of it to be deposited in every church; and had even permitted private persons to have copies of it in their houses for the use of themselves and their families. This was exceedingly disagreeable to the great body of the clergy, who were enemies to all reformation. They made loud complaints, that the laity abused this privilege, by reading aloud to great crowds in the time of mass, by commenting upon, and disputing about the scriptures, which gave rise to all the new opinions (which they called heresies) that prevailed. They complained also, that the translation was faulty in many places, and calculated to countenance heresy. These complaints at length had their effect. Henry was provoked that any of his subjects dared to entertain opinions different from those he had dictated to them; and ascribing this to the use of the scriptures in their own language, he determined to set limits to that liberty, or to take it entirely away. A convocation met at St. Paul's in January, A. D. 1542, and archbishop Cranmer declared to both houses, that it was the king's intention that the prelates and clergy should consult together about the unsettled state of religion, and deliberate about the most proper remedies, and correct what they thought stood in need of correction, particularly the English translation of the Old and New Testament. The primate directed the lower house to deliberate on these things, and report the result of their deliberations. In the third session, February 3d,

* Wilkin. p. 856. † Ibid. p. 857. ‡ Ibid. p. 859.

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this question was put, Whether the great English Bible should continue to be used in the church or not? The majority were of opinion, that it could not be continued till it was revised and corrected. In a subsequent session, one committee of bishops and doctors was appointed to revise and correct the English translation of the New Testament, and another that of the Old Testament. The majority of both these committees were against any English translation of the scriptures, and determined not to be in haste to execute their commission. To puzzle the matter, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who was at the head of the popish party, and one of the committee for revising the New Testament, produced a list of one hundred Latin and Greek words, which he pretended had a peculiar majesty and significancy in them, which could not be preserved in English, and therefore proposed that they should be retained in the translation. This absurd proposal was evidently designed to render the translation almost useless. The archbishop perceiving the refractory temper of the clergy, obtained a mandate from the king to the convocation, commanding them to refer the revision of the English Bible to the two universities, which they reluctantly obeyed*.

The popish party, under the influence of the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Winchester, still prevailing at court, the reformation rather declined than advanced.—An act very unfavourable to it was made in the next session of parliament, that began January 22d, A. D. 1543. By that act the liberty of reading the English Bibles in the churches was taken away, and they were removed. None under the rank of gentlemen were to have English Bibles in their possession, or to read them in private; and the subjects were commanded to regulate their faith and practice by the injunctions published, and to be published, by the king. The penalties by which that act was enforced, breathed that barbarous spirit with which the supporters of popery were then animated. For the first offence, they were to recant; for the second, to bear a faggot; and for the third, they were to be burnt†.

Henry having thus deprived his subjects of the use of the scriptures in their own language, made haste to furnish them with that perfect system of the Christian doc-

* Wilkin. p. 361.

† Statutes, 34 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.

trines that he had promised. The committee of bishops and doctors appointed to prepare that system had applied to it with great diligence for a considerable time, and it was published, May 29th, A. D. 1543, with this title: “A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King’s Majesty.” It had a preface written by the king, or at least in his name, commending it highly, and exhorting and commanding all his subjects to study it diligently, and to make it the rule of their faith and manners, to put an end to all diversity of opinions in religion. The following paragraph in the preface to this once famous book, designed to supply the place of the Bible, gives a very distinct account of its method and contents: “For knowledge of the order of
 “the matter in this book contained. Forasmuch as we
 “know not perfectly God, but by faith, the declaration
 “of faith occupieth in this treatise the first place.—
 “Whereunto is next adjoining, the declaration of the
 “articles of our creed, concerning what we should believe. And incontinently after them followeth the explication of the seven sacraments. Then followeth conveniently the declaration of the ten commandments, being by God ordained the highway wherein each man should walk in this life; to finish fruitly his journey here, and afterwards to rest eternally in joy with him; which because we cannot do of ourselves, but have need always of the grace of God, as without whom we can neither continue in this life, nor without his special grace do any thing to his pleasure, whereby to attain the life to come, we have, after the declaration of the ten commandments, expounded the seven petitions of our Pater Noster, wherein be contained requests and suits for all things necessary to a Christian man in this present life; with declaration of the Ave Maria, as a prayer containing a joyful rehearsal and magnifying God in the work of the incarnation of Christ, which is the ground of our salvation, wherein the blessed Virgin our Lady, for the abundance of grace wherewith God endued her, is also with this remembrance honoured and worshipped. And forasmuch as the heads and senses of our people have been imbusied, and in these days travailed with the understanding of free-will, justification, good works, and praying for souls departed; we have, by the advice of our clergy,

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“ for the purgation of erroneous doctrines, declared and
 “ set forth openly, and without ambiguity of speech, the
 “ mere and certain truth in them; for as we verily trust,
 “ that to know God, and how to live after his pleasure,
 “ to the attaining everlasting life in the end, this book
 “ containeth a perfect and sufficient doctrine, grounded
 “ and established in holy scripture*.” Such were the
 contents of this royal publication, the established stand-
 ard of truth and orthodoxy, by which all the people of
 England were to regulate their faith and practice, till the
 king thought proper to change his opinion; and then all
 his subjects were bound, by an act of parliament, to
 make a similar change in their opinions. It is difficult
 to conceive how tyranny in the king, and servility in the
 parliament, could be carried further.

The
King's
Primer

Henry laboured this point of uniformity with uncom-
 mon ardour, and seems to have determined that none of
 his subjects should think, speak, or act, in public or in
 private, in matters of religion, but as he directed them.
 Not contented with dictating a system of doctrines which
 they were to believe, and of the ceremonies they were to
 practise in the church, he published a manual of prayers,
 which he strictly commanded all his subjects to use in
 their private devotions, prohibiting the use of any other
 prayers in their closets. This was called the King's Pri-
 mer Book; and in his preface to it, he acquaints his lov-
 ing subjects, “ That forasmuch as we have bestowed
 “ right great labour and diligence, about settling a per-
 “ fect stay in the other parts of our religion, we have
 “ thought good to bestow our earnest labour in this part
 “ also, being a thing as fruitful as the best, that men
 “ may know both what they pray, and also with what
 “ words, lest things special good and principal, being
 “ inwrapped in ignorance of the words, should not per-
 “ fectly come to the mind and to the intelligence of
 “ men; or else things being nothing to the purpose, nor
 “ very meet to be offered unto God, should have the less
 “ effect with God, being the distributor of all gifts†.”
 In a word, Henry was determined to reduce all his sub-
 jects to a most correct and perfect uniformity in all
 things, even the most trivial, that related to religion.
 Some of them, for example, kept St. Mark's day as a

* Strype's Mem. p. 379.

† Wilkin. p. 873.

fast, and others of them kept it as a feast. He was much offended at this, and published a royal injunction to all his loving subjects, to eat flesh on St. Mark's day *. This was not one of his most disagreeable injunctions.

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After the fall of Cromwell earl of Essex, archbishop Cranmer was in a dangerous situation, and had a difficult part to act. As he knew the animosity of the popish party against him, and their great influence at court, he was not ignorant of his danger, and endeavoured to guard against it, by acting with the greatest caution, and by living as privately as his station would permit. But all his caution and privacy would not have preserved him, if the king had not entertained such a strong conviction of his integrity, and so grateful a sense of his services, as could not be shaken by all the efforts of his enemies. Of that it may not be improper to give one example. After several plots, equally artful and iniquitous against the archbishop, had miscarried, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester, and the other popish members of the privy council, waited upon the king, and made a heavy complaint against the archbishop, "That he and his learned men had so infected the whole realm with their unfavoury doctrine, that three parts of the land were become abominable heretics; therefore they desired that the archbishop might be committed to the Tower until this might be examined." When the king seemed unwilling to grant their desire, they represented, "That the archbishop being one of the privy council, no man dared to object matter against him, unless he were first committed to durance; which being done, men would be bold to tell the truth, and say their consciences. The king at length consented that they might bring the archbishop before the council next morning, and examine him; and if they found cause, they might commit him to the Tower." Henry, probably repenting of what he had done, sent a messenger to the archbishop about midnight, desiring him to come and speak with him immediately. On his arriving, the king told him of the complaint that had been made, and the consent that he had given, and asked him, "What say you, my lord; have I done well or ill?" The primate humbly thanked the king for giving him this warning,

* Wilkin. p. 860.

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and declared he was content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, if he might have a fair trial, and hoped that his majesty would take care to have him fairly tried. "O Lord God! (cried the king) what fond simplicity have you to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you? Do you not know, that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you? No, not so, my lord; I have a better regard to you than to suffer your enemies to overthrow you. Appear before the council; require them to produce your accusers; and if they refuse, shew them this ring, (giving him a ring,) which they well know that I use for no other purpose, but to call matters from the council into mine own hands." He was sent for by the council early next morning; and when he arrived, he was not admitted into the council chamber, but obliged to stand about an hour in the antichamber among servants. The king being informed of this by the physician, Doctor Butts, was much offended. "Have they served my lord so? (said he.) It is well enough; I shall talk with them by and by." When the archbishop was called into the council, he was told, that complaints had been exhibited to the king and them, that he, and others by his permission, had infected the whole realm with heresy, and that it was the king's pleasure that he should be committed to the Tower in order to his trial. When Cranmer had required to see his accusers face to face before he was committed, and was refused, he said, "I am sorry, my lords, that you have compelled me to appeal from you to the king, who by this token (presenting the ring) hath taken this matter into his own hands." This put a stop to their career. They waited in a body on the king to restore his ring, and resign the cause into his hands. He received them with a stern countenance, reproved them severely for their contemptuous treatment of the archbishop, and then added, "I would you should well understand, that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me, as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden by the faith I owe unto God; (laying his hand on his heart;) and who ever loveth me, will regard him on that account."

This

This gave such a check to Cranmer's enemies, that they made no more attempts against him during this reign *.

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This striking proof of the steadiness of the king's friendship encouraged Cranmer to attempt the reformation of some of the many absurd superstitions that still remained. He proceeded, however, with great prudence and caution, and never attempted any change till he had first convinced the king of its propriety, and obtained his permission and command. He had long wished to see the prayers of the church in English, that the people might pray to God in language they understood, and might know for what they prayed. The king was preparing to invade France in person, A. D. 1544, and prayers and processions were to be made as usual for his success; and the archbishop embraced this opportunity to convince him, that the people would join in these prayers with much greater fervency if they were in English, than they could do if they were in an unknown tongue. By the king's permission, he composed a number of prayers in English, which he delivered to his majesty for his perusal, who, having approved of them, sent them back to the primate, commanding him to cause them to be used in all the churches of his diocese, and to send copies of them to all the bishops of his province with a similar command. This royal injunction was probably composed by Cranmer, and is couched in very strong expressive language. One reason assigned for this great innovation, of praying in their native tongue, is thus expressed: "That the people might feel the godly taste thereof, and godly and joyously with thanks receive, embrace, and frequent the same." This injunction was dated, June 11th. About two months after, when the navy was ready to sail, the council sent a similar injunction to the archbishop, commanding him to order prayers and processions twice a week in all the churches of his province for success and victory to his majesty's arms, and that the prayers should be in English†. These injunctions gave great joy to the friends of the reformation, who began to hope, that they would soon see the whole service of the church in English.

Prayers in
English.

The king was prevailed upon at the same time to abolish some of the superstitious ceremonies which still remained.

Ceremonies abolished.

* Strype's Cranmer, ch. 28.

† Ibid. ch. 29.

mained;

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mained; such as watching and ringing bells all night on the vigil of All-hallows, that the images in churches, and the crosses, should not be covered with vails in the time of Lent, as they had been formerly; that none should kneel or creep to the crosses on Palm Sunday, or any other time. The royal injunction for abolishing these ceremonies was procured by the application of the archbishop, with the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and the execution of it, as usual, was committed to the archbishop*.

Cranmer had for some time been engaged in another work for promoting the reformation and settlement of the church. This was the revival of the canon law, or rather forming a new code of ecclesiastical laws, for the government of the church of England. The canon law had long been esteemed of divine authority, and far more excellent and obligatory than any other human laws. In that law, the authority and power of the pope was carried to a most extravagant and impious height; and the laws of kings and princes, that were contrary to the decrees and canons of the bishop of Rome, were of no force. After the abrogation, therefore, of the papal power, and the many other changes that had been made contrary to the canons, the authority of the canon law could not be acknowledged in England; and it was not proper that the church should remain long without a system of laws suited to her circumstances. Accordingly the king gave a commission to thirty-two persons, (A. D. 1543,) sixteen of the spirituality, and sixteen of the temporality, to examine all canons, constitutions, and ordinances; and to establish all such laws ecclesiastical as shall by the king and them be thought convenient to be used in all spiritual courts; and this commission was confirmed by parliament†. This work was not finished till A. D. 1545, when it was presented to the king for his confirmation. But he either refused, or neglected to confirm it; and this system of laws was not established till the succeeding reign. Various reasons have been assigned for this; but they are only conjectures.

Persecu-
tion.

No further progress was made in the reformation of the church in the short remainder of this reign. On the

* Strype's Cranmer, p. 134.

† Statutes, 43 Hen. VIII. cap. 15.

contrary,

contrary, the persecutions on the cruel act of the six articles were renewed, and several persons were burnt, A. D. 1546, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. The most remarkable of these sufferers was Mrs. Anne Askew, a lady of an opulent and ancient family in Lincolnshire, and, which was much more to her honour, of very uncommon ingenuity, learning, piety, and virtue. She was unhappily married to a Mr. Kyme, against her own inclination, by her father's authority. Her husband, who was a zealous Papist, treated her so ill, that she was obliged to leave his house, and went to London. Having expressed her disbelief of the corporal presence, she was apprehended, imprisoned, and examined by the council. At her examination she answered many questions with such acuteness, as surprised her persecutors. Sir Martin Bowes, lord mayor of London, thus addressed her: "Foolish woman, sayest thou that the priests cannot make the body of Christ?"—"I have read," said she, "that God made man, but I never read that man made God."—"If a mouse," asked his lordship, "eat the bread after it was consecrated, what shall become of the mouse? What sayest thou, foolish woman?"—"What shall become of her say you, my lord."—"I say," replied he, "that that mouse is damned."—"Alas!" said she, "Alas, poor mouse!" His lordship did not think fit to ask her any more questions. She was tried by the commissioners for executing the act of the six articles, found guilty, and condemned to the flames. After her condemnation it was discovered that she had conversed with the duchess of Suffolk, the countess of Hertford, and some other ladies, who were suspected of favouring the reformation, and against whom they wished for evidence. She was therefore removed from Newgate to the Tower, and there interrogated concerning these ladies, but would discover nothing. She was then laid on the rack and tortured, in the presence, and, as it is said, by the hands of the chancellor, lord Wriothesley, with so much severity, that it deprived her of the use of her limbs, but extorted no discovery. She was carried to Smithfield and placed at the stake in a chair, and there reduced to ashes. She suffered with amazing cheerfulness; and one who was present at her execution says, she had an angel's countenance and a smiling face. John Laffels, a gentle-

man

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man of a good family and fortune, who had a place at court; Nicholas Bellenian, a priest; and John Adams, a taylor, were burnt at the same place and time. The imaginary crime for which all these persons suffered this cruel death, was denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; a doctrine for which Henry continued to be a flaming zealot to his last moments, which were now approaching. He died January 6th, A. D. 1547*.

The reformation of the church of England hath no concern with the personal character of this prince, or the motives of his conduct. It must stand or fall by its own merits. It was left by Henry in a very imperfect state, but was happily carried much farther in the short reign of his amiable and virtuous son, Edward VI.

C H A P. II.

S E C T. III.

The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the Accession of James IV. A. D. 1488, to the Death of James V. A. D. 1542.

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THE ecclesiastical history of Scotland in the reign of James IV. contains very few events that merit a place in history, or at least very few such events have come to our knowledge. The truth is, that materials for a complete history of the church of Scotland before the reformation, either do not exist, or are so scattered and secreted, that it is impossible to collect them. Nor have we much reason to regret this. The history of this church in those benighted times, when ignorance, credulity, and superstition, with an abject submission to the imperious dictates of the bishop of Rome, prevailed, could afford us but little rational instruction or entertainment. It will not be necessary, therefore, to divide this period into two sections, as the whole may be comprehended within moderate limits.

* Strype's Mem. vol. i. ch. 51. Burnet, p. 341.

William Shevez was archbishop of St. Andrew's and primate of Scotland at the accession of James IV. He appears to have acted a very bad part in the persecution of his predecessor Patrick Graham, who had the merit to procure the erection of his see into an archbishopric, and thereby put an end to the pretensions of the archbishops of York to the primacy of the church of Scotland, which had been very troublesome. As the arts by which Shevez obtained his promotion were not very honourable, so we hear of no good that he did after he had obtained it. His pride engaged him in a violent contest with Walter Blackater, the first archbishop of Glasgow, by his refusing to acknowledge him in that character. This contest, after having disturbed the peace of the country for some time, was at length compromised. Glasgow was acknowledged to be an archbishopric; the bishoprics of Galloway, Argyle, and the isles, assigned for its province, and the primacy reserved to St. Andrew's. Archbishop Shevez died, and was buried at St. Andrew's, A. D. 1496*.

The opinions of Wickliff were early introduced into Scotland, and in some places they took deep root and continued long. To eradicate these noxious weeds, (as they were then esteemed,) archbishop Blackater held a provincial synod at Glasgow, A. D. 1494, at which the king and council were present. Before this synod, George Campbell of Cefnock, Adam Read of Barskining, John Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemac, Helen Chambers, lady Pokelly, Isabel Chalmers, lady Stairs, with about twenty others of inferior rank, in the counties of Kyle and Cunningham, were arraigned for heresy. The heresies of which these persons, who were commonly called the Lollards of Kyle, were accused, were the same with the doctrines of Wickliff, and nearly the same with those of all the Protestant churches, intermixed with a few absurd opinions, which they had rashly adopted, or which were falsely imputed to them by their enemies. Adam Read made a bold and spirited defence for himself and the others accused, which exposed the malice and ignorance of their accusers, and rendered them equally odious and ridiculous. This, however, would not have saved them, if the king, who had a friendship for some of the gentlemen, had not in-

* Spettiswood, p. 60, 61.

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shops of
St. An-
drew's;

terposed, and put a stop to the prosecution *. It is much to the honour of James IV. that he was an enemy to persecution, and that not so much as one person suffered for his religious opinions in his reign †.

Archbishop Shevez was succeeded in the see of St. Andrew's by the king's brother, James Stewart, duke of Ross, marquis of Ormond, earl of Ardmannak, lord of Brechen and Nevers, commendator of Dumfermline, and chancellor of the kingdom. Of this high-born prelate, who was loaded with so many honours, we know nothing, but that he died young, A. D. 1503. He was succeeded in his archbishopric by Alexander Stewart, the king's natural son, a boy of about eight years of age. Though this nomination was contrary to several canons, the pope, for political reasons, confirmed it; for which the king wrote him a letter of thanks, full of the warmest expressions of gratitude; in which, among many other flattering things, he says, "We have often sent our letters to you, most blessed father, but never in vain. It was one strong proof of your paternal affection to me, that soon after your exaltation to the apostleship, you sent me a full remission of all my sins; which was the more valuable, because the salvation of the soul was more precious than all other things. But to that estimable favour you have now added another, by committing the charge of the famous archbishopric of St. Andrew's to my son, though he is but a child ‡." This was certainly intended for a compliment, though it was really a reproach. This youthful prelate, the pupil and favourite of Erasmus, fell, with his royal father, in the fatal battle of Flodden, in the eighteenth year of his age.

of Glas-
gow.

Robert Blackater, the first archbishop of Glasgow, died as he was going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, A. D. 1509, and was succeeded in that see by James Beaton, of the ancient family of the Beatons of Balfour in Fife. This prelate rose rapidly in the church, was deeply engaged in all affairs of the state, and shared in the good and bad fortune of the parties with whom he was connected §.

Bishop El-
phinstoun.

Another prelate flourished in this and the preceding reign, who is well entitled to a place in history, on ac-

* Knox, p. 2, &c. † Calderwood's Hist. MSS. vol. i. p. 41.

‡ Epistolæ Regum Sctorum, vol. i. p. 3.

§ See Biograph. Britan. art. James Beaton.

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count of his talents, his virtues, and his services and benefactions to his country. This was William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen. He was of an opulent mercantile family in Glasgow, and one of the first *eleves* of the university of that city. From thence he went to Paris, where, after he had studied several years, he read lectures on the civil and canon law to crowded audiences with great applause. On his return to his native country he was promoted in the church, and employed in several embassies both by James III. and James IV. in which he acquitted himself with ability and success. His first bishopric was that of Ross, from whence he was translated to Aberdeen. In this city he founded an university, in which he built, furnished, and endowed the first college. He also built the bridge over the river Dee *. These were great, expensive, and useful works, from which his country derived great and permanent advantages. He lived admired and beloved for his charity, hospitality, public spirit, and other virtues, to a very advanced age. He was so deeply affected with the deplorable disaster at Flodden, that he never recovered his wonted cheerfulness, and died the year after, A. D. 1514. To embalm the memory of great and good men, the benefactors and ornaments of their country, is the most pleasant and useful province of the historian.

The popes, in the times we are now delineating, considered all the clergy in the Christian world as their immediate subjects, and claimed and exercised the right of taxing them at their pleasure. At this the clergy sometimes murmured and remonstrated, but were compelled to submit and pay these papal taxes. The pope sent a legate, named Bajomanus, into Scotland, A. D. 1512, who held a synod of the clergy, both regular and secular, in the Dominican convent at Edinburgh, and demanded an annual tax of two shillings in the pound on every benefice of forty pounds a year and upwards. To this demand the synod consented, but with much reluctance; and it continued to be levied till the reformation by the name of Bajomanus's Tax †.

By the great slaughter of the nobility at Flodden, many of the principal offices, both in church and state, became vacant, and the surviving clergy and nobles, instead of

Assembly
of the
clergy.Competition
for offices.

* Spottiswood, p. 105.

† Lefly, p. 356.

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uniting together for the defence of their country, engaged in the most violent competitions for these vacant offices. For the archbishopric of St. Andrew's three powerful competitors appeared; Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, and afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was nominated by the queen regent, and supported by the Douglasses, who put him in possession of the castle of St. Andrew's*. John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrew's, was elected by the convent, and supported by the Hepburns, a numerous and powerful clan. By his office of prior he was administrator of the see, and collected the rents of it during the vacancy; by the assistance of the clergy and people he expelled the servants of his rival, the bishop of Dunkeld, and got possession of the castle of St. Andrew's, in which he placed a garrison. The third competitor was Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray in Scotland, archbishop of Bourges in France, and commendator of several rich abbies. Foreman was in such high favour with King James IV. that he obtained letters from him under the privy seal, permitting him to solicit the pope for any benefice that became vacant in Scotland, any law to the contrary notwithstanding†. Of this permission he now availed himself, and solicited so effectually at the court of Rome, that the Pope Leo X. promoted him to the archbishopric, and to all the abbies the late archbishop had possessed; and also appointed him his *legatus a latere* in Scotland. He was then on an embassy at the court of France; but as soon as he had received his bulls from Rome he returned to Scotland to prosecute his claims. It appears from an authentic letter of the queen regent to the pope, that she had first nominated that excellent prelate William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, to the archbishopric, and that he had consented to accept of it; but his death prevented his promotion‡. In another letter the arrangement that was first intended by the court is thus delineated: "That William, " bishop of Aberdeen, should be translated to St. Andrew's; that George, abbot of Holyrood-house, should " be bishop of Aberdeen; Patrick, abbot of Cambuskenneth, should be abbot of Holyrood-house; that the " abbey of Cambuskenneth should be given *in commen-*

* Lesly, p. 374.

† Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 110.

‡ Ibid. p. 184.

“*dam* to Andrew bishop of Caithness; the abbey of Arbroath to Gavin Douglas; Dumfermlin to James Hepburn; Inchefferay to Alexander Stewart; Glencuce to the bishop of Lismore; and Coldingham to David Hume*.” But this arrangement was disconcerted by the death of the bishop of Aberdeen, and the subsequent contest for the primacy.

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The queen regent and nobility were greatly interested in the disposal of these benefices. This appears from several letters written by them to the pope and cardinals with uncommon warmth. In these letters they put the pope in mind, “that several predecessors had granted this privilege to the kings of Scotland by their bulls; that they and their successors would never grant any vacant prelacies in Scotland, till they had waited eight months for the royal nomination, which they would confirm.” They declare in the strongest terms, “that they would not suffer their infant king to be deprived of that privilege. They speak of bishop Foreman with great asperity, as an upstart, and enemy to his king and country, for which the parliament had justly deprived him of all his offices, banished him the kingdom, and would never suffer him to return.†” But the pope paid no regard to all this warmth and threatening.

Letters to
the pope.

If the learned, virtuous, and amiable Gavin Douglas was ever a competitor for the primacy, as our historians affirm, he soon quitted the field to the other two competitors. When bishop Foreman arrived in Scotland, both the court and the country were so much incensed against him, that he could hardly find any of the nobles willing to espouse his cause and publish his bulls. He was of the family of the Foremans of Hutton in the Merse, who had long been partisans of the Humes. He applied therefore to the lord, then one of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, and prevailed on him to publish his bulls at the cross of Edinburgh. This produced a great change in his favour; and many, both of the clergy and laity, who had a high veneration for the authority of the pope, favoured his cause. Things were in this state when John duke of Albany arrived in Scotland

Accom-
modation.

* *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 199.

† *Ibid.* p. 200—211.

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in June, A. D. 1515. He found the nation divided into two parties, and so warmly engaged, that he dreaded a civil war. To prevent this, he proposed an accommodation, which he at length accomplished. Bishop Foreman, who was very rich, and fonder of power than of money, made great sacrifices to his rival to resign his pretensions to the primacy. He resigned the bishopric of Moray, the abbies of Arbroath, Drybrough, and Kilwinning, which were divided among Hepburn's friends: he allowed Hepburn to retain all the rents of the archbishopric which he had collected, and gave him a pension, it is said, of three thousand crowns a year *. To himself he reserved only the archbishopric and the abbey of Dumfermline. The duke of Albany wrote an account of this accommodation to the pope; in which he bestowed the highest praises on archbishop Foreman, for the generous sacrifices he had made to preserve the peace of his country, and earnestly intreated his holiness to make him a cardinal, which Julius II. his predecessor, had promised to do, in a letter to James IV. †.

The encroachments of the popes of those times on the rights both of private and of royal patrons, were productive of many inconveniencies and quarrels. The contest about the archbishopric was hardly ended, when another of the same kind commenced, on the death of George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld. The chapter chose Andrew Stewart, son to the earl of Athole, and put him in possession of the castles, houses, and lands belonging to the see. But Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, was appointed bishop by the pope. Stewart, supported by his father, kept possession of the lands and castles. The regent interposed, and with much difficulty brought about an accommodation. Douglas resigned two benefices to Stewart, and obtained the bishopric. The duke of Albany gave an account of this transaction to the pope, by a letter dated at Edinburgh, September 8th, A. D. 1516, desiring him to ratify the contract of agreement, to prevent all doubts of its validity ‡. In all these contests the papal candidate prevailed.

Archbishop Foreman enjoyed the high station, for which he had struggled so hard and paid so dear, only

* *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 217.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 222.

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about seven years. He was a prelate who possessed very uncommon talents for and dexterity in business, which gained him a high degree of favour with two successive kings of Scotland, James III. and IV. with two successive popes, Julius II. and Leo X. and with that wise prince, Lewis XII. of France; who all loaded him with benefices. Julius II. gave him the following character, in a letter to James IV.: “Your ambassador, Andrew
“bishop of Moray, hath acted, and still continues to
“act, with so much fidelity, prudence, diligence, and
“dexterity, that he hath given me the highest satisfac-
“tion; and I think him worthy of a more eminent station
“in the church. For this reason, and to gratify your
“majesty, I have requested the pope to make him a car-
“dinal at the next nomination of cardinals*.” The death of the pope prevented his obtaining that dignity. Like his royal master James IV. he was an enemy to persecution, and none suffered for his religion during his incumbency.

Almost every vacancy of the see of St. Andrew's pro-
duced a contest between the courts of Scotland and of Rome. The kings of Scotland claimed a right to present to all the vacant prelacies in their dominions within eight months, and that the popes should grant to their presentees the bulls necessary to their instalment. But the popes frequently filled up the vacancies without waiting for the royal presentation. This was a direct violation of the privilege of presenting within eight months, that had been granted and confirmed to the kings of Scotland by many bulls. But the popes were now become so arbitrary, that they broke through every barrier that limited their power. On this occasion two competitors for the primacy took the field: James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor of the kingdom, presented by the regent; and Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, who solicited and expected the papal appointment, by the great influence of Henry VIII. at the court of Rome. To counteract that influence great efforts were made. A letter was sent to the pope, in the name of the king, the regent, and the three estates of the kingdom; acquainting him, that Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, had fled to their enemy the king of England; for which they had banished him by an act of parliament, and earnestly in-

Contest.

* Epistolæ Regum Sæctorum, vol. i. p. 138.

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treating his holiness not to listen to any application that might be made for appointing him archbishop of St. Andrew's*. His rival Beaton, in his capacity of chancellor, wrote a letter in the name of the privy council to Christiern king of Denmark; requesting him to give directions to his ambassador at the court of Rome, to oppose the elevation of the bishop of Dunkeld to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's and abbey of Dumfermline†. How this contest would have ended is uncertain, if both competitors had lived to prosecute their claims. But it was terminated by the death of the bishop of Dunkeld; and Beaton was translated from Glasgow to St. Andrew's, A. D. 1523, without any further opposition.

Soon after this, the cruel spirit of persecution, which had been long restrained, revived, and raged with no little violence. The first who fell a sacrifice to this infernal spirit was Mr. Patrick Hamilton, a youth of noble birth, and nearly related to the royal family, being nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother. Having early discovered a taste for learning, the abbey of Ferne, and some other benefices, were given him, to enable him to prosecute his studies. With this view he went to the university of Marpurg in Germany, where he conversed with Francis Lambert, and became acquainted with the doctrines of Luther, which he cordially embraced, and hastened home to communicate the knowledge of them to his countrymen. On his arrival the warmth of his zeal made him declaim with vehemence against the corruptions and errors of the church. His eloquence, his youth, and noble birth, attracted crowded audiences, who heard him with admiration, and greedily imbibed his principles. This alarmed the fears, and inflamed the rage of the clergy. Archbishop Beaton invited him to a friendly conference in St. Andrew's. At his arrival there he was committed to the care of a friar Campbell, for his instruction and conversion. He was much an overmatch for his instructor, whose real object was to discover and inform his enemies of his opinions. When this was accomplished, and the young king was sent on a pilgrimage to St. Dulhacks in Ross, they seized Mr. Hamilton in

* *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 328.† *Ibid.* p. 333.

his bed at midnight, and carried him to the castle. Next forenoon, February 28th, A. D. 1527, he was brought before the primate, the archbishop of Glasgow, three other bishops, many abbots, priors, doctors, lawyers, professors of the university, and a prodigious crowd of spectators, in the cathedral, and accused of holding and propagating the damnable heresies of Martin Luther. He did not deny the charge, but defended the doctrines he had taught with many arguments, which served only to render his condemnation more certain. He was accordingly condemned as an obstinate heretic, delivered to the secular magistrate, carried from the bar to the stake, and burnt with circumstances of peculiar cruelty. Thus perished this learned, virtuous, and noble youth, in the twenty-third year of his age. The severity of his sufferings, and the fortitude with which he bore them, excited the pity and admiration of the great body of the spectators; but bigotry and self-interest had so hardened the hearts of many of the clergy, that they applauded this barbarous deed as a most meritorious display of Christian zeal. The university of Louvain also wrote a letter to the archbishop of St. Andrew's and his assessors, in which they loaded them with praises for burning so great a heretic; and exhorted them to persevere, till they had extirpated all the heretics in their country*.

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Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

To such black deeds doth superstition prompt.

The clergy soon found that they had no reason to boast of the good policy, or good effects, of their severity. The propositions for which Mr. Hamilton had been condemned to the flames became public, awakened curiosity, and were examined by many of the clergy and laity, by the youth at the university, and even by the monks in their cells, who had never heard or thought of them before. The general result of this examination was, that they appeared neither so absurd, nor so pernicious, as to merit so severe a punishment, and not a few were fully convinced of their truth, and cordially embraced them. This soon appeared even in the city of St. Andrew's.—Friar Alexander Seaton, confessor to the king, preached

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several sermons in that city in the Lent after Mr. Hamilton's execution. In these sermons he insisted only on the necessity of repentance, faith, and holiness of life, without ever mentioning purgatory, pilgrimages, miracles, worship of saints and images, the usual subjects of the sermons of those times. He also used some expressions which seemed to reflect on the negligence and vices of the clergy. The uncommon strain of these sermons raised a suspicion that he inclined to heresy; and after he had left the city, another friar was set up to preach against his doctrines. When he heard this he returned, and in some other sermons confirmed all he had advanced. He was then brought before the archbishop, who charged him with having said, that bishops ought to preach, and that those who did not preach were dumb dogs. "Your informers, my lord, (said Seaton,) must have been very ignorant persons, who could not distinguish between the apostle Paul, and the prophet Isaiah, and friar Seaton. I said, indeed, that Paul exhorted bishops to preach, and that Isaiah called those who did not preach dumb dogs. But of myself, I said nothing. If that is heresy, Paul and Isaiah are the heretics."—The primate was nettled at this smart reply; but he concealed his resentment till he had alienated the king from his confessor, which was not a difficult task. That young prince had been debauched by those who had the charge of his education, and unhappily indulged himself in vague amours; for which his confessor had reproved him sharply. Father Seaton observing a change in the king's manner of receiving him, took the alarm, and made his escape to Berwick. From thence he wrote a long expostulatory letter to the king, in which he offered to return and vindicate his doctrines, if he might have a fair trial before impartial judges. Having received an answer to this letter, he proceeded to London, where he found an asylum in the family of the duke of Suffolk*.

The death of Mr. Hamilton, and the flight of friar Seaton, did not deter others from adopting their opinions, and exposing themselves to the same dangers and sufferings: on the contrary, it so much increased the

* Spottiswood, p. 65.

number and boldness of their followers, that the church history of Scotland in the remainder of this reign consists of little else but the trials and burnings of heretics. To give a minute detail of all those scenes of horror, would be very painful to the writer, and could not be very pleasant to the reader. It may be sufficient therefore to say, that many, both of the clergy and laity, were committed to the flames for heresy; that many others, eminent for their virtue and learning, abandoned their country to avoid the same fate; and that not a few wounded their consciences by recanting their opinions, to preserve their lives*.

James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, had paid great attention to the education and promotion of his nephew David Beaton. Besides several benefices which he procured for him while he was still a young man, he resigned the rich abbey of Aberbrothock in his favour; and the pope, at the requisition of the king, confirmed the transaction†. He was a great favourite of the duke of Albany during his regency, and afterwards a greater favourite of the young king, who appointed him lord privy seal, A. D. 1528, from which time he was his chief confident and prime minister. He was sent on several embassies to the court of France, where he negotiated both the kings marriages, and ingratiated himself so much with Francis, that he granted him some singular favours, and among others the rich bishopric of Mirepoix. His uncle becoming infirm in his old age, he appointed him his co-adjutor, and devolved upon him all his power; the pope created him a cardinal, December 20th, A. D. 1539. The old archbishop died, A. D. 1539, and disposed of all his benefices by his testament, and particularly of his archbishopric, to his nephew and co-adjutor. This destination in other circumstances would have been disregarded; but being perfectly agreeable both to the king and the pope, it was confirmed‡. Such was the rise of this aspiring prelate to a power almost unlimited, which he employed to the most pernicious purposes.

Cardinal
Beaton.

* Spottiswood. Knox, p. 16, &c.

† Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 339.

‡ See Biograph. Britan. Art. D. Beaton.

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tion.

The pope had fixed his eyes on the younger Beaton sometime before this, as a proper instrument to crush all heretics and heresies in Scotland, and with that view had favoured his promotion. A more proper instrument could not have been chosen for such a work. His uncle, the late primate, had been a cruel persecutor; but it was suspected that he felt some little reluctance to that horrid business. But the cardinal was liable to no such weakness. He was a cool, deliberate, unrelenting tyrant, who took a pride and pleasure in the most atrocious acts of cruelty. To render him still more formidable, pope Paul III. appointed him his *legatus a latere* in Scotland. Being now armed with all the powers he was capable of receiving, he made haste to apply them to the purpose for which they were designed; and he resolved to do this in a way that would strike those who knew they were suspected or obnoxious with the greatest terror. In May, A. D. 1540, he went from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's with a more numerous and splendid retinue than any former primate, attended by the archbishop of Glasgow, by five other bishops, by several abbots, priors, and principal clergymen; by the earls of Arran, Huntley, Marshall, and Montrose; and by many other lords and gentlemen. To all the great men of the clergy and laity assembled in the cathedral, May 28th, the cardinal delivered an oration, in which he complained of the great increase of heresy in all parts of the kingdom, and even in the king's court; represented the fatal consequences with which this would be attended; and the necessity of inflicting the severest punishments on all who were found guilty of that greatest of all crimes*.

The cardinal having thus published his scheme for the extirpation of heresy, by burning all heretics, immediately proceeded to put it in execution. In the same assembly, Sir John Borthwick was accused of entertaining and propagating several heretical opinions, and dispersing heretical books. The heretical opinions of which he was accused, were the same with those that were professed by the other reformers of those times, which are well known, and need not be here enumerated. Among the heretical books, for the dispersing of which he was ac-

* Buchan, lib. xiv. Spottiswood, p. 69.

cused, the New Testament in English was the first. Sir John, who was commonly called Captain Borthwick, had concealed himself so carefully, that his enemies could not discover the place of his retreat; and as he did not appear in court to answer to the accusation brought against him, he was declared an obstinate heretic, and sentenced to be burnt as soon as he could be apprehended; and all persons were prohibited to entertain him, under the pain of excommunication. He was burnt in effigy in St. Andrew's the same day, and in Edinburgh about a week after. Thinking himself no longer safe in Scotland, he made his escape into England, where he published a defence of the doctrines for which he had been condemned, in which he exposed the cruelty and other vices of the cardinal and clergy of Scotland with great freedom*. He was well received by Henry VIII. and employed in his negociations with the Protestant princes of Germany.

The cardinal was more successful in his next attempt to burn heretics. Dean Thomas Forrest, canon of St. Columbs, and vicar of Dollar, preached every Sunday on the epistle or gospel of the day; for which, and some other singularities, he was accused of heresy to his ordinary George Chrichton, bishop of Dunkeld. The bishop, when the dean appeared before him, addressed him in this manner: "My joy dean Thomas, I am informed
 " that you preach the epistle and gospel every Sunday to
 " your parishioners, and that you do not take the best
 " cow and the best cloth from them, which is very pre-
 " judicial to other churchmen; and therefore, my joy
 " dean Thomas, I would you to take your cow and your
 " cloth as other churchmen do. It is too much to
 " preach every Sunday; for in so doing you may make
 " the people think that we should preach likewise: it is
 " enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or
 " good gospel, that setteth forth the liberties of holy
 " church, to preach that, and let the rest alone." To this sage admonition of his bishop, dean Thomas made this answer: "I think, my lord, that none of my parish-
 " oners will complain that I do not take the cow and the
 " cloth; but I know that they will gladly give me any thing

* Fox, p. 1147, &c.

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“ that they have ; and they know that I will gladly give them any thing that I have. There is no discord amongst us. Your lordship sayeth, it is too much to preach every Sunday : I think it is too little ; and I wish that your lordship did the like.” “ Nay, nay, dean Thomas, (said the bishop,) we were not ordained to preach.” “ Your lordship (said the dean) directs me, when I meet with a good epistle, or a good gospel, to preach upon it. I have read both the Old and New Testament, and I have never met with a bad epistle, or a bad gospel : but if your lordship will shew me which are the good and which are the bad, I will preach on the good, and let the bad alone.” “ I thank my God; (said the bishop,) I know nothing of either the Old or New Testament ; therefore, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portais and my pontifical. Go away, and lay aside all these fantasies, or you will repent it when too late.” Dean Thomas did not take the advice of his bishop, but continued to preach every Sunday. He was soon after brought before the cardinal, together with two friars, Duncan Simpson a priest, and Robert Foster a gentleman, in Stirling. They were all condemned as obstinate heretics, and burnt on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh*.

List of heretics.

All this was only a prelude to the horrors that were intended. A list of three hundred and sixty persons, who were to be tried for heresy, was found in the king's pocket after his death. In this list were the names of about one hundred noblemen and gentlemen of fortune ; and at the head of them, the earl of Arran, presumptive heir to the crown. But the troubles in which the kingdom was involved in the two last years of James V. prevented the execution of this execrable scheme, by which the clergy proposed to secure their own power and possessions, and enrich the crown, at the expence of so much innocent blood†.

Cardinal Beaton had gained so great an ascendant over the mind of James V., that he devolved upon him the administration of all the affairs both in church and state. This we learn from the cardinal himself in his letters to the pope, and his other friends at Rome, in which he

* Fox, p. 1153.

† Sadler's Letters, p. 101.

‡ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. ii. p. 66.

acquaints them, that he was overwhelmed with business; that the king had laid the whole weight of his government upon him alone, and would not suffer him to depart from court one moment †. These letters were dated May 4th, A. D. 1540. Great efforts were made by Henry VIII. to weaken the attachment of the infatuated prince to his dangerous favourite *, but without effect. We may therefore, without hesitation, ascribe all the calamities that befell the king and kingdom of Scotland in the last years of this reign, to the pernicious councils of cardinal Beaton. The objects of these councils were—to keep king James at a distance from, and at variance with, his uncle the king of England, who courted his friendship with great earnestness; to extinguish that spirit of reformation that had spread from England into Scotland; and to preserve himself and the rest of the clergy from being deprived of their honours, their power, and their possessions. In pursuing these objects, he involved the nation in a war with England; the events of which proved so disastrous, that they deprived the unhappy misguided king, first of his reason, and soon after of his life.

All these disasters did not discourage this bold and hardened politician. He attended the prince whom he had ruined, and dictated a will for him in his last moments, when he was incapable of doing any deed that required the use of reason. By that will a council of regency was appointed, consisting of himself, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Huntley. He brought this will from Faulkland to Edinburgh, where he proclaimed it at the market cross, and immediately took the reins of government into his hands *.

The cardinal did not long retain his ill-gotten power. A convention met, December 28th, A. D. 1542, only eight days after the king's death. In this convention no regard was paid to the pretended will, as the manner in which it had been fabricated was not unknown. The cardinal, irritated at this, made a most violent declamation against appointing any single person, and particularly any of the name of Hamilton, regent. In this oration he gave the Hamiltons all the opprobrious names

* See Sadler's Letters.

† Buchan. lib. xv.

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that language furnished. The earl of Arran, who was presumptive heir to the crown after the infant queen and her issue, stood up and said: "My lords, call me what names you please, but deny me not my right to the regency. Whatever faults any of my name may have committed, none of you can say I have done him any injury. Neither am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil doing; but by God's grace shall be as forward to correct their enormities, as any within the realm can reasonably require me. Therefore yet again, my lords, in God's name I crave, that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my just title, before you have experience of my government." The whole assembly, the cardinal and a few of the clergy excepted, cried out, that the earl of Arran's claim was most just, and could not be disputed. He was accordingly appointed guardian to the queen, and governor of the kingdom, and invested with all the powers, prerogatives, and possessions of the crown*. In a letter to the pope, dated at Edinburgh, May 14th, A. D. 1543, the earl of Arran informed his holiness, that by his proximity of blood, and the law of nature, he had been raised to the regency, as well as by the assent of the people of Scotland†. He was at the same time declared to be the second person in the kingdom, and next heir to the crown, after the infant queen and her issue.

Two parties.

The earl of Arran was very unfit for the station to which he was raised, and the difficult part he had to act. Scotland was at this time divided into two parties, which might be called the French and the English parties. The first of these consisted of the clergy, and such of the nobility, gentry, and commons, as adhered to France and Rome, and were enemies to the reformation and to England. This party had the ancient prejudices of the nation in their favour, and cardinal Beaton at their head, than whom they could not have a more able and artful leader. The other party consisted of the nobles, gentlemen, and common people, who wished for the reformation of the church, and an intimate union with England, by the marriage of the young queen to the prince of Wales. This party gained a great accession of

* Knox, p. 36. † *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. ii. p. 157.

strength by the return of the earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had been long exiles; and of the earls of Glencairn and Cassilis; the lords Maxwell, Somerville, and Fleming; with several gentlemen, who had been prisoners in England. All these, gained by Henry, were sent into Scotland to promote his views. This party also derived great advantages from the vicinity, power, and wealth of England, and the extreme eagerness of Henry to accomplish the marriage. But the most powerful party, without a proper head, is a rope of sand. The regent Arran was at the head of this party, and by his weak unsteady conduct ruined his party, brought disgrace upon himself, and many great calamities on his country *.

The imprisonment of the cardinal, the arts by which he recovered his liberty, brought over the governor to his party, attained as great a degree of power as he had ever possessed, and defeated all the schemes of Henry VIII. have been already related †. We shall now therefore confine our attention to the events which have an immediate relation to religion.

As soon as the cardinal had recovered his former power, he discovered that his pride, ambition, and cruelty, were not in the least diminished. The great seal was taken from the archbishop of Glasgow, and delivered in full parliament, December 15th, A. D. 1543, to the cardinal †. The same day the governor, who had abandoned his principles as well as his party, and was entirely under the direction of the cardinal, complained in parliament of the great increase of heresy in all parts of the kingdom, when an act was made for its extirpation, commanding all bishops and their officials to apprehend and bring to trial all who were suspected of heresy, and promising them the support and secular arm in that pious work *.

This act was not suffered to lie long dormant. In January, A. D. 1544, the cardinal visited some parts of his province in great state, accompanied by the governor, the earl of Argyle, justice-general, three bishops, and several other lords and gentlemen. Many persons suf-

* See Sadler's Letters.

† See ch. i. sect. 2. towards the end.

‡ Regist. Parl. f. 121.

§ Regist. Parl. f. 123.

¶ Calderwood's MSS. Hist.

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pected of heresy had been imprisoned in Perth, and were now tried and found guilty. Some of them were banished, five men were hanged, and one woman was drowned†. These five men and the woman, were respectable burghesses of Perth, and much beloved by their neighbours, who earnestly interceded with the governor and cardinal to spare their lives. The governor, it is said, would willingly have granted the request; but the cardinal, who ruled all, was inflexible. This intercession, however, was probably the cause they were not committed to the flames, the usual punishment of heretics.

The governor and cardinal were prevented from proceeding in their progress for the extirpation of heresy, by receiving intelligence of the great preparations that were making in England for a formidable invasion of Scotland in the spring. That invasion took place in the beginning of May this year 1544, and was most ruinous to the capital of Scotland, and the country beyond that and Berwick. The war between the two nations being thus kindled, it continued to rage with great violence all this and the next year; during which time the preachers and professors of the new learning met with little or no molestation, and the number of both greatly increased.

The first preachers of the doctrines of the reformation in Scotland, two or three excepted, were more eminent for their zeal and piety, than for their learning. But one no less sincere and pious than his predecessors, but more distinguished for his abilities and learning, made his appearance in this interval. This was the famous Mr. George Wishart, a son of the family of Pitarrow in the Merns. Having passed through a course of education in his native country, he studied some time at Cambridge, and visited several countries on the continent for his further improvement. When he was in Germany he became acquainted with the doctrines of the reformed, which he studied most carefully, and embraced most cordially. He then resolved to return home, to communicate to his countrymen the knowledge he had obtained. Passing through England, he arrived in Scotland, A. D. 1544; and having visited his family, he immediately began to preach with the most undaunted boldness against the corruption of the church, and the
vices

vices of the clergy. He met with a most favourable reception wherever he appeared, particularly in Dundee, where he resided a considerable time, and preached in the principal church to crowded audiences, till he was prohibited by the magistrates, at the command of the cardinal. He then visited Montrose, Perth, and several other towns in those parts, preaching every where to admiring multitudes, who were equally charmed with the novelty of his doctrine, and manner of preaching. Being invited into the west, where the reformation had made the greatest progress, he preached at the market cross, in the town of Ayr, to a prodigious crowd of people, while the archbishop of Glasgow preached in the church to a few old women. In a word, the strength of his arguments convinced the most intelligent of the truth of his doctrines, while those who were not capable of judging of his arguments were greatly affected by the eloquence, warmth, and fervour of his discourses. His converts were almost innumerable; and among these were not a few of the nobility and principal gentlemen of the kingdom*.

The cardinal and the clergy in general were greatly incensed against this bold and dangerous adversary; and a resolution was formed to put an end to his attacks upon the church, by taking away his life by some means or other. Two attempts were made to cut him off by assassination; but he defeated the first by his courage, and the second by his caution. On the first of these attempts he behaved in such a noble and generous manner as should have softened the hearts of his enemies, if that had been possible. A friar named Weighton, who had undertaken to kill him when he was in Dundee, knowing that it was his custom to remain in the pulpit after sermon till the church was empty, skulked at the bottom of the stairs with a dagger in his right hand under his gown. Mr. Wishart, (who was remarkably quick-sighted,) as he came down from the pulpit, observing the friar's countenance, and his hand with something in it under his gown, suspected his design, sprung forward, seized his hand, and wrenched the dagger from him. At the noise which this scuffle occasioned, a crowd of people rushed

* Knox, p. 48, &c. Edit. 1644. Spottiswood, p. 76, &c. Buchan. lib. xv.

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into the church, and would have torn the friar in pieces; but Mr. Wishart clasped him in his arms, and declared that none should touch him but through his body. "He hath done me no hurt, (said he,) my friends; he hath done me much good; he hath taught me what I have to fear, and put me upon my guard." With these and other speeches he appeased the people, and sent home the assassin in safety *. If he discovered much courage and presence of mind on this occasion, he discovered no less caution and sagacity on the next. When he was in Montrose, a messenger came to him with a letter from the laird of Kineer, acquainting him, that he had been suddenly taken ill, and earnestly intreated him to come to him without delay. He immediately set out, accompanied by two or three friends; but when they were about half a mile from the town, he stopped saying, "I suspect there is treason in this matter. Go you (said he to one of his friends) up yonder, and tell me what you observe." He came back and told him, that he had seen a company of spearmen lying in ambush near the road. They then returned to the town, and on the way he said to his friends: "I know I shall one day fall by the hands of that blood-thirsty man (meaning the cardinal); but I trust it shall not be in this manner †."

Synod.

These two plots having miscarried, and Mr. Wishart still continuing to preach with his usual boldness and success, the cardinal summoned a synod of the clergy to meet, January 11th, A. D. 1546, in the Black-friars Church, Edinburgh, to consider what was proper to be done to put a stop to the progress of heresy, and to that torrent of defection from the church that threatened her ruin. Some proposals were made for reforming the lives of the clergy, and obliging them to be diligent in the duties of their office, particularly in preaching: but nothing was determined.

Mr. Wis-
hart ap-
prehend-
ed.

When the cardinal was thus employed, he received information that the great enemy of the church, Mr. George Wishart, was in the house of Ormiston, only about eight miles from Edinburgh. He did not neglect this information, but immediately applied to the governor, and with some difficulty, it is said, procured a sufficient force, with which he set out in the night, and arrived

* Knox, p. 50.

† Ibid. p. 51.

at Elphinston, about a mile from Ormiston. Here the cardinal halted, and sent the earl of Bothwell with a party of armed men to Ormiston to seize Mr. Wishart. Having surrounded the house that none might escape, they awaked the family, and demanded admittance. This Mr. Cockburn, the owner of the house, at first refused; but finding it in vain to resist, the earl and a few of his followers were admitted. After some expostulations, the earl of Bothwell gave a promise, confirmed by an oath, that he would protect Mr. Wishart from the malice of the cardinal, and procure him a fair trial, or would set him at liberty. On this security, Mr. Wishart was produced, and put into his hands*.

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The earl carried his prisoner to his own castle of Hails, and seemed at first to have some intention to perform his promise. But if he ever had such an intention, it was soon shaken, by the persuasion, it is said, of the queen dowager, with whom he was in love. To give him an excuse for violating his oath and promise, he was brought before the governor and council, January 19th, and commanded, under the highest penalties, to deliver his prisoner to the governor before the end of that month. He complied with that command, and conducted Mr. Wishart to the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he was soon after carried to the castle of St. Andrew's.

Delivered
to the go-
vernor.

The cardinal having got this capital enemy of the church into his hands, loaded him with irons, and resolved that he should not escape. He summoned an assembly of the bishops and principal clergy to meet at St. Andrew's, February 17th, for his trial, and invited the governor to be present on that occasion. With this invitation the obsequious governor would have complied, if he had not been dissuaded by his friends, particularly David Hamilton of Preston, a wise and good man, who convinced him by many arguments of the folly of drawing upon himself the guilt and odium that would attend the condemnation and execution of a man so innocent and so much admired. He wrote therefore to the cardinal, that he could not come to St. Andrew's at the time proposed, and desired him to delay Mr. Wishart's trial to a more convenient season. The haughty prelate stormed

Governor
refuses to
attend his
trial.

* Knox, p. 54, 55.

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of Mr.
Wishart.

at this refusal, returned an insulting answer to the governor, and determined to proceed without delay*.

A convocation of the prelates and clergy assembled in great state in the cathedral, March 1st, for the trial of Mr. Wishart, who was brought to the place prepared for him by a guard of a hundred armed men. In this pretended trial, all the rules of law, justice, equity, and even decency, were most grossly violated; the prisoner was loaded with the opprobrious names of heretic, runagate, thief, traitor, &c. at the reading of each of the eighteen articles of the charge against him, which he bore with inimitable patience. When he attempted to answer these articles, he was silenced when he had only uttered a few sentences. But these sentences were directly to the point, and really unanswerable. He earnestly begged leave to explain the doctrines he had preached, and to shew their conformity to the word of God; but this was denied him. After some hours were spent in insulting rather than trying the prisoner, the predetermined sentence was pronounced, condemning him to be burnt as an obstinate heretic†. This cruel sentence was executed the next day on the green before the castle. Thus perished Mr. George Wishart, one of the most pious and learned of the first preachers of the doctrines of the reformers in Scotland. His death was a loss to his persecutors, as well as to his friends. If he had lived a few years longer, the reformation, it is probable, would have been carried on with more regularity and less devastation. He had acquired an astonishing power over the minds of the people; and he always employed it in restraining them from acts of violence, inspiring them with love to one another, and with gentleness and humanity to their enemies.

Exultation
of the
clergy.

The exultation of the clergy at the execution of Mr. Wishart was excessive, and they loaded the cardinal with praises as the most glorious champion of the church. They now imagined that they would enjoy their power, their honours, and riches, in tranquillity, and that none would dare to open their mouths against the church or clergy. But in this they were mistaken. The death of Mr. Wishart made a very different impression on the minds of the people in general; it excited their compas-

* Buchan. lib. xv. p. 292.

† Knox. Buchan. ibid.

sion for the meek and patient sufferer, and their indignation against the authors of his sufferings. The effects of these passions very soon appeared.

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The cardinal was not a little elated with this bold at-Marrriage. chievement, the praises he received, and the advantages he expected to derive from it. Soon after, he spent some time at Finhaven in Angus, the earl of Crawford's seat, in settling the preliminaries of a marriage between that earl's eldest son, and one of his natural daughters, named Margaret, with whom he gave a very great fortune; and in celebrating that marriage. When the festivities on that occasion were ended, he returned to his castle of St. Andrew's, where a great number of artificers of different kinds were employed in adding to its beauty, conveniency, and strength.

The cardinal had many enemies, some on a civil or political, and others on a religious account; and the late execution of Mr. Wishart had greatly increased their number, and inflamed their anger. John Lesly, brother to the earl of Rothes, had been long at variance with him; and Norman Lesly, that earl's eldest son, had lately quarrelled with him for denying him an estate, to which he thought he had a claim. These two, by often conversing together, heated one another, till at length they resolved to put him to death. They admitted into their secret and society William Kirkcaldy of Grange, (who was incensed against the cardinal for depriving his father of the treasurer's office,) Peter Carmichael, and James Melville, who were zealous promoters of the reformation, and admirers of Mr. Wishart. These five, after several consultations, determined to destroy the object of their resentment in his own castle. In order to this, they agreed to meet at St. Andrew's in the evening of May 28th, with a few of their followers, on whose secrecy and courage they could rely. They met accordingly; and having settled their plan of proceeding that evening, they assembled next morning early, in number only sixteen, in the church-yard of the cathedral, near the castle, and waited till the gates were opened, and the draw-bridge down. Kirkcaldy of Grange, with other six of his accomplices, then walked down to the gate, were admitted without suspicion, and entered into conversation with the porter, asking him, when they would have an opportunity of waiting on the cardinal, and

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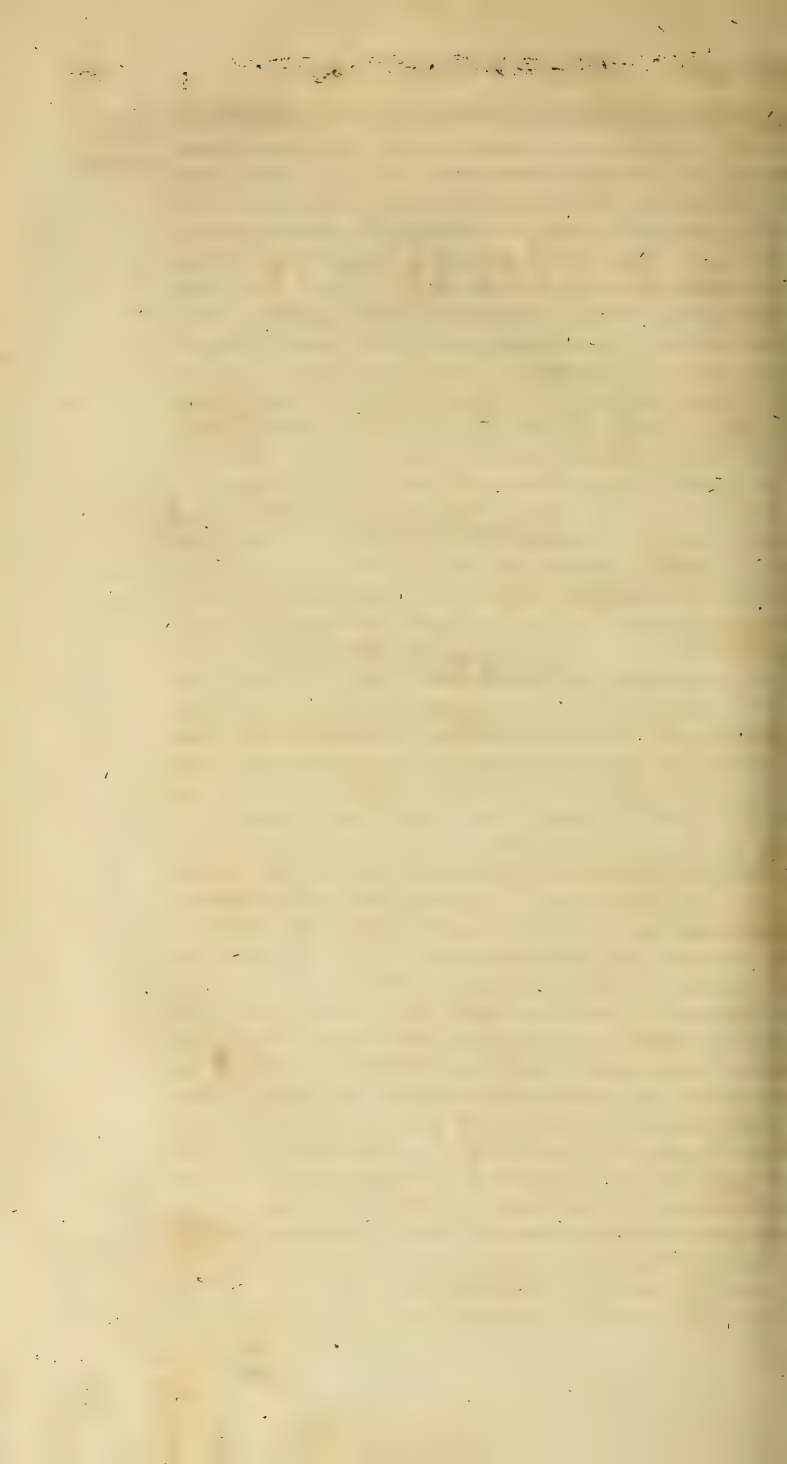
other questions. By and by Norman Lesly, with three or four others, came and joined the company. At last John Lesly, with the rest of the conspirators, approached. When the porter saw John Lesly, knowing him to be an enemy to his master, he began to suspect some ill design, and attempted to draw up the bridge: but those who were already admitted seized him, took all his keys from him, and threw him into the ditch. Being now masters of the castle, they placed four of their number near the cardinal's chamber, to prevent his receiving any intelligence. They then turned out at the postern, about one hundred artificers and labourers, and about fifty of the household, retaining only the governor's eldest son as a hostage. All this was done without any resistance, and with so little noise, that the cardinal was not alarmed till they knocked at the door of his chamber. Being asked who was there? they answered, a Lesly. Knowing the voice of his enemy John Lesly, he apprehended his danger, and, with the assistance of his chamberlain, barricaded the door, which was very strong. After some unsuccessful attempts to break it open, they brought a grate with live coals, and threatened to set it on fire. The door was then opened, most probably by the chamberlain, and they rushed in with their swords drawn. They found the cardinal seated in an elbow chair, who cried, "I am a priest; I am a priest; you will not kill me!" After a short and angry expostulation, they dispatched him with many wounds. His last words were, "Fy! fy! all is lost, all is lost *!"

Thus fell, in his fifty-second year, cardinal Beaton, the most opulent and powerful churchman that ever was in Scotland. That he was a man of great abilities his history proves, and his enemies did not deny; but his virtues were not equal to his abilities. The general tenor of his life was very unsuitable to his profession and his vows. He had many natural children, whom he publicly acknowledged, and on whom he bestowed considerable fortunes. He was a most consummate dissembler. It cost him nothing to make the strongest professions of love to those he hated, of esteem to those he despised, and of friendship to those he designed to ruin. His po-

* Buchan. lib. xv. Knox, p. 71—73.

litical schemes were deep and artful, but indirect and crooked, carried into execution by deception and fraud, when he had not power to employ force. He was proud and ambitious, cruel and unrelenting, especially to those who were zealous for the reformation of the church, which he knew would endanger his own greatness, and the power and possessions of the clergy. His death made a mighty noise, and produced very important consequences.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

B O O K VI.

C H A P T E R III.

History of the Constitution, Government, and
Laws of Great Britain, from A. D. 1485 to
A. D. 1547.

AS the civil, military, and ecclesiastical history of Britain in this busy period, hath unavoidably swelled to an uncommon size, it is necessary to compress the materials of the following chapters of this book, by expressing every thing in as few words as possible.

The constitution of Great Britain, the envy and admiration of surrounding nations, hath been the work of ages; in the course of which it hath been exposed to various dangers, and undergone various changes, before it reached that degree of excellence, precision, and stability, to which it hath now attained. Many of these changes have been related in the third chapters of the former books of this work; and such of the changes in the government and laws of England in the present period, as seem to merit a place in general history, will be related in the first section; and those in the government and laws of Scotland, in the second section of this chapter.

Changes
in the con-
stitution.

S E C T.

S E C T. I.

History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

Nobility. **T**HE people of England were arranged in the same ranks and orders in society in this as in the former period; but a very considerable change was now made in the numbers and circumstances of the people in some of those ranks, particularly the highest and lowest.

So many noblemen had been killed, executed, and attainted, in the cruel contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, that only twenty-eight temporal peers were summoned to the first parliament of Henry VIII.*; a very small number in so great a kingdom. This diminution of the number of peers diminished their weight in the scale of government; and as that was one object of the policy of Henry VII. he raised very few to the peerage. Only thirty-six temporal peers were summoned to the first parliament of Henry VIII.† Though that prince was more profuse of his money, he was no less frugal of his honours than his father, and no more than forty-seven peers were summoned to the first parliament of his son Edward VI.‡ Some other things contributed to diminish the power and influence of the peerage in this period: the facility of alienating their estates; the strict execution of the laws against retaining great numbers of idle people in their service, by giving them liveries, and by that splendid expensive mode of living introduced in the reign of Henry VIII. In a word, the baronage of England was no longer that too powerful preponderating body they had long been; equally formidable to their sovereigns and their fellow-subjects.

The numbers of the people in the lowest rank in society, that of slaves, were also greatly diminished in this period. Sir Thomas Smith, who flourished in those times, and was secretary of state to Edward VI. in his Treatise on the Republic of England, mentions two kinds of slaves; *viz.* villains in gross, the absolute

* Dugdale's Summons to Parl.

† Ibid. p. 486.

‡ Ibid. p. 509.

property of their masters and their heirs; and villains regardant, who were annexed to a particular estate, and transferred with it from one proprietor to another. "Neither of the one sort nor of the other," says he, "have we any number in England; and of the first I never knew any in the realm in my time: of the second, so few there be, that it is not almost worth the speaking about. But law doth acknowledge them in both these kinds*." That is, no law had been made for abolishing these kinds of slavery. Other causes had produced that effect. Several causes of the gradual decline of slavery in England have been already mentioned†. Another cause now contributed to produce that effect. It came to be a prevailing opinion among people of all ranks, that slavery was inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the rights of humanity, offensive to God, and injurious to man. Wickliff and his followers inculcated this doctrine with great warmth, and their declamations had a great effect. Henry VIII. granted a manumission, A. D. 1514, to two of his slaves and their families; for which he assigned this reason in the preamble: "That God had at first created all men equally free by nature, but that many had been reduced to slavery by the laws of men. We believe it, therefore, to be a pious act, and meritorious in the sight of God, to set certain of our slaves at liberty from their bondage‡." As these sentiments prevailed, slavery declined, and was at length extinguished, without any positive law. An attempt was made to procure a law for the general manumission of the bondmen in England; and a bill for that purpose was brought into the House of Lords, A. D. 1526, read three times in one day, and rejected. But what could not be effected at once by a law, was gradually accomplished by humanity*.

A new race of people, differing in their origin, complexion, language, and manners, from the other inhabitants, appeared in England about this time, and soon became so numerous, and committed so many crimes, that a law was made, 22 Henry VIII. for their expulsion. These people were called Gypsies, or Egyptians; because they said, and it was generally believed, that

Egyptians.

* Smith's Republic, p. 160.

† Rym. tom. xiii. p. 470.

‡ Journals, vol. i. p. 99.

they came originally from Egypt. The characters and practices of these remarkable wanderers are thus described in the preamble to the act of parliament for their expulsion: "Forasmuch as before this time divers and many outlandish people, calling themselves Egyptians, using no craft nor feat of merchandise, have come in to this realm, and gone from shire to shire, and place to place, in great company, and used great, subtil, and crafty means to deceive the people; bearing them in hand, that by palmistry they could tell men's and women's fortunes; and so many times by craft and subtilty have deceived the people of their money, and also have committed many heinous felonies and robberies, to the great hurt and deceit of the people that they have come among*." For these reasons the parliament enacted, that no more Egyptians should be admitted into the realm; and that if any of them landed, they should be immediately seized and commanded to depart. It was further enacted, That a proclamation should be published, commanding all the Egyptians in England to banish themselves out of the kingdom in sixteen days, under the penalty of imprisonment and the confiscation of their goods. But neither this law, nor several subsequent laws still more severe, produced the desired effect. Many thousands of those pernicious inmates remained in England long after this time; and considerable numbers of their posterity are still remaining.

Parliament.

So full an account hath been given of the constitution, powers, privileges, forms of proceeding, and other circumstances, of the two houses of parliament, in the third chapter of the fifth book of this work, that it will not be necessary to say much on these subjects in this chapter. The changes that took place in parliament in this period were not many, and few of them were of great importance.

House of Lords.

For several centuries the spiritual peers had been more in number than the temporal peers in the House of Lords. But a great revolution happened in that particular in this period. By the dissolution of the monasteries and other religious houses, more than one half of the spiritual peers were cut off from the House of Lords at

* Stat. 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 10.

one blow. No fewer than twenty-six parliamentary abbots and two parliamentary priors lost their baronies and their seats in the House of Lords at the same time. When the parliament met after this great revolution, April 13th, 1539, the House of Peers made a very different appearance from what it had done on all former occasions, from the time that the parliament had been divided into two houses. Forty-one temporal, and only twenty spiritual peers were present in that session*. This revolution was very favourable to the cause, and had been promoted by the friends of the reformation: but it was fatal to the cause of popery, which thereby lost a great number of its strongest pillars, and soon fell to the ground.

The forms of conducting business in parliament were not very firmly fixed, in the times we are now considering; at least some forms were then used which have long since been discontinued, which were very different from those that are now established. At the opening of every parliament the king was present, seated on his throne, but made no speech to the two houses. The speech was made by the lord chancellor; and as the chancellors in those times were generally prelates, those speeches were a kind of sermons on a text of scripture, and abounded in the most fulsome flattery of his majesty, whose glorious perfections the humble prelate acknowledged himself incapable of describing. The chancellor then named several committees, consisting of lords and commons, for the quicker dispatch of business; *viz.* one committee for receiving petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; another for receiving petitions from Gascony, and the English territories on the continent: one committee for trying the petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; and another for trying the petitions from Gascony, and the continent. This was a very ancient form; but in those times it was far from being a mere unmeaning form, as it is at present. The triers of petitions had a great deal of power, and did a great deal of business. In particular, they had the same dangerous power with the lords of the articles in the parliament of Scotland, to select such petitions as they thought worthy of the attention of parliament, to form them into bills to be laid before the houses, and to reject others. This

Forms of
proceed-
ings in
parlia-
ment.

* Journals, vol. i. p. 129.

gave the king and his ministers a great advantage; as it put it into their power to prevent any thing that was disagreeable to them from being introduced into parliament, except incidentally by the members in their speeches*. The forms of reading and passing bills were in some respects different from what they are at present. Bills were prepared and brought into the house by the triers of petitions, written upon paper, and after a first and second reading, were commonly delivered to the king's attorney and solicitor, to be examined, corrected, and put into legal parliamentary form†. No certain number of times was fixed for reading bills before they were passed. In the Journals of the House of Lords we find some bills were passed on the first reading with the unanimous consent of all the members, and that others were twice read on one day, passed, and sent to the Commons‡. Many were passed on the third reading, but some were read four times, some six times, some seven times, and some even eight times§. It seems to have been the intention of parliament in those times, to pass those bills immediately on the first or second reading on which all were agreed; and to read those bills on which different opinions were entertained, till all, or a great majority of the members, came to be of the same sentiments. This, however, is only a conjecture, and may be a mistake. Several other peculiarities in the modes of conducting business in parliament might be collected from the Journals of the House of Lords, if it were necessary.

The sessions of parliament in this period were seldom longer than five or six weeks, sometimes much shorter; but in these short sessions, both houses applied to business with great assiduity. They had often two meetings in the day; one at eight or nine o'clock in the morning, after breakfast; the other at two o'clock in the afternoon, after dinner||. Great pains were taken to secure a full attendance of all the members at every meeting. None could be absent without leave from the king, and without naming one or two who were present as proxies, to act in his name. Such as were absent without leave, and without proxies, were liable to a heavy fine. The

* Journals, passim.

† Ibid. p. 125.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 39, &c.

§ Ibid. p. 11. & passim.

|| Ibid. p. 26, 49, 52, 55, 56.

names of all the members present at every meeting are carefully marked in the Journals, and from thence we find that there was constantly a very full attendance*.

Some of the parliaments of this period were of longer duration, and had a greater number of sessions, than those of former times. The parliament that met at Westminster, 21 Hen VIII. November the 3d, A. D. 1529, had seven sessions each of them uncommonly long and full of business, and was not dissolved till April 4th, A. D. 1535, after having continued six years and four months†.

Though many of the laws that were made by the parliament of England in the reign of Henry VIII.; as the laws for abolishing the power of the pope; for investing the king, a layman, with the supremacy of the church; and for the dissolution of religious houses, could not but be very disagreeable to many of the members, and particularly to the spiritual peers in the House of Lords; it is astonishing how little opposition they encountered, and with what facility and rapidity they passed both houses. The bill empowering the king, as Supreme Head of the Church, to constitute bishops by his own authority, was brought into the House of Lords, read three times, passed, sent to the Commons, read three times by them, passed, and returned to the Lords, all in the same day‡. At the end of the third and last session of that parliament which finished the dissolution of the monastic orders, granted their houses, lands, and goods to the king, and made many other severe laws against the pope and church of Rome, it is recorded in the Journals, “That the lords gave their suffrages, and delivered their sentiments concerning all these acts; and such was their unanimity, that there was no difference of opinion about any one of them §.” So great an ascendant had this awful prince gained over the minds of his greatest subjects. We meet with no protests or dissents in the Journals of the House of Lords in this reign. That was a measure too dangerous to be attempted. So great was the authority, and so dreadful the displeasure of this prince, that the boldest of his subjects trembled at the thoughts of opposition.

Long parliament.

Unanimity in parliament.

* Journals, vol. i. p. 36. &c.

† Journals, p. 112.

‡ Stat. 21. Hen. VIII.

§ Ibid. p. 163.

The forms of electing members of the House of Commons, and the laws for preventing undue elections and false returns, were the same in this as in the former period. Great pains were taken to secure the constant attendance of all the members from the beginning to the end of every session. At the beginning of a parliament a list of the members returned was made out and called over at the first meeting, and all who were not present to answer to their names were fined. A very distinct account is preserved in the Journals of the House of Lords, of the opening of the parliament that met at Westminster on Monday, January 16th, A. D. 1542. On that day the duke of Suffolk, attended by many other lords in their robes, came into the parliament-chamber, and commanded the clerk of the parliament to call the names of all the knights, citizens, and burgessees who were standing without the bar, and every one answered to his name. The duke and the other lords then took their seats, waiting for the entry of the king, the commons still standing without the bar †. No less care was taken to secure the attendance of all the members to the end, than their appearance at the beginning, of every session. By an act of parliament, A. D. 1541, it was declared, that if any member left the house without the leave of the speaker before the end of the session, he should have no claim for wages from his constituents ‡.

Though both houses of the parliament of England in this period on many occasions acted a very mean part, and shamefully sacrificed their own undoubted rights and liberties, and those of the people, by complying with the imperious mandates and impetuous passions of their sovereigns and their ministers, there is sufficient evidence that the commons now began to acquire a greater degree of weight in the scale of government, than they formerly possessed or exercised. Of this it would be easy to produce many proofs, but a few will be sufficient.

We have already seen, that in former periods the commons did not take the lead in granting supplies to the crown, but contented themselves with granting their own supplies and those of their constituents, while the peers in the House of Lords, and the clergy in convocation, granted each their own aids, sometimes of a different kind from those granted by the commons. It plainly appears,

† Journal's p. 164.

‡ Statutes.

however, that greater attention was now paid to the commons in this important business, and that their assent was necessary to every grant, though some of the money-bills still originated in the House of Lords. Of this it will be proper to give one example out of several that might be given. A bill was brought into the House of Lords, February 22d, A. D. 1515, for granting the king tonnage and poundage during his life, was read a first time, and delivered to the king's attorney to be written out fair. It was read a second time on Friday the 23d, a third time on Monday the 26th, a fourth time on Tuesday the 27th, and passed. It was sent with eight other bills to the House of Commons, March 10th, where it passed and returned to the Lords, March 28th †. On some occasions, when the king, by his ministers, had applied first to the lords for a supply, and they had agreed to grant it; instead of bringing in a bill for that purpose, they appointed a committee of the principal lords in their house to wait upon the commons, to communicate to them the requisition and the consent of the lords, and to request them to take that business into their consideration; and then retire §. This was a degree of attention and respect that had not been paid to the commons in any former period. The steadiness with which the commons sometimes declined complying with the king's demands, enforced by the consent of the lords, and the most earnest solicitations of the great cardinal Wolsey in the zenith of his power, is another proof of the rising spirit of the House of Commons ||. Both the king and the cardinal were so much disgusted with the opposition they met with in the House of Commons to their exorbitant demands, that they formed the resolution of ruling without parliaments; to which they adhered almost seven years, and from which they did not depart till they had exhausted all the illegal arts of extorting money. Some of these arts were such, that if they had been successful they would have put an end to parliaments, and to all the rights and liberties of the people of England. Commissions were sent into every county in England, A. D. 1525, empowering and commanding the commissioners to levy from the laity the sixth, and from the clergy the fourth part of their goods. But these commissions excited such

† Journals, p. 25, 26, 31, 38.

‡ Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 86.

§ Ibid. p. 38.

universal alarm, and threatened so great a storm, that the king thought proper to disavow and recall them by proclamation *.

In former periods, it hath been observed that when the privileges of the commons were invaded, they applied to the king or to the House of Lords for redress: but in this period they took the protection of their privileges, and the punishment of those who invaded them, into their own hands; which is another proof of their increasing power and consequence. A remarkable example of this occurred in the parliament that met at Westminster, 16th, January A. D. 1543: George Ferrers, member for Plymouth, was arrested for debt, and imprisoned in the Counter, Bread-street; of which the speaker having acquainted the house, they sent their serjeant to demand the prisoner. But the clerks of the Counter were so far from complying with this demand, that they gave him very ill language, broke his mace and knocked down his servant. In the midst of this scuffle the two sheriffs of London arrived, to whom the serjeant applied; but they treated him with great contempt, and refused to deliver the prisoner. On his return to Westminster, his relation of the treatment he had received threw the house into a violent ferment. They declared unanimously, that they would do no business till they had recovered their member; went in a body to the House of Lords, (according to an established custom of the two houses, communicating to each other any extraordinary emergency,) and by their speaker represented the indignity that had been offered them. The lords, after a short deliberation, replied by the chancellor, that the indignity was very great; but referred the redress of it, and the punishment of the offenders, entirely to the commons. The chancellor, at the same time, offered them his warrant for the liberation of their member, which they refused. The commons, on their return to their own house, sent their serjeant with his mace again, to demand their member. It being now known to the sheriffs how much their late treatment of the serjeant had been repented, they received him with the greatest respect, and immediately set the prisoner at liberty. But the serjeant, agreeably to the orders he had received, summoned the two sheriffs to appear at the bar

* Herbert, p. 66.

of the House of Commons next morning at eight o'clock, and to bring with them all who were concerned in the late riot, and one Mr. White, at whose suit the member had been arrested. They appeared accordingly, and after a severe reprimand from the speaker, the two sheriffs, with White the prosecutor, were committed to the Tower, and three of their officers to Newgate; but on a petition from the lord mayor of London, they were liberated in a few days*. This spirited conduct of the commons was applauded by the king.

But though it is certain that the House of Commons acquired additional power and influence in the course of this period, it is no less certain, that both the houses of the parliament of England, on many occasions, discovered a spirit of servile submission to the imperious mandates and impetuous passions of their sovereigns, particularly of Henry VIII.; very dishonourable to themselves, and very pernicious to their country. Nothing but a servile unmanly dread of the frowns of royalty (which were indeed very terrible) could have induced them to give their assent to the many unconstitutional, unjust, absurd, contradictory, oppressive, and cruel laws that were enacted in the reign of that stern imperious tyrant. That many laws were made in that reign which merited the above epithets is undeniable. Could any thing be more subversive of the constitution than the law which gave royal proclamations the same authority with acts of parliament†? What could be more contrary to the plainest principles of justice and common honesty, than the law which absolved the king from the obligation of paying his debts, for which he had given security under his privy seal, and even obliged those who had received payment to refund the money they had received‡? How absurd and indelicate was that law which enacted, “That if the king or his successors should intend to marry any woman whom they took to be a pure and clean maid, if she, not being so, did not declare the same to the king, it should be high treason, and all who knew it and did not reveal it were guilty of misprision of treason§.” By act of parliament, 28 Henry VIII. it was declared high treason to as-

Servility
of parliament.

* Hollinshed, p. 955. *Miscellanea Parliamentaria*, p. 1—10.

† Stat. 31 Hen. VIII.

‡ Burnet, b. xi. *Records*, No. xxxi. *Rolls of Parl. A. D.* 1529.

§ Burnet, vol. i. p. 313.

sert the validity of the king's marriage with his first Queen Catherine of Spain, or his second Queen Anne Boleyn; and whoever refused to answer upon oath to every thing contained in that act was declared to be a traitor*. By another act, about seven years after, (which did not repeal, but confirm the former act,) it was treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the princess Mary or Elizabeth†. How capitious, contradictory, and cruel were these laws! If they had both been put in execution, any man in England might have been convicted of treason by the one or by the other. If he refused to answer upon oath, he was a traitor: if he asserted the validity of the king's marriages, or of one of them, he was a traitor by the first act: if he denied it, he disparaged the princesses, or one of them, and was a traitor by the second. The truth seems to have been, the servile parliaments of those times were in such haste to gratify the present predominant passion of their imperious master, that they did not reflect on the absurdity, cruelty, and inconsistency of the acts they passed, or on the fatal consequences which they might produce. Of this many other proofs, if it were necessary, might be adduced.

Great
power of
the crown.

When the opulence and power of the great barons (which had long formed a balance to the power of their sovereigns) were gradually declining, by the alienation of their lands and the loss of their retainers, and when the spirit of parliaments was sinking into servility, the power and prerogatives of the crown were gradually increasing in the same proportion, and at length threatened the destruction of the constitution, and the establishment of an absolute monarchy. The accession of Henry VII. however defective his right might be, was a very happy event. It put an end to a most destructive civil war, the horrors of which had made so deep an impression on the minds of the people, that they seem to have been determined to suffer and submit to any thing, rather than rekindle those flames which had threatened them with destruction. That artful prince availed himself of this disposition of the people, and obtained such a settlement of the crown as he wished, and every thing he desired from parliament. His implacable hatred of the house of York

* 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7.

† 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

and its partisans; his avarice, extortions, vexatious prosecutions on antiquated penal statutes, and the general severity of his government, created him many enemies, encouraged pretenders to his throne, and procured them followers. But the great body of the nobility, gentry, and people, though secretly discontented, remained quiet; having the dreadful disasters of the late times fresh in their memories. The insurrections were soon suppressed, and served only to render the king more secure and arbitrary.

Henry VIII. at his accession was in the bloom of youth, engaged in the most ardent pursuit of pleasures and amusements of the most splendid and expensive kind, by which he soon dissipated the immense treasure accumulated by his parsimonious father; and thereby parted with one instrument of increasing his power, about which at that time he had no anxiety. He committed the management of affairs to his ministers, who sacrificed Empson and Dudley, the two hated instruments of his father's extortions, to the resentment of the people, which rendered the young monarch exceedingly popular. He still continued to pursue his ostentatious expensive pleasures with unremitting ardour, in which he was encouraged by his favourite Wolsey, who formed, and by his great abilities had nearly accomplished, the base design of rendering the king absolute, and the crown independent of the people, by imposing taxes without the consent of parliament. Loans had been often solicited and obtained, though the repayment of them was known to be very uncertain. Free gifts, called benevolences, had been frequently demanded, and by many granted, though with much reluctance. Both these methods of raising money were contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and the last of them was contrary to an act of parliament; but as they did not avowedly extort money from the subjects without their own consent, they were by many complied with, and by all endured. But when cardinal Wolsey proceeded to strike the last decisive blow for overturning the constitution, by sending commissioners into every county in England, A. D. 1526, to levy the sixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth part of the goods of the clergy, by the royal authority alone, the spirit of the nation was roused, and so

Attempts
to ruin the
constitution.

Great
power of
Henry
VIII.

great a ferment raised, that Henry found it necessary to disavow his minister and recal his commissioners *.

But though Henry was foiled in this attempt, he was not cured of his avarice and ambition. He still wished to have the money of his subjects at his command, and the power of ruling them as he pleased. To accomplish this in the latter half of his reign, he pursued a more indirect, but more insidious and more dangerous method, by managing parliaments, and making them subservient to his designs against the rights and liberties of his subjects. In this he was too successful. The long parliament, and all the subsequent parliaments in his reign, were so managed, that they denied him nothing. The methods of managing parliaments were no secrets even in those times; and there was one circumstance that greatly facilitated their operation. After the disputes with Rome commenced, the nation was divided into two great parties; the partisans of the pope, and the friends of the reformation; and these parties, knowing the king's temper, engaged in a formal contest which should flatter him most, and comply with all his requisitions with the greatest alacrity, to gain him to their side. This seems to be the reason that bills passed both houses with little or no opposition, that were exceedingly disagreeable to many, if not to a majority, of the members. They dared not oppose with any vigour, for fear of irritating the furious monarch, and throwing him into the arms of the opposite party. It was not so much policy as his natural temper that made him, between these two parties, sometimes promote, and sometimes retard, the reformation. He was a papist, though he had quarrelled with the pope. He hanged and beheaded those who acknowledged the papal authority, and burned those who denied the popish doctrines; and his obsequious parliaments gave their sanction to both. It was a parliament in which there were many, probably a majority, of zealous papists, that abolished the pope's authority in England; invested the king with the title of Supreme Head of the Church in his dominions; dissolved the religious houses, and granted all their goods to the crown †. It was a parliament in

* Herbert, A. D. 1526.

† 23 Hen. VIII. Burnet, vol. i. p. 144. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 144.

which

which we know there were many members in both houses who had cordially embraced the principles of the reformation, that made the cruel act of the Six Articles, which condemned to the flames all who had the courage to avow and defend these principles; nor do we hear of any considerable opposition that was made to that act, except by archbishop Cranmer, and his opposition was considered as an extraordinary thing, and an act of the greatest heroism. Parliaments gave the force of laws to royal proclamations, and to succeeding princes the power of repealing all laws made before they were twenty-four years of age*. Parliaments gave the king authority to regulate the religious opinions his subjects were to entertain, and the religious ceremonies they were to perform, and to change them as he pleased by proclamations from time to time. They gave him even the extraordinary power of settling the succession to the crown, by his letters patent or his last will†. In a word, these parliaments complied with all Henry's caprices, followed him in all his turnings and windings, and enacted whatever he dictated, with little hesitation. In these circumstances the constitution was on the brink of ruin, and England was in those times very nearly an absolute, with the outward forms of a limited, monarchy.

We hear of no very remarkable change in the constitution of the courts at Westminster, or in the ordinary administration of the laws in this period, except when the sovereigns interfered. Then indeed the laws were basely perverted, and the most shocking acts of oppression perpetrated, under the pretence of executing the laws and punishing offences. In the reign of Henry VII. these oppressions extended only to the imprisonment of many of the subjects on the most frivolous pretences, and detaining them in prison till they paid great compositions to obtain their liberty; to imposing exorbitant amerciaments for small delinquencies; exacting enormous reliefs from the royal wards; demanding excessive sums for pardons, and a most rigorous execution of antiquated penal statutes‡. By these and various other methods the laws were made the instruments of oppression, the subjects harassed and plundered, and the king's coffers filled. In

Perversion
of law.

* Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 132.

† Ibid. p. 196.

‡ Bacon, 629, 630. Hollingh. 504. Polyd. Virg. p. 613—615.

the reign of Henry VIII. (who was more jealous and vindictive than covetous) this perversion of law, and the forms of justice, took a more fatal turn, and deprived many persons of high rank, not only of their liberties, honours, and estates, but also of their lives, on very defective evidence, and sometimes without any trial. On what slender evidence were the amiable Queen Anne Boleyn, and her accomplished brother lord Rochford, found guilty of high treason, condemned, and executed? On what trivial pretences did the convocation pronounce a sentence of divorce between Henry and his Queen Anne of Cleves, which was confirmed by parliament? How many noble persons were found guilty of high treason, without any trial, by acts of attainder in parliament, though they were in custody and earnestly intreated to be tried before they were condemned? Was not this a gross violation of the first and plainest principles of law and justice? Who after this will hesitate to pronounce Henry VIII. a tyrant, and his parliaments the servile executioners of his imperious and cruel mandates?

Government sanguinary.

The courts of some of the popish bishops of this period were scenes of great cruelty, in which many good and virtuous persons of both sexes, and of all ages, were condemned to the flames, for reading the New Testament in English, or having it in their possession, or for any thing that indicated that they entertained opinions in religion different from the tenets of the church of Rome. But so much hath been said on this unpleasant subject in the second chapter of this book, that I shall here decline mentioning any particulars. Such readers as wish to be acquainted with those scenes of cruelty and horror, may consult the voluminous work quoted below*. It is proper to conclude this subject with observing, that the executive government, both in church and state, in the reign of Henry VIII. was exceedingly sanguinary. A prodigious number of people, no fewer it is said than seventy-two thousand, were put to death as criminals in that reign. This account appears to be exaggerated, but the number was certainly very great*.

Revenues.

The ordinary stated revenues of the crown of England flowed from the same sources in this as in the three for-

* Fox's Martyrology.

† Hollingsh. p. 186.

mer periods, which need not be again described. Its extraordinary and less certain revenues were derived from parliamentary grants of tenths and fifteenths, from loans, benevolences, forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, &c. That these revenues, with good management, were sufficient to support the dignity of the crown, and defray all the expences of government, and even to yield a surplus, is evident from the great mass of money that was found in the coffers of Henry VII. at his death, amounting to 1,800,000*l.* equal in the quantity and weight of the precious metals to 2,700,000*l.* and in real value and efficacy to 8,000,000*l.* of our money at present. All that treasure, the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the crown, the tenths and first-fruits from the clergy (which had been formerly paid to the pope), together with the inestimable spoils of all the religious houses in England, whose value almost exceeded the bounds of calculation, came into the possession of Henry VIII. For the management of the great influx of revenue several new courts were erected; as the court of augmentations, the court of surveyors of the king's lands, the court of first-fruits and tenths†: and if they had been well managed they might have made the crown independent of the country, and enabled the king to have reigned for a long time without a parliament. But, fortunately for the people of England, Henry dissipated all those treasures, died poor, and transmitted the crown to his son and successor, as dependent on the people for their supplies in parliament, as at any former period. The wanton, wasteful profusion of princes is always hurtful to themselves, but may accidentally, and in some circumstances, prove beneficial to their subjects, by preventing greater evils. If Henry had been more frugal, he would have been more dangerous.

* Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27—33. c. 39—32. c. 46.

S E C T. II.

History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws of Scotland, from A. D. 1488 to A. D. 1542.

THOUGH Scotland, during a great part of the period we are now considering, was a scene of great confusion, owing to the minorities of the kings, the factions of the nobles, and the wars with England, the cares of government and the execution of the laws were not neglected. On the contrary, greater attention was paid to those important objects, than could have been expected in such unhappy times. Many parliaments were held, in which a variety of wise regulations were made, for bringing criminals to justice, for preventing riots, tumults, and oppressions, and for promoting the peace and prosperity of the country*.

No remarkable change was made at this time in the ranks and orders of men in society. The great barons, by the extent of their estates and the number of their followers, still maintained that superior influence which they had long enjoyed, which they often employed for the protection, and sometimes for the disturbance, of their country, by their feuds and factions. The clergy had great possessions and great power; they were in general good landlords, and did not oppress their tenants, by whom they were beloved. A few of them had some learning and skill in business, which raised them to the highest offices in the state; which, with their riches, their luxury, and their pride, excited the envy and hatred of the nobility. Their cruelty to the preachers and professors of the doctrines of the reformation shocked the humanity of the people, who could not help pitying the sufferers and abhorring their persecutors. Their enemies daily increased, and their friends diminished; and towards the end of this period the mine was dug, which was soon after sprung, and involved them in a sudden and irreparable ruin. Merchants, artificers, and husbandmen, when they were injured and oppressed by their too powerful neighbours, fought, and generally found re-

* See Black Acts James IV. and V.

dress and protection from the king's courts, or from parliament, and it was against law to seek it from any other quarter. Several chieftains in Gallaway and Carrick had been accustomed to demand a certain annual payment, called *caupis*, from their poor neighbours for their protection. A complaint of this was brought before parliament, A. D. 1490, and an act was made prohibiting that demand *. The tenants on the king's lands were by far the happiest, as they were exempted from many services to which others were subjected. The lords and gentlemen in their neighbourhood observing this, were in use to demand, in an authoritative way, certain services from them; as carriages, shearing, ploughing, &c. Complaint of this was made to the same parliament, and it was immediately enacted, "That no lord, baron, or gentleman, should compel any of the king's tenants to do them any service by coercion or dread, under the pain of being punished as oppressors of the king's lieges †." Whoever will peruse the statutes of this period, must perceive that many of them breathe a spirit of tenderness and humanity towards the common people, that do great honour to the legislators, and prove that they were not such fierce unfeeling barbarians as they have been sometimes represented. Upon the whole, there is sufficient evidence that the people of Scotland in those times, even in the lowest stations, were not so forlorn and unprotected by government, nor government so weak and unable to protect them, as hath been commonly imagined. James V. in particular, was a most strenuous protector of the poor from the oppressions of the rich and powerful, which procured him the honourable appellation of *the poor man's king*.

The authority of the laws was not only extended in this period over all ranks of people, but to the most remote extremities of the kingdom, and to the northern and western islands, where laws had formerly been little known or regarded. In the preamble to an act of parliament, A. D. 1503, it is observed, "That there had been great abusion [abuse] of justice in the north parts and west parts of the realm; as the North Isles and South Isles, for lack [want] of justice-aires, justices, and sheriffs, by which the people are almost become wild ‡." To

* Black Acts 2 James IV. c. 35, 36.

† Ibid c. 38.

‡ § James IV. c. 93.

remedy this great evil, the parliament established justices and sheriffs in Orkney, Caithness, Ross, and the Western Isles, where there had been none before; and appointed justice-aires, or courts of justice, to be held at certain times and places in those remote countries*. These new magistrates, it is probable, found no little difficulty in the execution of their offices, among a people unaccustomed to the restraints of law, and haughty chieftains who had formerly been the only judges. To give countenance to his officers, and procure reverence for the laws, James V. a prince of great activity, and zealous in the administration of justice, resolved to visit in person those less civilized parts of his dominions. He sailed from Leith, A. D. 1535, with five stout ships, well manned, attended by several of his chief nobility. It was given out that he was bound for France. But as soon as he was out of the Firth he changed his course, and sailed along the east, north, and west coasts and islands, to Whithorn in Gallaway. In this voyage he frequently landed, inquired into the state of the country, surprised and seized several of the most turbulent chieftains, and sent them to different prisons, where they were detained till they found security for their future good behaviour. By this expedition the king not only gained a more perfect knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, but struck such terror into the heads of the several clans, that they learned to respect the laws, and remained quiet, it is said, for many years†.

Gypsies.

The number of those remarkable wanderers called Egyptians, or Gypsies, in Scotland at this time was very considerable, and formed a kind of commonwealth, under a chief of their own nation, called John Faw, lord and earl of Little Egypt. The authority of this Egyptian chieftain over his subjects was supported by government; and James V. published a proclamation, commanding all sheriffs and magistrates to lend him the use of their prisons and stocks whenever he demanded them. That prince also made an agreement or covenant in form with this Egyptian chief; who engaged on his part to carry all his subjects out of Scotland, and conduct them home to their own country of Little Egypt; and the king engaged to furnish him with ships for that purpose. But the

* 5 James IV. c. 94, 95.

† Drummond, p. 309.

earl was not able to fulfil his engagement. Many of his subjects rebelled against him, under the conduct of one of them, named Sebastian Lalow, and refused to return home. This rebellion continued several years, as appears from another proclamation issued, A. D. 1553, by James duke of Chatelrault, earl of Arran, &c. governor of Scotland; commanding all sheriffs, magistrates, and other officers, to assist John Faw earl of Little Egypt, in apprehending his rebellious subjects, (many of whom are named in the proclamation,) and compelling them to obey and follow him into their own country*. Whether this famous Gypsey, John Faw, was an impostor, or had really been the sovereign of a small territory in Egypt, as he pretended, I shall not determine; but his scheme of carrying all the Gypsies out of Scotland certainly miscarried.

We meet with no mention of slaves either in the histories or laws of Scotland in this period; which makes it probable that there were not many, if there were any, of that wretched degraded order of men in that kingdom at this time. Several severe laws had been made in the preceding period for the punishment and suppression of those troublesome people called forners and masterful beggars; and it was found necessary to renew and enforce the laws in the reign of James V. A. D. 1535†. A very wise regulation was made at the same time for supplying the wants of those who were really poor and unfit for labour. Every parish was to support its own poor, who were to wear badges given them by the headsmen of the parish‡.

Such seems to have been the condition of the people in their several ranks, from the highest to the lowest, in the present period. A condition certainly not to be envied by us who live in happier times; but not so piteous and unhappy as it hath been sometimes represented. The high were not too high to be corrected, nor the low too low to be protected by the laws.

Both James IV. and his son James V. ruled much by Parliaments, which they frequently called. James IV. called eight parliaments in twenty-one years, and these assemblies were no less frequent in the succeeding reign. In this these princes acted wisely. Their parliaments

* See Appendix.

† Black Acts 1535, c. 24.

‡ Ibid.

did them many good offices; and if we may judge by their acts, they neither did, nor intended to do, them any injuries, by encroaching on their prerogatives or their revenues. The parliaments of Scotland, it is true, interfered in some things that are not commonly believed to belong to parliaments; such as the marriages of their kings, the appointing ambassadors to foreign courts, and naming commissioners for negotiating truces and treaties of peace. But they did this only during the minorities, or at the desire, of their kings; and they provided for defraying all the expences incurred on these occasions. So full a description hath been already given of the constitution, forms of proceeding, and other circumstances of the parliaments of Scotland, in the third chapter of the fifth book of this work, that it is sufficient to refer the reader to that description; as it will suit the parliaments in the present, as well as it suited those in the preceding period *. The scheme of James I. to divide the parliament into two houses having unhappily miscarried, it was never revived; but the number of freeholders soon became too great to meet in one place, and many of them too poor to afford the expence of attendance. By a law of James II. all freeholders who had not above twenty pounds a-year were freed from the obligation of attending parliament †. In the reign of James IV. that sum was thought too small, and a law was made to excuse all freeholders who had not above an hundred marks a year of rent from their personal attendance in parliament, but permitting, or rather requiring them to send a proxy, by some lord or baron of their neighbourhood ‡. Hardly any accounts of the debates in the ancient parliaments of Scotland are preserved, and it is probable they were neither very many nor very long, as our ancestors in those times delighted and excelled more in acting than haranguing. It appears, however, from some hints, that there were debates, and these sometimes very warm. From the records of the parliament, A. D. 1524, we plainly perceive that there were very hot debates on choosing the committee *ad articulos*, (on the articles,) between the party of the queen dowager and the party of her husband the earl of Angus,

* See book v. c. 3. sect. 2.

† James II. act. 85.

‡ James IV. act. 113.

and that several protests were taken on both sides. But the minutes are so short, that it would not be easy to explain the grounds of these debates*. We know also that there were very violent debates on the appointment of the duke of Albany to the regency in the minority of James V.; and still more violent debates on the appointment of the earl of Arran to the regency after the death of that king. But few particulars of these debates are preserved.

The right of making and repealing laws, and imposing taxes, resided solely in the king and parliament; and we never hear of any of the kings of Scotland in the times we are now considering, who attempted to make, repeal, or dispense with laws, to impose taxes, or even to demand loans and benevolences from their subjects by their own authority. The laws were called the king's laws; not because the king had made them, but because the execution of them was by the constitution committed to the king. The parliaments of Scotland sometimes set bounds to the undoubted prerogatives of the crown, when they apprehended they were in danger of being improperly exercised. An act was made in the parliament, A. D. 1503, that the king should not pardon any who had been found guilty of wilful premeditated murder. But this was done (as appears by the act itself) at the earnest desire of the king, to free him from importunate solicitations, and was to continue in force only till it was recalled by the king†. No little pains was taken to promulgate the laws and make them known to all the subjects. All sheriffs, provosts, and baillies, were commanded to take copies of the acts of every parliament, and to cause them to be proclaimed in all cities, burghs, and towns within their bounds‡. The justice-clerk was directed to extract all the penal laws, and give copies of them to all the judges and sheriffs§. The acts of James V. were the first that were printed, by Thomas Davidson, the king's printer, A. D. 1541, "That all sheriffs, stewarts, bailies, provosts and bailies of burrows, and other the king's lieges, might have copies thereof||."

The best and wisest laws are of little use, if they are not properly executed by intelligent and upright judges.

Execution
of the
laws.

* Records of Parl. A. D. 1524.

† Ibid. act 60.

§ Ibid. act 77.

‡ James IV. act 57.

|| James V. act 108.

To this important business the government of Scotland paid no little attention in the present period. As all sheriffs of shires, stewarts of stewartries, baillies of regalities and baronies, and provosts and baillies in burrows, were commanded to furnish themselves with copies of the laws; so they had a share in the execution of these laws, both civil and criminal, within their respective jurisdictions. Their courts, however, were not supreme, nor their sentences always final, but in many cases subject to be reviewed and reversed by the king's courts and the king's judges. The king and those to whom he delegated that part of his prerogative were the supreme and final judges, from whose sentences there lay no appeal.

Justice-
aires.

The penal laws, or matters of dittay, as they were called, were executed by the high justiciary, or justice-general, whose jurisdiction (except in regalities) was universal. That great officer, his deputies and assessors, held justice-aires, or justice-courts, twice in the year in different parts of the kingdom, for the trial of all within a certain district who were accused of having committed crimes that deserved punishment. These courts were held with great solemnity, attended by all the lords, barons, and gentlemen in the district, and a great concourse of people. The king was sometimes present at these justices-aires, which rendered them more solemn and more effectual. At one of these courts, in May, A. D. 1529, at which the king was present, William Cockburn, of Hunderland, and Adam Scot, of Tushilaw, two turbulent predatory barons, were condemned and beheaded; the earl of Bothwell, the lords Hume and Maxwell, the lairds of Buccleugh, Fairnihurst, Polwort, and Johnstone, were imprisoned *. James V. is highly and justly praised for the activity and spirit with which he pursued those who fled from or resisted the officers of justice. In doing this, it is said, he sometimes spent whole days on horseback, enduring much fatigue, and exposing himself to no little danger. In one of these expeditions he apprehended and hanged no fewer than forty of the banditti on the borders, who had often endangered the peace of the two kingdoms, by their incursions into England, as well as plundered their fellow-

* Buchan. lib. xiv.

subjects. Among others, their leader, John Armstrong of Giltknock-hall, who had laid the north of England for many miles under contribution, was seized and hanged, though he offered a great sum of money for his life. These examples struck such terror into the other lawless people of those parts, that they either fled or remained quiet, and the country for some time enjoyed so much safety, that it became a common saying, *the rusb-bush keeps the cow.*

There were now, and there had long been, several courts in Scotland for executing the civil laws respecting property, and determining disputes between subject and subject; as the sheriff's courts, the regality and barony courts, and the baillie's court in burrows. But the jurisdiction of all these courts was confined within narrow limits; none of them was of sufficient dignity, nor the judges who presided in them sufficiently learned and respectable, to be trusted with the decision of disputes of great importance between persons of high rank, or even with the final determination of matters of less moment. At all times, therefore, a court of supreme authority and universal jurisdiction was necessary. Such was anciently the *aula regis*, or king's court, not only in Scotland, but in all the other kingdoms of Europe. This was the great regality court of the whole kingdom, in which the king presided, the great officers of the crown were the judges, and all who held their lands immediately of the crown were suitors. This court sat in the hall of the king's palace; its authority was supreme; its jurisdiction was universal; and it received appeals from all inferior courts*. The greatness of this court, the multiplicity of its functions, with the incapacity and aversion of its members to perform them, occasioned its decline and fall before the commencement of our present period.

To supply the place of this great court, several other courts were established, in succession, by the king and parliament. The first of these called the Session, was erected in the reign of James I. A. D. 1425, and hath been already described*. But this court was soon found to be defective; and several attempts were made to amend it in the two succeeding reigns, but to little purpose. One of the great defects of the court called the

* Du Cange Gloss. voce *Curia*.

Session is thus described in the preamble to the act of parliament for abolishing it, A. D. 1503: "There hath
 " been great confusion of summonds at every sessions,
 " so that leisure and space at a proper time of the year
 " could not be had for ending them, and the poor peo-
 " ple are delayed from year to year, through which they
 " wanted justice †." To remedy this and other inconveni-
 " nencies, another court was erected by the same act,
 " called the Daily Council, which was to sit constantly at
 " Edinburgh, or where the king resided or appointed, " to
 " decide all manner of summons in civil matters, com-
 " plaints, and causes daily, as they should happen to oc-
 " cur; and that the judges should have the same power
 " with the lords of session ‡." But though this new court
 remedied some of the defects of the former, it was
 found in other respects equally ineffectual. Its judges had
 no fixed salaries: and not being bound by penalties, they
 attended so ill, that very often a competent number of
 judges could not be collected to carry on the business of
 the court §. Political arrangements, though they may
 appear feasible in speculation, sometimes contain defects,
 which nothing but experience can discover.

Papal bull. Complaints against the daily council being loud when
 John duke of Albany arrived in Scotland and took upon
 him the government, that wise prince formed the plan of
 a supreme court of greater dignity, efficacy, and stabi-
 lity, which it is probable he copied from the parliament
 of Paris, with which he was well acquainted. He was
 sensible that such a court could not be established on solid
 grounds, without a competent fund for the salaries of its
 judges and other members. The dignified clergy were
 by far the richest body of men in the kingdom, in pro-
 portion to their numbers; and the duke proposed to pro-
 cure some of their superfluous wealth, as a fund for his
 intended establishment. With this view he directed his
 ambassador at the court of Rome to represent to the pope,
 (who was then considered as the sovereign of all the
 clergy, and the guardian of all the revenues of the
 church,) that his obedient son, James king of the Scots,
 designed to establish a college of justice, composed of

* James I. act 72, 73, 74, 75. See vol, v. p. 396.

† James IV. act 22. ‡ Ibid.

§ Lord Kaim's Law Tracts, p. 268,

honourable and learned men, to administer justice to his subjects, and to petition his holiness to grant the king a sum of money annually out of the revenues of the prelates of his kingdom, for the support of his intended college. To render this scheme more palatable to the pope and clergy, the duke agreed that one half of the senators or judges in this new college should always be clergymen. The pope did not grant this petition till after the duke of Albany had left Scotland and was deprived of the regency. But at length the perplexed state of affairs in Germany and England made both the pope and the clergy more willing to gratify the king of Scotland; and Clement VII. by a bull, A. D. 1531, granted him twelve thousand ducats of gold a year out of the revenues of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors of his kingdom, for the use of his intended college of justice*.

Soon after this bull was brought into Scotland a parliament met at Edinburgh, May 17th, A. D. 1532; to which the king communicated his intention "to institute
"ane college of cunning and wise men, baith of spi-
"ritual and temporal estate, for doing and administration
"of justice in all civil actions; and therefore thinks to
"be chosen certain persons most convenient and quali-
"fied therefore to the number of fourteen persons, half
"spiritual, half temporal, with ane president." The king further desired the parliament to authorise these fifteen persons to sit and decide upon all civil actions†. The parliament approved of the intended institution, ratified and confirmed it, and gave the sentence and decrees of the new court all the strength, force, and effect that the decrees of the lords of session had in time bygone; *i. e.* that they could be reviewed and reversed only by parliament. At the desire of the king, the parliament also named the fifteen first senators of the college of justice, or lords of council and session, as this new court was called. If the king by his prerogative could have instituted this court and appointed the judges, he certainly acted with great condescension in referring the whole to parliament. But as parliament was in use to name the lords of session, it was perhaps thought that they had a

College of
Justice.

* See the bull in Keith's Append, p. 74.

† James V. Parl. A. D. 1532.

right to name the judges of that court that was substituted in its place. The king appointed the lord chancellor, and the abbot of Cambuskenneth president of the new court, to administer the oaths to the other lords; and directed the whole of the judges to spend the next eight days in forming rules for regulating their future proceedings, and to begin to hear causes on the Monday following. The rules were first approved and subscribed by the king, and afterwards confirmed by parliament; but they are too numerous to be here inserted, and many of them have been since changed*. By such steps, and with such deliberation, was the supreme court of the council and session established. It hath long flourished, and still continues to flourish, much improved in the extent of its jurisdiction, the multiplicity of its business, and the learning of its judges.

Charter

This court at its establishment appears to have been a great favourite of James V. who granted it a charter, dated at Stirling, June the 10th, A. D. 1532; in which he expressed his approbation of the institution in the strongest terms; promised to protect the persons, fortunes, and honours of the judges, and to punish severely such as attempted to injure them in any of these respects, or presumed to treat them with contempt. He granted them also an exemption from all taxes, contributions, and all other extraordinary charges in all times to come, and from bearing any office or charge, but with their own free will and consent†. This exemption was probably granted to the judges of this new court on account of the smallness of their salaries, which are not mentioned in this charter; but from the scantiness of the funds we may conclude they could not be great. By two of the regulations above mentioned, for directing the future proceedings of this new court, we are informed that ten gentlemen were named by the judges to be advocates, and appointed to plead causes before them; and that the judges at the same time regulated the fees of the writers to the signet‡: but neither the advocates nor the writers to the signet are mentioned in the charter of exemption of taxes and offices; and it doth not clearly appear whether they were then considered as

* Black Acts James V. fol. 53—57.

† Ibid. fol. 47.

‡ Ibid. fol. 56.

members of the college of justice, or as necessary appendages to the court, and nurseries for the bench.

As one half of the ordinary lords or judges of this court, at its first institution, were clergymen, and the other half laymen, and the president was a clergyman, the clergy had a majority of one on the bench. To counterbalance this, the chancellor had a seat and vote when he pleased, and presided when he was present; and the king had a power (which he exercised) of appointing three or four noblemen to be extraordinary lords, and to have seats and votes with the other judges, but no salaries*. Ten other judges and the president were a quorum†.

The court of council and session was for some time *Nobile officium* very popular, and gave universal content‡. The judges acted with great modesty, caution, and even diffidence. When a cause came before them that appeared perplexed and difficult, instead of determining themselves, they referred it to parliament for a decision§. By degrees however they acquired more courage and greater confidence in their own abilities and power. When a case occurred to which none of the existing laws applied, or when applied led to a rigorous oppressive sentence, they no longer referred it to parliament, but ventured to determine it themselves, by what appeared to them agreeable to the rules of natural equity and justice. The authority by which they did this, at first had no name, but it came afterwards to be called their *nobile officium*; which, it was said, was essential to every supreme court, to enable it to do material justice; and that it was peculiarly necessary to the supreme court of justice in Scotland, in which there was no separate court of equity, as in England. Though all this seems to be reasonable, and it is to be hoped that this *nobile officium* hath been generally used for the benefit of individuals and of the public, the first appearance of it was very unpopular, and excited violent clamours, that the property of the people of Scotland was at the mercy of fifteen men, who determined every thing by their arbitrary will and

* Black acts James V. fol. 53.

† Ibid. fol. 55.

‡ Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 273.

§ Black acts James V. fol. 74.

pleasure^s. But this change and these clamours did not take place till after the conclusion of the present period.

Papal bull.

To render this establishment still more firm, if possible, King James solicited and obtained a bull of confirmation of his college of justice from pope Paul III. dated at Rome, March 31st, A. D. 1535. By this bull the pope not only confirmed, in the most solemn manner, the twelve thousand ducats formerly granted by the clergy, but he also gave the king a power to appropriate to the support of his college certain benefices in the gift of the crown, as they became vacant, to the amount of two hundred pounds sterling a year. Further, to please the king, and to shew his favour to this institution, he exempted the president and fourteen ordinary lords, their clerks, notaries, advocates, and other officers, (who appear to have been now considered as members of the college of justice,) from the jurisdiction and visitation of all archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, and took them under the immediate protection of the holy see*. Thus was this institution fenced and guarded by every security spiritual and temporal, that could possibly be devised.

Prerogatives of the crown.

The prerogatives of the crown of Scotland were the same in this as in the preceding periods. But these prerogatives were not very distinctly ascertained, very firmly established, or very uniformly exercised. They varied with the circumstances of the kingdom and the characters of the kings; and they were interrupted and diminished by frequent and long minorities, during which the reins of government were much relaxed. It is sufficient therefore to say, that Scotland was a limited monarchy, and that the princes were by the constitution and by their coronation oath to govern according to the laws, and by the advice of their parliaments. In particular, it appears to have been a fixed principle, that they could not make or repeal any law, nor impose any tax on their subjects, without the consent of the three estates. The vassals of the crown with their followers cheerfully attended the royal standard whenever they were called for the defence of their country; but they sometimes hesitated, and even refused, and could not be compelled to pass the borders and invade England. This

* Buchan. p. 273.

† Keith's Append. p. 75.

was a constitutional, and often a salutary, restraint on the ambition and martial ardour of their kings, which gave them great offence, but to which they were obliged to submit.

The kings of Scotland in this period were undoubtedly poor princes in proportion to the kings of France and England, who were at the head of much larger and more opulent kingdoms; but they were not poor in proportion to their own dominions, to the circumstances of their subjects, and to their necessary expenditure. Nor was there any nation in Europe that discovered a greater desire to support their princes in a manner suitable to their rank than the Scots. In the records of all the parliaments of this period an extreme anxiety appears to preserve, improve, and increase the revenues of the crown; and many acts were made for these purposes, some of which will be hereafter mentioned.

The stated hereditary revenues which the kings of Scotland derived from the immediate vassals of the crown, were of the same kind with those of every other feudal kingdom, and particularly with those of England, which have been already described in the third chapter of the third book of this work, to which description (to prevent repetitions) the reader is referred. These revenues, therefore, bore the same proportion to their dominions with those of other princes. Besides these, they derived revenues from various other sources; as from the customs, on all commodities exported and imported; from the royal mines, which were then valuable, and were wrought by people from Germany; from the revenues of vacant bishoprics, abbies, and priories; from forfeitures and escheats of various kinds; from the estates of lunatics, and the goods of convicts; from fines and amerciaments for trespasses and delinquencies of many different kinds; from money paid for grants of liberties, immunities, and privileges, to towns and corporations; from wrecks, waifs, estrays, treasure trove, &c. &c. Some of these revenues were small, but when they were accumulated they were considerable, and they bore still the same proportion to the extent and circumstances of their dominions with those of the same kind in other countries.

But the lands that were unalienably annexed to the Crown crown, and were from time to time receiving great additions.

tions, afforded the greatest revenues to the kings of Scotland at this time; and over these the parliament watched with as much attention to preserve, improve, and increase them, as any proprietor watched over his own estate. It was a fixed principle to which the parliaments of Scotland steadily adhered, that the lands of the crown could not be legally and irrecoverably alienated, without the consent of the three estates; and that if a king granted any of these lands without such consent, it was an illegal deed, which might and ought to be revoked. These lands were considered as the state of the nation, of which the reigning king was the usufructuary, and the three estates were the guardians*. These were the undoubted principles of the constitution. They were often indeed violated, but never forgotten. Favourites prevailed upon kings to grant them portions of the crown lands, but these grants were never secure; they were soon discovered by the vigilance, and revoked by the authority, of parliament. Of these revocations we meet with two or three in every reign†. Parliament even took measures to prevent kings from giving, and courtiers from soliciting such grants. A very remarkable law was made on this subject in the reign of James II. A. D. 1454. In the preamble to that law it is observed, “ That the
 “ poverty of the crown is oft-times the cause of the pover-
 “ ty of the realm, and of many other inconveniencies.”
 “ To prevent these it is statute and ordained in full parlia-
 “ ment, That in every part of the realm, for the king’s resi-
 “ dence, there be certain lordships and castles annexed
 “ to the crown, perpetually to remain, which may not
 “ be given away in fee and heritage or franktenement to
 “ any person, of what estate or degree that ever he be,
 “ without the advice, deliverance, and decreet of the
 “ whole parliament, and for great and reasonable causes
 “ of the realm.” The act then declares all grants of annexed lands null and void; that they may be revoked without any law-process, and that those who have enjoyed any of these lands, by virtue of such grants, shall refund all the profits they had reaped from them. It is further enacted, “ That our sovereign lord that now is, be

* Stat. James I. act 10, 148. James II. act 2, 8, 43. James III. act 86, 87. James IV. act 24, 41, 82. James V. act 40, 54, 96.

† Black Acts passim.

“ sworn, and in like manner all his successors, kings of
 “ Scotland, at their coronation, to the keeping of this
 “ statute, and all the points thereof *.” It seems to have
 been impossible for parliament to have taken more effect-
 tual precautions to prevent the alienation of the crown
 lands, than those contained in this act, which certainly
 had its effect for a considerable length of time, especially
 as it was revived and confirmed by several subsequent
 acts.

The crown lands received great additions from time to time, by forfeitures, reversions, and some other ways; and parliament took care to annex these additional lands firmly to the crown soon after they came into the king’s hands, to prevent their alienation. Of this we meet with several examples in the monuments of those times; the most remarkable of which is that great annexation made by a parliament at Edinburgh, A. D. 1540, of the lands that had been forfeited by the earl of Angus and his partisans, by Sir James Hamilton, and many others. By this one act all the following lordships, lands, and castles were annexed to the crown in the strictest manner. “ The lands and lordship of all the
 “ isles, south and north; the two Kintyres, with their
 “ castles and pertinents; the lands and lordships of
 “ Orkney, Zetland, with the isles pertaining thereto, and
 “ their pertinents; the lands and lordship of Douglas,
 “ with the castle, tower, and fortalice thereof, donati-
 “ ons, and advocations of kirks and benefices, and their
 “ pertinents; the lands and lordships of Crawford-John
 “ and Crawford-Lindsay; the lands and lordships of
 “ Bonkill, Preston, and Tomtallon, with towers, for-
 “ talices, rents, donations, and advocations of kirks;
 “ the lands of Dunfire; the lands and lordship of Jed-
 “ burgh-forest; the lands and lordship of Kerrymure,
 “ with all their pertinents; the superiority of all the
 “ earldom of Angus, and all other lands, rents, and
 “ other possessions which pertained to Archibald some
 “ time earl of Angus, the time of the said earl’s forfei-
 “ ture, and now in our sovereign lord’s hands by reason
 “ thereof; the lands and lordship of Glamis that are not
 “ holden of the kirk; the lands of Baky, Balmutus,
 “ Tannades, Drumgleas, Longforgund, and Bathilweis,

* James II. act 43.

“ with the towers, fortalices, advocations, and donations of kirks, and their pertinents; the lands of Racklewch, Whitecamp, Over and Nether Howclewch; the lands and barony of Ivendale, with the tower and fortalices thereof, advocations and donations of kirks, &c.; the lands and lordship of Liddisdale, with the castle of Hermitage, advocacy and donation, and their pertinents; the lands and lordship of Bothwel, with the tower, fortalice, and their pertinents*.” This was an immense addition to the land-estate of the crown, already very great.

The parliaments of Scotland not only paid attention to the preservation and increase of the crown lands, but also to the faithful collection of their rents, and the improvement of their annual value. For the first of these purposes, they sometimes chose certain noblemen of the first rank, in different parts of the kingdom, to superintend the collection of the king’s rents in their respective districts †. For the second, they made a law permitting James V. to feu a part of his lands, annexed and unannexed, upon condition that he received an advanced rent †. But this law was to continue in force only during that king’s life.

When parliaments discovered so much solicitude to support the dignity of the crown, the kings of Scotland could not be poor, in proportion to their necessary expenditure, which is the most material circumstance. A prince with great revenues, whose expences are still greater, is really poor; and a prince with comparatively small revenues, whose expences are still smaller, is really rich. This last was the situation of the kings of Scotland in this period. Their revenues were small when compared to those of the kings of France and England; but their necessary expenditure was smaller, when compared to that of these two princes. The kings of Scotland could form no ambitious projects of conquest, with which these other princes were almost constantly inflamed, and on which they exhausted their treasures, as well as the blood of their subjects. The civil government of Scotland was so constituted, that it cost the kings very little. The supreme court cost them nothing: they had no

* James V. act 54, 75.

† James V. act 97.

† James IV. act 26.

standing army of their own subjects to support, and they hired no foreign mercenaries. Wars, which were so burthenfome to the kings of France and England, put the kings of Scotland to very little expence. They had no wars but with England, which were either defensive, or sudden predatory incursions. When their country was invaded, all the vassals of the crown, with their followers, and even all the subjects who were able to bear arms, were obliged to attend the royal standard, to repel the invaders at their own expence. The predatory incursions were undertaken by martial chieftains and bold adventurers, from the desire of revenge, or the hopes of booty, sometimes with and sometimes without the king's permission, but never at his expence. The kings of Scotland were not even at the expence of the ambassadors sent to England, France, Denmark, and other courts. That expence was defrayed by a small tax imposed by parliament *. In a word, the revenues of the crown of Scotland were chiefly intended for supporting the king's court and household in a manner suitable to the royal dignity, and for that purpose they were more than sufficient. Accordingly these princes married into the greatest families in Europe; had magnificent palaces, numerous attendants, and lived with splendor and in affluence. They never complained of the scantiness of their revenues: they never applied to parliament for supplies, or for the payment of their debts: they never once attempted to extort a farthing from their subjects, by loans, benevolences, and other oppressive arts, which were so often employed by the greatest princes in Europe their contemporaries. They were under no necessity of employing such arts.

* James II. act 51. James III. act 62, 90, 126. James IV. act. 22, 45, 46, 72.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

B O O K VI.

C H A P T E R IV.

History of Learning, of learned Men, and of the chief Seminaries of Learning that were founded in Great Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

IT was only a very brief account of the state of learning and of the several sciences in every period, that was promised in the plan of this work in the preface prefixed to the first volume *. This was all that could with any propriety be introduced into general history. To have attempted to give regular extended systems of every science in every period, would have been a most postterous absurd attempt. Such systems would have been useless and unnecessary to the learned, and tedious and disgusting to the bulk of readers; would have quite destroyed the symmetry of this work, and swelled every fourth chapter to an enormous size. What was proposed in the plan is thus expressed: " It is only design-

Account of
the sciences
short.

* See the General Preface.

“ ed to lay before the reader a clear and concise account
 “ of the general state of each science ; its decline or
 “ progress ; its most remarkable defects and most im-
 “ portant improvements. This is all that falls within
 “ the province of general history on subjects of this
 “ nature ; all that can be universally useful or agree-
 “ able, or reasonably desired and expected in a work of
 “ this kind *.” Though such brief accounts of the ge-
 neral state of learning may be of little use to the learned
 in literary history, they may be both instructive and en-
 tertaining to many other readers, who have neither lei-
 sure nor inclination to peruse more voluminous works on
 these subjects. They may contribute also to diffuse the
 fame of those ingenious men who have done honour to
 their country by their learned labours, and enriched it
 with the stores of useful knowledge.

A dark pe-
 riod.

The morning of that auspicious day which succeeded
 that long night of ignorance in which almost all Europe
 had been involved from the fall of the western empire,
 had already dawned on Italy, and some other parts of
 the Continent, but had not yet reached this little se-
 questered world of Britain. While learning was reviv-
 ing in some other countries, it was languishing and de-
 clining in this island ; and the period that immediately
 preceded the present was here one of the darkest and
 most illiterate †. In every former period, the darkest
 not excepted, some extraordinary men arose ; as venera-
 ble Bede, Alfred the Great, Roger Bacon, Doctor Wick-
 liff, &c. who, by the force of their genius and appli-
 cation, dissipated, in some degree, the gloom with
 which they were surrounded, and rendered their names
 immortal. But in the fifteenth century there was not
 so much as one man in Britain who acquired, or indeed
 deserved, a very extensive or permanent reputation by
 his writings.

Plan of the
 chapter.

But our present period presents us with a more agree-
 able prospect. A better taste, and a greater esteem and
 love of learning were introduced, and became gradually
 more general and more ardent. That we may have a
 distinct view of this happy change, which hath been
 productive of so much innocent and rational pleasure

* See the General Preface.

† See vol. v. c. 4. sect. 1.

to individuals, and of so many benefits to society, it will be proper to give a brief account, 1. Of the sciences that were most successfully cultivated: 2. Of the most learned men who flourished: and, 3. Of the principal seminaries of learning that were founded in Britain in the present period.

S E C T. I.

A brief Account of the Sciences that were most successfully cultivated in Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

GREAT industry, and an enthusiastic attachment to literary pursuits, were as necessary as genius to the revivers of learning. They had many difficulties to encounter, and few things to animate and encourage them in their labours. Books were still very scarce and dear. The art of printing had been introduced into England a few years before. But the first productions of the English press were very poor performances, and contributed very little to the improvement of taste or revival of learning. Honest William Caxton, instead of printing the Latin and Greek classics in their original languages, with which he was unacquainted, printed his own degrading translations of some of them from French translations, no less degrading, which could give their readers no ideas of their beauties. Instructors were still scarcer than books. The path was untrodden, and guides could not be procured. Learning was not yet become the road to preferment. The nobility in general were illiterate, and despised, rather than patronised, learning and learned men. "It is enough (said a nobleman to Richard Pace, secretary to Henry VIII.) for noblemen's sons to wind their horn and carry their hawk fair, and leave study and learning to the children of mean people*." Henry VII. was neither a learned nor a generous prince. He employed indeed several clergymen in his affairs, not on account of their uncom-

Obstructions
to
learning.

* Biographia Britan. p. 1236.

mon learning, but of their skill in business and dexterity in negotiations, and to save his money, by rewarding them with benefices instead of salaries. After the reformation had commenced in Germany, and many began to favour it in Britain, those who deviated from the beaten track in their studies were suspected of heresy, and discouraged and persecuted on that account. But notwithstanding this, a number of ingenious and industrious men appeared in this period, who surmounted all these difficulties; and by their example, their exhortations, and the beauty and elegance of their writings, brought a better kind of learning into reputation, and gave a happy turn to the taste and studies of the age.

Latin language.

No province of literature was cultivated with so much care and success by the revivers of learning in the present period, as philology, or the accurate knowledge of languages, particularly of the Latin and Greek classics. The neglect into which the works of the philosophers, poets, and historians of Greece and Rome had fallen, was one great cause of the decline of learning, and of the bad taste and barbarism of the middle ages. The revivers of learning, therefore, acted wisely in beginning its revival, by removing one of the great causes of its decline. By acquiring a correct and critical knowledge of the language, style, and manner of those excellent writers, they obtained two great advantages: they had access to all the stores of wisdom and eloquence their writings contained, and to all the pleasure their perusal could afford; and by imitating such beautiful models, they acquired the art of communicating their own thoughts to the world in a perspicuous, elegant, and pleasing manner. In this art some of the revivers of learning, both in Britain and on the Continent, succeeded to admiration, and wrote in Latin with a classical purity, not unbecoming the Augustan age *. The success, exhortations, and example, of those eminent men, and of many others, brought the study of the Latin language into fashion; the barbarous jargon formerly used was despised; and to be able to speak and write pure and classical Latin, was considered as a valuable, and even a polite accomplishment, to which persons of

* Sir Thomas More, Doctor Linacer, William Lilly, George Buchannan, &c. &c.

high rank and of both sexes aspired. To assist youth in the acquisition of this accomplishment, the greatest scholars of the age, as Erasmus, Linacer, Sir John Cheke, and many others, did not disdain to spend their time in writing rudiments, grammars, vocabularies, colloquies, and other books. The haughty monarch Henry VIII. and his no less haughty minister cardinal Wolsey, stooped to employ their pens in writing instructions to youth in the study of this favourite language. The king, it is said, wrote a treatise *de instituenda pube*, and an Introduction to Grammar; and the cardinal composed a system of instructions to be observed by the masters in the school he founded at Ipswich, his native town *. The cardinal had been a schoolmaster, and was well qualified for giving these instructions, which are equally sensible and particular. James IV. of Scotland was a great admirer of a pure and classical style in writing Latin, and a zealous promoter of the study of that language. His own letters are written with greater purity and elegance than those of any other prince in Europe †. He put his natural son, Alexander archbishop of St. Andrew's, a most ingenious youth, under the care of the great Erasmus; and he procured an act of parliament to be made, A. D. 1496, "obliging all barons and freeholders that are of substance, to put their eldest sons to the grammar schools at eight or nine years of age, to remain there till they were competently founded, and had perfect Latin ‡." In a word, the Roman classics were now studied with so much diligence, and the capacity of imitating their style and manner were so much valued, that the sixteenth century may very properly be called *seculum Latinum*, the Latin age.

The restorers of learning found much greater difficulty in acquiring the knowledge of the Greek language Greek language. themselves, and in persuading others that the knowledge of it was either necessary or useful. That copious and beautiful language, in which so many of the philosophers, poets, historians, and orators of antiquity had written, was almost quite unknown in Britain in the

* Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, p. 8, 9. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 223. Ibid. Appendix, No. 35.

† Epistole Regum Scotorum, vol. i.

‡ James IV. act 87.

beginning of this period. The celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam, the most zealous and successful restorer of learning, came into England, A. D. 1497, and went to Oxford with a design to teach Greek; but he met with much opposition and little encouragement. Many both of the secular and regular clergy declaimed against him in the schools, and even in the pulpit, with great bitterness. They railed particularly against his Greek New Testament, as a most impious and dangerous book *. He continued, however, to teach there a considerable time, encouraged by a few ingenious men, who gladly received his instructions, and afterwards communicated them to others, by which a taste for the study of the Greek language was gradually excited, not only among the youth, but in some members of the university who were far advanced in life. In this, however, little progress was made for several years, owing to the unhappy state of the university, which was frequently visited and dispersed by the sweating-sickness, distracted by riots, and disgraced by the general ignorance and profligacy of its members †.

The accession of Henry VIII. was an event favourable to learning, for which he had a taste, and in which he had made some proficiency. He was at the same time rich and generous, and fond of praise, which made many entertain hopes that he would prove a liberal patron to men of literary merit. On this event the lord Mountjoy, who was a great admirer and had been a pupil of Erasmus, pressed him to come into England; promising him the patronage of the king, of Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and of other great men. He complied with the invitation, and arrived in London, A. D. 1509. After spending some time with his friend Sir Thomas More, he went to Cambridge, with a design to promote the interest of learning, and particularly the study of the Greek tongue, which had been as much neglected in that as in the other university. But though he was patronised by the chancellor, Fisher bishop of Rochester, and appointed professor of Greek, he had little success, and found the academicians of Cambridge as ignorant and averse to study as those of Oxford. He explained the grammar of Chrysostoras to a few poor scholars, who

* A. Wood, Hist. Univer. Oxon. i. p. 237. † Ibid. p. 240.

could give him little or nothing for his labour; and his expences far exceeded his gains*. So difficult was it to rouse the students of those times from that lethargy into which they had fallen, and to correct the bad taste they had contracted.

The dissension between the friends and enemies of the Greek language and learning at Oxford did not terminate when Erasmus left that university. On the contrary, they were formed into two parties; one of which was called the Greeks, and the other the Trojans. As the Trojans were the most numerous, (almost all the monks being true Trojans,) they were the most insolent. When a poor Greek appeared on the street, or in any public place, he was attacked by the Trojans with hisses, taunts, and insults of all kinds. But the triumphs of the Trojans were not of long duration. The king and his great favourite cardinal Wolsey having warmly espoused the cause of the Greeks, their numbers, their credit, and their courage daily increased, the Greek language became a favourite study, and the Trojans were obliged to quit the field†.

But after the study of the Greek language had become fashionable, a controversy about the true pronunciation of it arose between Sir John Cheke, professor of Greek at Cambridge, and Stephen Gardner, chancellor of that university and bishop of Winchester. This controversy (a minute account of which cannot be introduced into general history) was conducted with great modesty and learning by the professor, who proved by many arguments, that the pronunciation which had been introduced in the dark ages was absurd and faulty in many respects; and in particular, that by giving the same sound to several different letters, it destroyed the beauty, variety, and musical sweetness of the language, which were restored by the new pronunciation. To all this the haughty chancellor replied by a thundering decree, denouncing very severe censures on all who dared to drop the old, and adopt the new pronunciation‡. On this occasion reason proved too strong for mere authority. The decree was soon disregarded, and the new pronunciation pre-

* Dr. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 37.

† A. Wood, *ibid.* p. 246. ‡ Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 17. &c. His Memorials, vol. i. p. 372.

veiled, and still prevails. Thus in the space of about thirty years a great change was brought about in the state of learning and the taste of the learned in Britain, by the labours of a few active and ingenious men, in opposition to inveterate habits, strong prejudices, and the indolence, ignorance, dissolute manners, and bad taste that had long reigned in the seminaries of learning, and were not easily overcome. The Roman and Greek classics, which had been long neglected, and almost forgotten, were studied with the greatest ardour and success; and their style and manner admirably well imitated by several British as well as foreign writers in this period*. Some attempts were made to revive the study of the Hebrew, but not with the same success.

Wolsey a
patron of
learning.

The patronage and liberality of the great contributed no less than the labours of the learned to the revival of learning; nor was there in those times a more liberal patron of learning and learned men than the famous cardinal Wolsey. This extraordinary man had a genius and taste for learning, in which he had made great proficiency in his youth, and for which he retained a regard in his highest elevation. "Politer learning," says Erasmus, "as yet struggling with the patrons of the ancient ignorance, he upheld by his favour, defended by his authority, adorned by his splendour, and cherished by his kindness. He invited all the most learned professors by his noble salaries. In furnishing libraries with all kinds of authors of good learning, he contended with Ptolemeus Philadelphus himself, who was more famous for this than for his kingdom. He recalled the three learned languages, without which all learning is lame †." That all this was not flattery is certain. When the cardinal visited Oxford, A. D. 1518, he founded no fewer than seven lectures; viz. in theology, civil law, physic, philosophy, mathematics, Greek, and rhetoric; and chose the most learned men he could procure to read those lectures ‡. He at the same time intimated his intention of doing much greater things for the honour of the university and the advance-

* See the Works of More, Buchannan, Cheke, Linacer, Collet, &c. &c.

† Biographia Britan.

‡ Erasmi Epist. lib. vi. ep. 21. vita Wolsey. A Wood, Hist. Univer. Oxont lib. i. p. 250.

ment of learning, which he executed in part, and, to his unspeakable sorrow, was prevented from executing fully, by his unexpected fall.

The time and thoughts of the restorers of learning in our present period were so much engaged in the study of the *belles lettres*, that they could not pay the same attention to the sciences. These remained nearly in the same low and wretched state (a very few excepted) in which they had been in the three preceding periods. The philosophic age was not yet arrived. It would be very improper therefore to encumber the pages of general history with a dry detail of the trivial changes that were now made in logic, metaphysics, natural and moral philosophy, arithmetic, mathematics, astronomy, &c. No genius, art, or industry could render such a detail either instructive or entertaining†. The logic, metaphysics, and philosophy of the schools, which were in high reputation in the beginning of this period, gradually declined as a better taste prevailed; and as the language of the philosophers of Greece and Rome came to be better understood, and their works more generally perused, the barbarous jargon, unintelligible subtilties, endless distinctions, and ponderous works of the schoolmen, came to be neglected and despised. Their volumes, which had been once highly prized and diligently studied, began to be treated with great contempt, and put to the most ignominious uses. The commissioners who were appointed to visit the university of Oxford, A. D. 1535, wrote thus to the lord Cromwell: "We have set Duncce in Bocardo, and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses; and he is now made a common servant to every man, fast nailed up upon posts in all common houses of easement. The second time we came to New College, after we had declared your injunctions, we found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Duncce; (*Joannes Duns Scotus*,) the wind blowing them into every corner*." The works of the other schoolmen no doubt shared the same fate, those of Thomas Aquinas perhaps excepted, as he was the king's favourite author.

* See vol. iii. c. 4 sect. 1.—vol. iv. and v. c. 4. sect. 1.

† Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 210. A. Wood, lib. i. p. 260.

School di-
vinity.

The theology of the schoolmen received a severe blow, and underwent as great a change at this time, as their philosophy; and the study of the languages, particularly the Greek, contributed as much to the one as to the other. In the beginning of this period very few theologians understood the original languages either of the Old or New Testament, or made the scriptures their study. The Bible-divines had been gradually decreasing in their credit and in their numbers from the thirteenth century, and in the fifteenth they were almost quite extinct*. The professors of divinity read lectures only on the sentences of Peter Lombard, or on the summs, as they were called, of other schoolmen. But when the study of the Greek language began to prevail, in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, several of the clergy applied to that study, and became acquainted with the New Testament in the original; of which an edition was published by Erasmus, A. D. 1515†. But these studies were thought to be dangerous, and were discouraged by the great body of the clergy, as tending to make those who applied to them heretics. It soon appeared that they had that tendency, and that they paved the way for the reformation that followed. The taste, however, that several ingenious men had contracted for this new learning, as it was called, was so strong, that they were not deterred by reproaches, threats, and dangers, from communicating the knowledge they had acquired, and recommending the same studies to others. Doctor John Collet, the founder of St. Paul's school, and one of the most zealous revivers of learning, read public lectures at Oxford, A. D. 1497, on St. Paul's Epistles, without fee or reward. These lectures excited great curiosity, and were attended by crowded audiences; but the lecturer was soon interrupted, by an accusation of heresy that was brought against him before archbishop Warham, who had so great an esteem for him, on account of his virtue and learning, that he discouraged the prosecution, and suffered him to escape‡. After Doctor Collet was appointed dean of St. Paul's, A. D. 1505, he preached every Sunday in the cathedral, in an uncommon strain of eloquence; boldly condemn-

* See vol. iv. ch. 4. sect. 1.

† Erasm. Epist. 181.

‡ Knight's Life of Collet, p. 50.

ing the cold unaffected manner in which the clergy in general read their sermons; the worship of images; the celibacy of the clergy; and several superstitious ceremonies of the church. He encouraged his friend William Grocine, another of the revivers of learning, to read lectures on the New Testament in St. Paul's, which were well attended and much admired*. These sermons and lectures, and others of the same kind, together with the writings of Erasmus and the other revivers of learning, diminished the reputation of scholastic divinity, and excited in the minds of many, both of the clergy and laity, a desire of becoming acquainted with the scriptures, and of drawing their religious opinions from those sacred fountains, even before Luther began the reformation in Germany. The revivers of learning, therefore, contributed not a little to discredit the artificial theology of the schools, and to introduce the study of the scriptures, by which they prepared the minds of men (some of them without intending it) for receiving the doctrines of the reformation. Of this the enemies of the new learning were not ignorant; and they hated Erasmus, who, they said, had laid the egg, almost as much as they hated Luther, who they said had hatched it†.

Physic, surgery, and all the branches of the healing art, were in a very imperfect state at the beginning of this period, and even at the accession of Henry VIII. This we learn from an act of parliament made A. D. 1511: "The science and cunning of physick and surgery" (to the perfect knowledge whereof be requisite both "great learning and ripe experience) is daily within this "realm exercised by a great multitude of ignorant persons, of whom the greater part have no manner of "insight in the same, nor in any other kind of learning; some also ken no letters on the book; so far "forth, that common artificers, as smiths, weavers, and "women, boldly and accustomedly take upon them great "cures, and things of great difficulty, in which they "partly use forcery and witchcraft, partly apply such "medicines unto the disease as be very noxious, and nothing meet therefor, to the high displeasure of God, "great infamy to the faculty, and the grievous hurt,

* Knight's Life of Collet, p. 50.

† Jortin's Life of Erasmus, passim.

“ damage, and destruction of many of the king’s liege
 “ people, most especially of them that cannot discern the
 “ uncunning from the cunning *.” To prevent these evils it was enacted, that no person should act as a physician or surgeon in London, or within seven miles of it, till he was examined and approved by the bishop of London or the dean of St. Paul’s, assisted by four doctors of physic or four expert surgeons, under the penalty of six pounds for every month he had acted; one half to the king, and the other to the informer: and that no person should practise in any other part of England, without a licence from the bishop of the diocese, under the same penalty. The privileges and rights of the two universities were secured. This law seems to have given a check to quackery, and to have diminished the number of practitioners of surgery in London. For two years after, the incorporation of surgeons in London, which consisted of only twelve persons, petitioned parliament to be exempted from the obligation of bearing arms and of serving on juries, that they might be at all times at liberty to attend their practice. Their petition was granted, and that exemption is still enjoyed by the faculty †. The parliament seems to have supposed that twelve regular surgeons would always be sufficient for London; as by the last article in the act the exemption is restricted to that number ‡. How short-sighted are the greatest assemblies!

College of
physicians. To rescue the practice of physic out of the ignoble and unworthy hands by which it had been disgraced, and had done so much mischief, another design was soon after formed and executed. This was the institution of the Royal College of Physicians in London. This design, it is said, was formed by Doctor Thomas Linacer, physician to Henry VIII. and patronized by cardinal Wolsey, at whose desire the king granted a charter, September 23d, A. D. 1518, incorporating Doctors John Chambre, Thomas Linacer, Ferdinando De Victoria, his own three physicians, with Nicholas Hatfield, John Francisco, and Robert Yaxley, physicians, and the other gentlemen of the faculty in the city of London, into one body, community, and perpetual college. To this college Henry

* Stat. 3 Hen. VII. c. 11.

† Ibid.

‡ 5 Hen. VIII. c. 6.

granted various rights; powers, and immunities, by his charter; such as, a right to elect a president annually for the government of the college; to have a common seat; to purchase lands to a certain value; to sue and to be sued by the name and title of The President and Community of the College of Physicians in London; and to make laws and regulations for the good government of the college. He granted them a power to practise as physicians in London, and seven miles round it; and that none who were not licenced by the college should practise within that bounds, under the penalty of paying five pounds for every month they practised. He gave them power to choose four of their members annually, to superintend and discover all irregular practitioners, and to punish them by fines, amerciaments, imprisonments, and other fit and reasonable ways. They had also authority to visit all apothecaries' shops, and examine their medicines, as often as they thought it necessary or proper. Finally, the members of the college and their licentiates were exempted from bearing arms or serving on juries. This charter was confirmed by parliament, A. D. 1523 *. This institution was intended and calculated to raise the reputation of the medical profession, and prevent the people from being imposed upon by bold and ignorant adventurers, who sported with their lives, and robbed them of their money. These two acts of parliament, which were for some time strictly executed, had one remarkable effect:—by greatly diminishing the number of practitioners; they made the regular practice of physic and surgery exceedingly lucrative. “The most effectual security against poverty,” saith Erasmus, “is the art of medicine, which of all arts is the most remote from mendicity †.”

The wisest legislators do not foresee all the consequences of their laws. The act 3 Hen. VIII. in favour of the incorporation of surgeons in London, proved very inconvenient and oppressive; and that incorporation persecuted many well-meaning charitable persons, who endeavoured to assist their poor neighbours in distress, with so much severity, that parliament found it necessary to interpose. An act was accordingly made, 35 Hen. VIII. A. D. 1543, representing in the preamble, “That since

Surgeons.

* Hen. VIII. c. 5.

† Erasmi Opera, tom. v. p. 661.

“ the act made in the third of that king, the company
 “ and fellowship of the surgeons of London, minding
 “ only their own lucres, and nothing the profit or ease
 “ of the diseased and patient, have sued, troubled, and
 “ vexed divers honest persons, as well men as women,
 “ whom God hath endued with the knowledge of the
 “ nature, kind, and operation of certain herbs, roots,
 “ and waters, and the using and ministering them to
 “ such as been pained with customable diseases; as wo-
 “ men’s breasts being sore, a pin and web in the eye,
 “ uncomes of hands, burnings, scalding, sore mouths,
 “ the stone, strangury, faucelim, morphew, and such
 “ other diseases; and yet the said persons have not taken
 “ any thing for their pains or cunning, but have mini-
 “ stered the same to poor people, only for neighbour-
 “ hood and God’s sake, and of pity and charity.” To pre-
 vent these vexatious prosecutions, it was enacted, “ That
 “ it shall henceforth be lawful to every person, being
 “ the king’s subject, having knowledge and experience
 “ of the nature of herbs, roots, and waters, or of the
 “ operation of the same, by speculation or practice, to
 “ practise, use, and minister, in and to any outward
 “ sore, uncome, wound, apostemations, outward swell-
 “ ling and disease, any herb or herbs, ointments, baths,
 “ pulsters, and emplaisters, according to their cunning,
 “ experience, and knowledge, in any of the diseases,
 “ sores, and maladies aforesaid, and all other like to the
 “ same, or drinks for the stone, strangury, or agues,
 “ without suit, vexation, penalty, or loss of their
 “ goods*.” In this statute the parliament gave the sur-
 geons of London a very bad character: “ Most part of
 “ the said craft of surgeons have small cunning, yet they
 “ will take great sums of money and do little therefor;
 “ and by reason thereof, they do often times impair and
 “ hurt their patients, rather than do them good. It is
 “ now well known, that the surgeons admitted will do
 “ no cure to any person, but where they shall know
 “ to be rewarded with a greater sum and reward than
 “ the cure extendeth unto: for in case they would mi-
 “ nister their cunning unto sore people unrewarded,
 “ there should not so many rot and perish to death, for
 “ lack or help of surgery, as daily do†.” This odious

* Hen. VIII. c. 8

† Ibid.

character will not apply to their successors in the present age.

Humane and skilful physicians and surgeons were never more necessary than in the period we are now examining. Besides the diseases formerly known, two new ones broke out at this time with great violence, and made prodigious havoc. These were, the sweating sickness, and the *lues venerea*. Of the first of these diseases, an account hath been already given †. Of the second, a very short one will be sufficient. The most probable relation of the first appearance of the *lues venerea* in Europe seems to be the following: The famous Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of the new world, landed on the first island he saw in those unknown regions in December, A. D. 1492, and called it Hispaniola. There his men contracted that disease by their intercourse with the women of the country, where it had long prevailed, and communicated it to the people of Barcelona on their arrival in that city in March, A. D. 1493, where it soon raged with so much violence, that it excited universal horror and consternation. They considered it as a plague sent immediately from Heaven as a punishment for their sins, and endeavoured to appease the offended Deity by masses, processions, prayers, and alms. Several companies of soldiers, who were generally infected with this new disease, were sent from Barcelona, A. D. 1494, to reinforce the Spanish army in Naples, for the defence of that kingdom against a French army which invaded it that year. What execution these soldiers did in the war is not recorded, but they did great execution by propagating their new distemper in the Spanish and French armies, and in the country around. The French, on their return into their own country, A. D. 1495, carried this pernicious present with them, and in a few years it was diffused into every corner of Europe *. In France it was called the Neapolitan, and in Italy it was called the French disease; neither of these nations being ambitious of having its name. The physicians stood aghast at its first appearance, and none but the most ignorant and impudent empirics pretended to give the unhappy patients any relief. Under their management many died miserably, and many of those who survived were wretched in themselves, and

† See vol. v. Ch. 4. Sect. 1.

* Astruc on the Venereal Disease, b. i. c. 9. and 10.

objects of disgust to others. The two mighty rivals, Charles V. and Francis I. were both infected with this disease, and to the last of these princes it proved fatal †. It was one of the articles of accusation brought by the House of Peers, A. D. 1529, against the great cardinal Wolsey, “ That knowing himself to have the foul and contagious disease of the great pox broken out upon him in
 “ divers places of his body, he came daily to your grace,
 “ rowning in your ear, and blowing upon your most
 “ noble grace with his perilous and infectious breath,
 “ to the marvellous danger of your highness, if God of
 “ his infinite goodness had not better provided for your
 “ highness ‡.” So dangerous and so infectious was this disease believed to be at that time. By degrees the virulence of this odious distemper, and the consternation occasioned by its first appearance, began to abate, and physicians became better acquainted with its causes, its symptoms, and its cure. But these are not proper subjects for general history.

S E C T. II.

History of the most learned Men who flourished in Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

AMONG the learned men who have flourished in the same period, in any nation, many of them may have enjoyed a certain degree of celebrity in their own times, but few of them have had their names transmitted with honour to posterity in the annals of their country, on account of the superior excellence and utility of their works. Mediocrity is common, but is soon forgotten; excellence is rare, but is long remembered. It will be sufficient therefore, and all that can be expected in this place, to give a brief account of these few ingenious and useful men who were the chief instruments of the revival of polite learning and good taste in Britain in our

* Astruc on the Venereal Disease, b. i. c. 1. p. 2.

† Parliament. Hist. vol. iii. p. 44.

present period, from which we derive so many innocent and rational pleasures, as well as other advantages.

Though Erasmus of Rotterdam was not a native of Erasmus. Britain, he resided several years in England at different times; and by his teaching, his conversation, and his writings, he contributed as much, if not more, than any other man, to inspire a taste for the study of the Roman and Greek classics, which was the first stage in the restoration of learning. He was born at Rotterdam, A. D. 1467, and educated at an illustrious school in Davenport, where he began to display that extraordinary genius, and the ardent love of learning, which afterwards rendered him so famous and so useful. Having lost both his parents when he was only in his thirteenth year, his three unfaithful guardians conspired to make him a monk, that they might possess themselves of his patrimony. His aversion to that way of life was strong, and he long resisted all the means that were used to prevail upon him to embrace it. At length he was overcome; and in the nineteenth year of his age he made his profession, in a convent of regular canons, with extreme reluctance. He was not long immured in his monastery. The genius of young Erasmus, and his aversion to the way of life he reluctantly embraced, were not unknown to many; and at length Henry a Bergis, archbishop of Cambray, took him out of his confinement into his own family when he was about twenty-three years of age. He continued to wear the habit of his order for some time, and was ordained a priest two years after he left his monastery, to which he was determined never to return; and by the influence of the pope's secretary, to whom he wrote a most eloquent and pathetic letter, he obtained a *breve* from Julius II. releasing him from his monastic vows and habit. Being now at liberty, he applied with ardour to his studies, and visited France, Italy, and England, to communicate and to increase his knowledge. In all these countries he was well received, and even courted, by persons of the highest rank and greatest merit, who solicited his friendship, and were proud of being numbered among his patrons. Attempts were every where made to retain him, by the offer of comfortable stations, and the promise of more splendid establishments. But he preferred liberty to every thing, and would accept of no preferment that laid him under the least

least restraint. For several years he led a wandering unsettled life, depending on the pensions of his patrons, the occasional gifts of his friends, and the money he received from his pupils. As he was a bad œconomist, and his income was precarious, he was sometimes reduced to straits, and forced to make complaints. "If I could get money," said he, in a letter to one of his friends, "I would first purchase Greek books, and secondly cloaths." Few scholars would observe the same order. On the accession of Henry VIII. a young, rich, and generous prince, he was invited by his friend William lord Mountjoy to come once more into England, and encouraged to entertain the most sanguine hopes. He complied with the invitation, and met with the most flattering reception, which afforded the fairest prospects. "The king himself," says he, "a little before his father's death, when I was in Italy, wrote me with his own hand a very friendly letter, and he now speaks of me in the most honourable and affectionate manner. Every time that I salute him he embraces me most obligingly, and looks kindly upon me; and it plainly appears that he not only speaks but thinks well of me. The queen hath endeavoured to have me for her preceptor. Every one knows that if I would but live a few months at court, the king would give me as many benefices as I could desire. But I esteem all things less than the leisure I enjoy, and the labours and studies in which I am occupied. The archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England and chancellor of the kingdom, a learned and worthy man, loves me as though he were my father or my brother; and to shew you the sincerity of his friendship, he hath given me a living worth about a hundred nobles, which, at my request, he hath since changed into a pension of a hundred crowns on my resignation. Within these few years he hath given me more than four hundred nobles without my asking. One day he gave me an hundred and fifty. From the liberality of other bishops I have received more than an hundred. Lord Mountjoy, who was formerly my disciple, gives me a yearly pension of an hundred crowns. The king and the bishop of Lincoln, [Wolsey,] who by the king's favour is omnipotent, make me magnificent promises." But all these magnificent promises come to nothing, and
none

none of them were performed. The cause of this is not certainly known : but it disgusted Erasmus so much, that after a long residence of about five years, he left England in discontent, A. D. 1516, and never could be prevailed upon to return. During that residence he contributed very much to diffuse and cherish a taste for the study of the Latin and the Greek classics, and of other useful learning. As the subsequent events of this great man's life do not properly come within our plan, the reader must be referred to the works quoted below for a full account of them, and of his many learned, instructive, and entertaining publications, where he will also find the authorities for what is above related *. Not to leave this article quite imperfect, it may be proper to mention a few particulars. Soon after Erasmus settled on the continent, Luther began his opposition to the church of Rome; and when the contest became serious and important both parties endeavoured to engage him to espouse their cause. No man was more sensible of the corruptions of the church, or more sincerely wished for their reformation, which he flattered himself might be brought about by the gentle methods of remonstrances, arguments, and persuasions. Being naturally timid, he was terrified at the violence he observed on both sides. He had not courage to join the reformers, who he believed would be crushed by the superior power of their adversaries. His sincerity would not suffer him to appear in defence of errors, which he detested and despised. This reserve was offensive to both parties, who attacked him in many publications, almost with equal severity. This led him, in the last years of his life, to spend too much of his time in repelling these attacks. At length this most eminent of the restorers of learning, to whose works millions have been indebted for entertainment and instruction, worn out with unremitted study and a complication of diseases, died at Basil, a Protestant city, in the arms of his Protestant friends, July 12, A. D. 1536, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. In his person he was rather below the middle stature, elegantly but delicately formed, his complexion fair, his hair yellow, his eyes grey, his countenance cheerful, his voice low, his elo-

* Knight's, Bayle's, Le Clerc's, and Jorin's Lives of Erasmus. Du Pin, cent. xvi. b. 3.

cution agreeable, and his conversation exceedingly pleasant and facetious. He was a warm and steady friend and a placable enemy, humane and charitable to the indigent, and to young scholars of whom he entertained a good opinion he was liberal and munificent. His reading was extensive, and his memory retentive almost to a miracle. To him the world owes the revival of the *belles lettres*, of critical learning, and of a good taste. In a word, he was at once the greatest wit and the most learned man of the age in which he flourished *.

Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor of England, the great friend and admirer of Erasmus, was, next to him, one of the most ingenious and learned men of his age, and one of the chief restorers of learning. He was born in London, A. D. 1480; and being the only son of Sir John More, one of the judges of the King's Bench, great pains were taken in his education, which he received partly at Cambridge and partly in the family of cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury. He gave early and striking proofs of an uncommon genius; and before he was nineteen years of age he had acquired a critical knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and had studied rhetoric and several other branches of learning. When he was about twenty he became a kind of devotee, fasted frequently, wore a hair shirt, slept upon boards, and had a great inclination to enter into the Franciscan order. From this, however, he was diverted by his friends; and in obedience to the commands of his father, whom he never disobeyed, he applied to the study of the law. When he was called to the bar, he soon became conspicuous by the eloquence of his pleadings, and was retained in almost every cause of importance. At the age of twenty-one he made a distinguished figure as a member of the House of Commons, in opposition to the court, when opposition was more dangerous than it hath been in later times. In particular, he opposed a bill that was brought into the house, A. D. 1503, for a subsidy and three fifteenths, for the marriage of the princess Margaret to the king of Scots, with such force of reasoning, that it was rejected. At the accession of Henry VIII. Mr. More's reputation and business were both very great. But in the midst of the

* Beatus Rhinanus, vita Erasmi.

greatest hurry of business, in which the whole day was occupied, he stole time from his sleep to pursue his favourite studies, to correspond with many learned men at home and abroad, and to compose his *Utopia*, which was published, A. D. 1516. It was universally admired, translated into several languages, and raised his reputation not a little. Soon after this, cardinal Wolsey cast his eyes upon him as a proper person to be employed in the service of the crown, and made him proposals for that purpose, which he at first declined; but afterwards complying, he was knighted, admitted a member of the privy council, appointed master of requests, and treasurer of the exchequer, A. D. 1520. He was employed in several embassies, in which he acquitted himself with ability and success. When Henry VIII. became intimately acquainted with him, he was so charmed with his learning and the pleasantry of his conversation, that he sent frequently for him to entertain and divert him. This was very disagreeable to Sir Thomas, as it consumed too much of his time; and he made use of a stratagem to get rid of this royal interruption which few would have employed. He affected to be very dull and unentertaining several times successively, and was no more sent for; sacrificing the reputation of a wit and the conversation of a king to save his time. Though he was now a courtier and a placeman, he was still a patriot, and boldly opposed the measures of the favourite minister when he thought them wrong. Of this he gave a remarkable proof when he was speaker of the House of Commons, A. D. 1523, which hath been already related *. He had the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, A. D. 1526, and he probably retained it till he was advanced to a higher. At length, on the fall of cardinal Wolsey, the king fixed upon Sir Thomas More as the most proper person to succeed him as lord chancellor of England; and he was the first layman that held that office. The seals were delivered to him, October 25th, A. D. 1530, and he accepted of them with real reluctance, for which he had good reason. The affair of the divorce, which he disapproved, was then in agitation; he knew the impetuous spirit of the king, that he would not hesitate one moment to sacrifice those who

* See chap. I. sect. 2.

had been most dear to him, when they obstructed the gratification of a reigning passion; and he justly apprehended that holding so high an office in these circumstances would involve him in difficulties and dangers. He held this office about two years and seven months, and discharged the duties of it with great ability, integrity, and diligence. The reformers indeed complained, that when he was in power he encouraged and assisted the clergy in all their cruelties to those who were called heretics; and they give some examples of this that are truly shocking *. These complaints were probably exaggerated, but they were not altogether without foundation. Sir Thomas More, with all his great and good qualities, had also great defects. It appears from his own works, that he was devoted to the pope and clergy in all things, and that his hatred to those who disputed any of their claims, or any of the tenets of the church, was excessive and inveterate; in a word, that he was a superstitious bigot; and there is nothing so apt to pervert the best natures, and prompt them to the worst actions, as superstition and bigotry. He resigned the seals, May 16th, A. D. 1533, to avoid the storm which he saw approaching. By the resignation of his office he was reduced at once from opulence to an income of about 100*l.* a year. This obliged him to part with his three daughters, their husbands and families, who had all hitherto resided with him, and to dismiss his necessary servants. Determined never to engage in public business, he lived with great privacy at his house in Chelsea, spending most of his time in his studies and devotions. But he was not long permitted to enjoy this privacy. The act of supremacy passed A. D. 1534, and the oath enjoined by that act being tendered to him, he refused to take it, and he was sent prisoner to the Tower. While he lay in the Tower many endeavours were used by his friends to prevail upon him to take the oath; and when arguments failed to persuade, both threats and promises were employed: but he remained inflexible. An account of his trial and execution hath been already given, and needs not be repeated; and for a more circumstantial relation of his actions, his writings, his manners, his virtues, and his failings, than the nature and limits of this

* Fox, p. 276. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 201, &c.

work will admit, the reader is referred to the works quoted below*.

If the exact order of time had been observed, William Grocyn would have been first introduced, as he was in that respect one of the first restorers of learning in England. He was born in Bristol, A. D. 1442, educated in grammar at Winchester school, made perpetual fellow of New College, A. D. 1467, and presented by that college, A. D. 1479, to the rectory of Newton Longville in Buckinghamshire. His love of study made him still reside at Oxford, where he was appointed divinity reader in Magdalen College, A. D. 1483. Having a very strong desire to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, which was then almost quite unknown in England, he left his country, A. D. 1488, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and travelled into Italy. There, in company with several of his countrymen who had come for the same purpose, he studied Latin under Angelo Politian, and Greek under Demetrius Chalcondylas, one of those learned men who had fled from Constantinople when it was taken by the Turks. Under these two excellent instructors he made himself a master of those languages in about two years, and returned into England to communicate the knowledge he had acquired. He taught Greek publicly at Oxford, A. D. 1491, and was the first who introduced the new pronunciation of that language. He had the famous Erasmus for one of his hearers, with whom he contracted an intimate friendship, and kept him a considerable time in his house. When he left Oxford he came to London, and read lectures on divinity in St. Paul's. He resigned the rectory of Dipden, A. D. 1503, and of Newton Longville the year after; for what reason we do not know. He was elected, A. D. 1506, master of the collegiate church of Maidstone in Kent, where he died, A. D. 1522, in the eightieth year of his age. Grocyn's reigning passion was the love of learning, particularly of the Greek, and to inspire his countrymen with the same taste. Some years before his death he formed the design of giving a correct and elegant Latin translation of all Aristotle's works; in

William
Grocyn.

* Roper's Life and Death of Thomas More. Stapleton, vita T. Mori. Hoddendfsden's Life and Death of Sir T. More. Biographia Britannica, article Sir T. More.

which

which he was promised the assistance of his learned friends Linacer, Latimer, Lilly, Collet, and More. But the avocations of his friends, and his own infirmities, prevented the accomplishment of that design*.

Doctor
Linacer.

Doctor Thomas Linacre, or Linacer, one of the great revivers of learning, and the most polite and elegant scholar of his age, was born at Canterbury, A. D. 1460, and educated in the cathedral school of that city, under the learned Mr. William Tilly, who was not a mere schoolmaster, but a man of business, and an able negotiator. Being appointed by Henry VII. his ambassador at the court of Rome, he carried his favourite pupil Linacre with him, and introduced him to the most famous professors in Italy, where he spent several years in the study of the *belles lettres* and of medicine. He acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek under Chalcondylas, and he even excelled his master Politian in the classical purity of his Latin style. His proficiency in medicine was so conspicuous, that he was appointed a professor of it in the university of Padua†. On his return home, he was incorporated doctor of physic at Oxford, and soon after he was appointed physician and preceptor to prince Arthur and his sister Mary. He came into great practice, and was successively physician to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. To shew his love to his profession, he founded two lectures of physic at Oxford and one at Cambridge. He contributed more effectually to rescue the healing arts from the wretched state in which he found them, by his strenuous and successful efforts for the establishment of the royal college of physicians in London, of which he was the first president, and to which he gave his own house for their place of meeting. In the midst of all this business he did not neglect his favourite studies; and his friend Erasmus often rallied him for spending so much of his time in the study of philology. On this subject he wrote the *Rudiments of Grammar*, for the use of his pupil the princess Mary, afterwards queen of France; and a much larger work, *De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis, libri sex*, which was much admired, and passed through many editions. For the benefit of those of his own profession he

* A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Tanner, Bibliotheca Britan. p. 345.

† Tanner, Bibliotheca Britan. p. 482.

translated several of Galen's tracts into pure and classical Latin, and in so masterly a manner, that they had the appearance of an original work. When he was advanced in life he applied to the study of theology, was ordained a priest, and obtained several livings and prebendments in the church. He died of the stone, October 20th, A. D. 1524, at the age of sixty-four, and was buried in St. Paul's, where a monument was erected to his memory thirty years after, by his great admirer Doctor John Caius. If we may rely on the character given to Doctor Linacre by his learned contemporaries who were most intimately acquainted with him, his genius for learning was not his greatest excellence, and his virtues were at least equal to his abilities; in a word, that he was a benefactor to mankind, an honour to literature, and an ornament to human nature *. Should such men ever be forgotten?

Doctor John Collet was one of those ingenious men who contributed by their united labours to the revival of learning in Britain in this period. He was the first-born of the eleven sons and eleven daughters of Sir Henry Collet (who was twice mayor of London) by his wife Christian, and was born in London, A. D. 1466. After he had received the first part of his education in his native city, he spent seven years at Oxford in the study of the logic and philosophy of those times. Not satisfied with the acquisitions he had made at home, he travelled into France and Italy, and spent about four years in those two countries, where he perfected himself in the Latin and Greek languages, and cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of the learned. He entered very early into holy orders; before he went abroad he had been presented to two livings, and before he returned home he was preferred to a prebendary in York, and to another in St. Martin's le Grand, London. When he returned to England he was not only an excellent scholar, but an accomplished gentleman; and being naturally high-spirited, amorous, gay, and sprightly, he seemed fitter for the court than the church. But having a lively sense of the obligations of virtue and religion, and an ardent love of learning, he

* See A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 15. Pits, p. 693. Dr. Friend's Hist. Physl. vol. ii. p. 400, &c. Tanner, p. 482. Biograph. Britan.

subdued those propensities which might have betrayed him into a course of life unbecoming his profession, and became as conspicuous for the purity as the politeness of his manners. In Italy he had applied to the study of theology, had perused the New Testament in the original with care, and had read the works of several of the Greek and Latin fathers. After he had stayed a few months in London with his friends and family he went to Oxford, and read a course of lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, which were received with great applause by crowded audiences. By the influence of his numerous friends, without any solicitation of his own, he was promoted to several prebendaries in different churches, and to the deanry of St. Paul's, A. D. 1505. Of this last office he discharged the duties with uncommon zeal, by introducing a more strict and regular discipline; by his preaching in the cathedral every Sunday; and by procuring some of his learned friends to read lectures in divinity there on other days. In his sermons on public occasions he censured with great freedom the ignorance and vices of the clergy and the corruptions of the church, which drew upon him a prosecution for heresy, to which he would probably have fallen a sacrifice, if he had not been preserved by the primate, who put a stop to the prosecution. He had been three times seized with that terrible plague the sweating sickness, which threw him into a consumption, of which he died, September 16th, A. D. 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. As Doctor Collet possessed a plentiful fortune and generous heart, many were benefited by his bounty. His noble foundation of St. Paul's school will be hereafter mentioned. He made many presents to his friend Erasmus, and to other scholars who stood in need of his assistance. He composed much, but published little. Several treatises that were found in an obscure corner of his library were published after his death, and some are still unpublished. In his person he was tall and handsome, in his deportment graceful and engaging, in his manners he was regular without austerity, and his preaching was plain and popular. He saw and condemned many of the corruptions of the church, particularly the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, the worship of images, and other superstitions. Like his friend Erasmus, he entertained several of the opinions of the reformed before the reformation,

mation, and by his preaching and conversation he prepared the minds of many for their reception*.

William Lily was another of those ingenious and industrious men who were the instruments of reviving learning in Britain, by introducing the study of the Greek and Latin classics. He was born at Odiham the same year (1466) with his great friend and patron Doctor Collet. When he had finished his school education he went to Oxford, and became a student in Magdalene College. But his stay at the university was not long. Prompted by the reigning superstition of the times, he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which he accomplished. On his journey home he resided five years in the island of Rhodes; and with the assistance of some learned refugees from Constantinople, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue. From thence he went to Rome, and perfected himself in the Latin language under two of the most celebrated professors in that city. On his return to England he opened a school in London for teaching rhetoric, poetry, and the Greek and Latin languages, which soon became famous. When Dean Collet had built and endowed his school at St. Paul's, he appointed his friend Mr. Lily its first master, A. D. 1511, who presided in it about twelve years with great reputation and success. Among other things he composed a grammar for the use of that school, which is well known by the name of Lily's Grammar in all the schools in England. In this, however, he was assisted by Erasmus, Doctor Collet, and Thomas Robinson, three of the best linguists in Europe; and it was published with a preface composed by the great cardinal Wolsey, recommending it to universal use. Of such importance did the education of youth in classical learning appear to the greatest men of that age. He composed many other tracts both in prose and verse. This most useful man died of the plague, A. D. 1523†.

Richard Paice cultivated the *belles lettres* with great ardour and success, and contributed to introduce a taste for that kind of learning into England. He was born of poor parents in Worcestershire, and was taken when

* See Doctor Knight's Life of Dean Collet. Tanner, p. 189. Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ.

† Leland, Bale, Pits, Tanner.

he was very young into the family of Thomas Langton, bishop of Worcester. That prelate observed the ingenuity of young Paice, became his friend and patron, and sent him to Italy, then the seat of polite learning, with a proper exhibition; and in his last will he bequeathed to his scholar Richard Paice 10*l.* a year (equivalent to 100*l.* of our money at present) for seven years, to enable him to pursue his studies abroad. Supported by this exhibition, he studied several years at Padua, Bononia, and Ferrara, where he acquired a critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and a tincture of other learning. On his return home he resided some time at Oxford for his further improvement, and was then taken into the family of cardinal Bainbridge, archbishop of York, whence he was called to the court, and appointed Latin secretary to Henry VIII. Being in priest's orders, he obtained several prebends in different churches, and in October, A. D. 1519, he succeeded Doctor Collet in the deanry of St. Paul's. While he was secretary to the king he was employed in several embassies, in which he acquitted himself with great ability and success. In his last embassy to the republic of Venice, 1525, he was seized with a disorder for which the physicians were of opinion his native air would be the only cure; and at his departure the doge sent a letter to the cardinal, highly commending the ambassador for his ability, fidelity, and diligence, which concludes thus: "Finally, I assure your
 " most reverend domination, that the reverend lord am-
 " bassador hath been most faithful and most diligent in
 " all the affairs of his royal majesty, and that he hath
 " been most attentive and most studious to please your
 " most reverend domination *." But alas! how precarious is court favour? Having in some way or other offended the cardinal, he was sent prisoner to the Tower; with which he was so much affected that he became insane, and died in that condition, A. D. 1532. He appears to have been a worthy man, as well as an excellent scholar, as he lived in the most intimate friendship with Erasmus, More, Tonstal, Linacre, Collet, and other eminent men, both at home and abroad. He learned languages with peculiar facility, and not only spoke several of the modern tongues, but understood

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 96.

Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic. Though he was much engaged in public employments, he wrote many treatises on theological, political, and other subjects. One of the most curious of these is his tract *De Fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur*—"Of the Benefits that are derived from Learning *."

It is pleasant to remark, that all these restorers of learning in this period were virtuous men and sincere friends; that they co-operated most cordially in promoting the objects they had in view; assisted each other in their labours, and in repelling the attacks that were made upon any of them; and that they advanced the fame of one another by mutual and well-founded commendations. This reflected honour on literature, and contributed not a little to the success of their efforts for its restoration. Emulation is indeed a spur to industry and exertion, and may exist among the sincerest friends; but when it is accompanied and excited by envy and malevolence, it brings reproach upon learning, gives a wrong direction to industry, and renders it rather hurtful than beneficial to society. The wise and virtuous, in their sharpest conflicts, will guard against rancour and asperity.

Several other men of learning and genius flourished in England in this period; as Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Tostot bishop of Durham, Sir John Cheke, John Leland, &c. &c.

A taste for the study of polite learning, or the *belles lettres*, revived in Scotland about the same time that it revived in England; and this taste was cherished by government, and even enforced by law. By an act of parliament already quoted, every freeholder of substance was obliged to keep his eldest son at some grammar school till he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the Latin language, and then to put him three years to some university to study philosophy and the laws. In consequence of this prevailing taste, a competency at least of learning became gradually more general among the gentlemen, and even among the common people of Scotland, than in any other country of Europe; and several ingenious men in this period became eminent for their

* Bale, Pits, Tanner.

classical erudition. But of these our limits will permit us only to mention a very few.

Gavin
Douglas.

Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, was not only one of the greatest poets, but also one of the best scholars and most amiable men of his age. He was the third son of Archibald, commonly called Bell the Cat, sixth earl of Angus, and uncle to Archibald the seventh earl, who married Margaret queen dowager of Scotland, the eldest sister of Henry VIII.* He was born about 1472, and having early discovered a taste for learning, he was destined for the church, in which, from the power and influence of his family, he had a prospect of the highest promotions. He received the first part of his education at home, and when he had gone through a course of philosophy in the university of St. Andrew's, he went to Paris for his further improvement. There he spent several years in study, and acquired an uncommon stock of knowledge of various kinds, though he delighted most in poetry and the *belles lettres*. On his return to Scotland he was promoted to the provostry of St. Giles in Edinburgh, and to several other livings, and among others to the rich abbey of Arbroath. He enjoyed little comfort in this promotion, owing to the troubles in which his country was involved in the minority of James V. He was presented by the queen-regent to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's; but he had two formidable competitors, John Hepburn, the prior, elected by the chapter, and Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray, nominated by the pope; and he soon relinquished his claim, and left the other two to contend for the prize. Apprehensive of danger in his own country, from the violence of faction, he obtained a safe-conduct for himself and thirty persons in his company, to come into England, from Henry VIII. January 23d, A. D. 1515†. But he did not make use of that safe-conduct; for the bishopric of Dunkeld becoming vacant, he obtained it by a bull from Leo X. and was consecrated by James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, the same year. But as he owed his promotion to a papal bull, he was imprisoned by the duke of Albany a whole year for trafficking with Rome. This was a severe and partial act.

* Hume's History of the Douglasses, p. 219.

† Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 473.

The primate archbishop Forman had been promoted only a few months before in the same manner without incurring any censure. This severity to so near a relation and so good a man, so much alarmed the queen and her husband the earl of Angus, that they retired into England. The earl after some time was prevailed upon to return, and his uncle was set at liberty. When the duke of Albany returned to France, A. D. 1517, he carried the bishop of Dunkeld with him, under a pretence of doing him honour, but in reality as a hostage for the good behaviour of his nephew and his friends in his absence. The bishop was permitted to return home the year after with the ratification of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. In the fierce contest that ensued between the Hamiltons and Douglasses, our good prelate acted the part of a peace-maker with great zeal, but without success: and after the defeat of the Hamiltons in the streets of Edinburgh, he saved the life of the archbishop of Glasgow, who had acted the part of an incendiary. When the duke of Albany returned to Scotland, A. D. 1521, the persecution of the Douglasses was renewed, and our prelate retired privately into England to avoid the storm, and to prepare an asylum for his friends. As soon as his retreat was known, all his goods were confiscated, and the revenues of his see sequestered *. He met with a most kind reception from Henry VIII. and was caressed by all the most eminent persons in the court of England. In the mean time the archbishopric of St. Andrew's became vacant, and Henry exerted all his influence at the court of Rome to procure the promotion of the bishop of Dunkeld to that see. His competitor, the archbishop of Glasgow, (whose life he had lately saved) wrote to Christiern king of Denmark, earnestly intreating him to counteract the interest of the king of England at the court of Rome with all his might, and giving his rival a most odious character, as a rebel to his king and an enemy to his country †. But a superior power put an end to this contest. The bishop of Dunkeld died of the plague at London in April, A. D. 1522 ‡. As the works of this learned and excellent

* *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 328.

† *Ibid.* p. 333.

‡ *Buchan. lib. xiv. Lesley, lib. ix. Spotswood, Tanner, Bale.*

but unfortunate prelate, which do so much honour to his name and country, were poetical, they come most properly into the history of poetry, in the next chapter of this book.

Patrick
Panter.

Patrick Panter, Latin secretary to King James IV. was one of those who, by applying with peculiar ardour to the acquisition of classical learning, and the imitation of the writers of the Augustan age, contributed to introduce a better taste, and to give a better direction to the studies of their countrymen, than that which had long prevailed. He was born in the town of Montrose about A. D. 1470; and having gone through a course of education at home, he went to Paris, (as was then the custom) where he spent several years in the prosecution of his studies. On his return to Scotland he entered into holy orders, became Rector of Fetterisso in the Mearns, Master of *Domus Dei* in Brechin, and preceptor to Alexander Stewart, the king's natural son. In that office he acquitted himself so well, that when his pupil was put under the care of the great Erasmus about A. D. 1505, his royal master rewarded him with the abbacy of Cambuskenneth, and took him into his own service as his secretary; a station for which he was peculiarly fitted, and in which he did honour to his king, his country, and himself, by the elegance and classical purity of the language of his dispatches *. In that office he continued during the king's life and the regency of the queen. As he was attached to the party of the queen and her second husband the earl of Angus, he was represented as a dangerous man to the duke of Albany, who, on some pretence or other, threw him into prison. But when that prince was better informed of his worth and abilities, he released him from prison, restored him to his office, and carried him with him into France. There he fell into a lingering disease, of which he died at Paris, A. D. 1519 †.

Boethius.

Hector Boethius, or Boyce, was a native of Dundee, and born about A. D. 1466. After he had finished a course of education in the university of St. Andrew's, he went to Paris, where he studied several years in the

* See *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, Edinburgi 1722.

† *Præfat. Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*.

college of Montacute, in which he was advanced to a professor's chair. On his return to Scotland he was appointed principal of the newly-founded university of Aberdeen, and had some other preferments in the church. When he resided in France he contracted a friendship with Erasmus, by whom he was much esteemed and commended, for his taste, his learning, and other good qualities. He composed several treatises upon various subjects; but his principal work was—*Historia rerum Scotticarum a prima gentis origine ad A. D. 1436*—"A History of the Scots from the Origin of the Nation to the Year 1436." It is with the style of this work only that we are here concerned, and that hath been highly admired, and affords a sufficient proof of his good taste and classical erudition, which entitles him to be ranked among the restorers of learning*.

An account of several other writers who flourished in Scotland in this period, and contributed in some degree to the revival of learning, might be here inserted; but this would exceed our limits, and to many readers of general history would appear tedious. It is sufficient to remark, that the youth of Scotland at this time, in proportion to their numbers, discovered as good a taste, and as great a thirst for knowledge, as those of England, though they laboured under some disadvantages; particularly many of them not finding proper establishments at home, were obliged to seek for them in foreign countries. The history of John Lesley, bishop of Ross, and of his great opponent in politics Mr. George Buchannan, belongs to the succeeding period.

* Nicolson's Scots Hist. Tanner, Bale, Dempster.

S E C T. III.

History of the principal Seminaries of Learning that were founded in Great Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

THOUGH many superb and richly endowed schools and colleges for the education of youth and encouragement of learning had been already established in Britain, particularly in England, their numbers and riches still continued to increase. In our present period of only sixty-two years, three colleges were founded in Oxford and five in Cambridge, and the two illustrious schools of Ipswich and St. Paul's. In Scotland a new university was founded at Aberdeen, and a new college in St. Andrews. Of all which foundations and their founders a very brief account shall now be given.

Brazen-nose College.

Brazen-nose College in Oxford was founded on the site of Brazen-nose-hall (from which it derived its name) by William Smith bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton of Presbury, in Cheshire. These two founders having purchased certain contiguous halls, houses, and gardens, in Oxford, obtained a charter from Henry VIII. A. D. 1511, authorising them to build their intended college, and to purchase and endow it with lands to the value of 300*l.* a year. The buildings were then begun, but bishop Smith, one of the founders, died before they were finished. The foundation-charter for the college, to consist of a principal, twelve fellows, and sixty scholars, was executed by Sir Richard Sutton, the surviving founder, February 1st, A. D. 1521. The revenues of this college, as well as those of all the other colleges in Oxford, were very much increased by a succession of benefactors*.

Corpus Christi College.

Richard Fox, successively bishop of Exeter, Bath, Durham, and Winchester, was the founder of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. This prelate acted an important part both in church and state in the reigns of Henry VII. and of Henry VIII. When he was prosecuting his studies at Paris, he became acquainted with

* A. Wood, Hist. Univers. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 212, &c.

cardinal Moreton, (then in exile) who prevailed upon him to join Henry earl of Richmond in his expedition into England, A. D. 1485. He had no reason to repent of that step. The expedition was successful, the earl mounted the throne, Doctor Fox was immediately admitted into the council, and appointed keeper of the privy seal. Few were more employed or better rewarded by Henry VII. in whose reign he was successively promoted to the sees of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. In his old age, he began to consider how he should dispose of the riches he had accumulated, and his first intention was, to build a small college in Oxford, to be a seminary for the education of the novices of the priory of St. Swithin, his cathedral in Winchester. But when the building was far advanced, he was persuaded by Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, to change his plan, and to found a much larger college, for the benefit of studious youth in general, to which he promised to become a benefactor. In compliance with this advice, he founded, by a charter dated March 1st, A. D. 1517, a college for a principal and thirty scholars, to be called *Corpus Christi* College, in Oxford. He founded also three lectureships in the college; one for the *belles lettres*, of which John Ludovicus Vives was the first reader; one for the Greek language, and one for theology. Bishop Oldham performed his promise, by contributing 1000 marks to the buildings, and by the grant of an estate. His example was followed by many other benefactors *.

Cardinal Wolsey was one of those men whose minds expand with their fortunes. Though his birth was humble, when he attained to power and opulence he displayed a most magnificent and princely spirit. Of this the noble plan he formed, and the splendid expensive preparations he made, for founding a college in Oxford, which, for the magnificence of its structure, the richness of its furniture, the number of its members, and the greatness of its revenues, would have exceeded every seminary of learning in the world, afford a sufficient proof. To accomplish this, he obtained two bulls from pope Clement VII. empowering him (with the king's consent) to dissolve the priory of St. Frideswade

Cardinal
College.

* A. Wood, Hist. Univers. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 230.

in Oxford, and as many other small religious houses as he thought proper, and to apply their revenues, lands, and goods to the endowment of his intended college *. To the execution of these bulls the king gave his consent, and granted him a charter, dated July 3d, A. D. 1525, authorising him to found a college in Oxford, to be called Cardinal College, and to endow it with lands and revenues to the amount of 2000*l.* a year †: a very great revenue in those times. The year after, the king granted the cardinal for the benefit of his college no fewer than five charters, containing a great number of privileges and immunities, with a power of impropriating about seventy rectories, in addition to its revenues ‡. The cardinal having thus provided ample revenues for the members of his college, the foundation of it was laid, July 15th, A. D. 1525; and as great numbers of artificers of all kinds were employed, the buildings advanced with great rapidity. As soon as apartments were ready for their reception, he introduced a dean and eighteen canons, which he designed afterwards to increase to one hundred and eighty, or two hundred. In the mean time he expended prodigious sums of money, not only on the buildings, but in providing statues, pictures, plate, jewels, books, vestments, furniture, and every thing that could be either useful or ornamental to his favourite establishment. He prepared also a book of statutes for its government; from which it appears that it was to have consisted of a dean, a sub-dean, sixty canons of the first class, forty canons of the second class, (who were all to devote themselves to study,) thirteen chaplains, twelve clerks, sixteen choiristers for performing the service in the college church, four censors, three treasurers, four collectors, and twenty servants. In a word, the cardinal neglected nothing to render his college (which he expected would transmit his name with honour to posterity) superior in all respects to every other college. But he neglected one thing, which proved fatal to the whole. Being under no apprehension of his disgrace, which fell upon him like a clap of thunder, he neglected to execute the foundation charter, and convey the revenues, lands, and goods to the college,

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 15, 32.

† Ibid. p. 39.

‡ Ibid. p. 55—75. Strype, vol. i. Append. No. 28, 29.

which he had provided for it with so much care. All these, therefore, being still his own property, when he was found in a premunire, they were forfeited to the king *. The spoil was great, and it was seized with eagerness. The lands were sold, or granted to craving courtiers, and all the precious moveables dissipated. Thus fell Cardinal College before it was half finished, to the no small regret of the friends of learning; as it prevented the execution of a design which the cardinal had formed, of procuring copies of all the MSS. in the Vatican for the library of his college.

After all the works of Cardinal College had been interrupted about four years, and the unfinished buildings tended to ruin, the king was prevailed upon to found a college in the same place, to be called the College of King Henry VIII. But though this was a royal foundation, it was on a much smaller scale than that of the cardinal; as it consisted only of a dean and twelve secular canons. Nor was this college of much longer duration than the former. Doctor John Oliver, the second dean, resigned his college and all its revenues to the king, May 20th, A. D. 1545 †.

Henry having thus dissolved his own college, he soon after made it the seat and cathedral of the bishop of Oxford, by the name of the Cathedral of Christ's Church in Oxford, founded by Henry VIII. This new society was composed of a bishop, a dean, and eight canons. To the dean and eight canons he granted all the buildings, lands, and revenues of his late college, on condition that they paid the following stipends to the following persons: to eight minor canons, each 10*l.*; to a gospeller, 8*l.*; to a postellator, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to eight clerks, each 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to the master of the singing boys, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; to the organist, 10*l.*; to eight singing boys, each 7*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to three public professors in the university, one of theology, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek, each 40*l.*; to sixty scholars or students, each 8*l.*; to the first schoolmaster 20*l.* to the second schoolmaster 10*l.*; forty school-boys *.

The number of colleges founded in Cambridge in this period exceed that of those founded in Oxford, if we

* Wood, lib. ii. p. 246. † Ibid. p. 251. Rym. tom. xiv. p. 443.

† Wood, lib. ii. p. 245.

reckon Cardinal College, the College of Henry VIII. and Christ's Church, only one foundation.

Jesus College. The nuns of St. Radigund in Cambridge had become so profligate that they were expelled, and their house, with its revenues and lands, (which were of considerable value) were granted by Henry VII. A. D. 1496, to John Alcock bishop of Ely, who converted the nunnery into a college, for one master, six fellows, and six scholars, and dedicated it to Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and St. Radigund. The revenues of this college were afterwards increased by many benefactors *.

Christ's College. The lady Margaret countess of Richmond, and mother to Henry VII. founded Christ's College, in Cambridge, A. D. 1505, for one master, twelve fellows, and forty-seven scholars, and endowed it with lands of considerable value in several counties †.

St. John's College. The same illustrious lady founded St. John's College in this university, A. D. 1508, but did not live to see it finished: the works however were carried on and completed by her executors. Several of the estates that had been granted to this college, to the amount of 400*l.* a year, were evicted from it in the reign of Edward VI. whether justly or unjustly cannot now be discovered, though Mr. Ascham affirms it was owing to the rapacity of greedy courtiers ‡. This loss, however, was repaired by a long train of forty-eight benefactors, which enabled this foundation to support a master, fifty-four fellows, and eighty-eight scholars, with officers and servants.

Maudlin College. Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, one of the greatest subjects in England, designed to have enlarged the buildings and revenues of an old house called Monk's College, and to have given it the name of Buckingham College. But before he had proceeded far in the execution of this design, he was tried, condemned, and executed for high treason, May 17th, A. D. 1521. After the buildings had been several years suspended, Thomas Lord Audley, chancellor of England, founded and endowed a college on the same site, which he named Magdalen, commonly called Maudlin College §.

Trinity College. Henry VIII. having got possession of three adjacent halls, razed them to the ground, and erected on the area,

* Fuller's Hist. Univer. Camb. p. 85.

† Ibid. p. 94.

‡ Ibid. p. 90.

§ Ibid. p. 121.

and richly endowed, a large, regular, and magnificent college, A. D. 1536, dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity, and thence called Trinity College. Great additions have been made to the revenues of this college by subsequent benefactors, which have rendered it one of the greatest, richest, and most noble foundations of the kind in Europe. Henry at the same time founded four professorships in Cambridge; one of theology, one of law, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek; with each a salary of 40*l.* a-year †.

Though the universities of Scotland are not to be compared with those of England, for the number of their colleges, their magnificence, and the greatness of their revenues; yet they seem, in some respect, to have advantages, of which I shall only mention one at present. Being four in number, and situated in different cities of the kingdom, they are better known and more accessible. Every one knows that there is an university at no great distance from him, and that he may give his son an university education without sending him far from home. In consequence of this, a tincture of learning at least is very general in Scotland, where there are no clergymen, and very few gentlemen, who have not had an university education.

With a view to this particular advantage, James IV. applied to pope Alexander VI. to give his sanction to the establishment of an university in his city of Aberdeen, for the accommodation of the people of the northern and highland parts of his dominions, who, being at a great distance from the seats of learning, were more rude and ignorant than his other subjects. In compliance with this application, the pope (without whom nothing could be done in those times) issued a bull at Rome, February 10th, A. D. 1494, erecting an university in the city of Old Aberdeen, for the study of theology, civil and canon law, medicine, the liberal arts and sciences, and all lawful faculties, and granting it all the immunities, rights, and privileges enjoyed by any other university or general study. By this bull of erection, the pope appointed William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, (who was the real founder) to be chancellor of the new university, and his successors in the see of Aberdeen to succeed him in

* Fuller's Hist. Univer. Camb. p. 122—124.

that office. The bull was confirmed by a charter, A. D. 1498; in which the king appropriated the parish of Slains, with its tithes and patronage, which received, by a subsequent bull, A. D. 1500, an extensive and independent jurisdiction both in ecclesiastical and temporal questions. The first foundation was established by the bishop in 1505, and contained thirty-six persons; a principal, canonist, civilian, a professor of medicine, a sub-principal, and grammarian, five masters of arts, studying theology, and instructing the scholars, in poetry and rhetoric; thirteen scholars, eight prebendaries to officiate as chaplains, and four singing-boys. But the bishop was afterwards enabled to enlarge the foundation, by a more liberal endowment, for forty-two persons; four doctors, eight masters, and three bachelors of arts, thirteen scholars, eight chaplains, and six singing-boys. The masters remained in the university six years, studying theology and teaching the arts; after which they obtained the degree of doctor, and removed from the university to make way for others. The experience of thirty-six years discovered that a succession of new teachers was extremely inconvenient, and that the masters dismissed after six years study were not always sufficiently qualified to be doctors of divinity. Another papal bull was therefore obtained, A. D. 1538, permitting those that studied divinity to reside in the university, and exercise their functions during the chancellor's pleasure, and till others were qualified and desirous to succeed them.

A second college was founded in the university of St. Andrew's in this period, by James Stewart, natural son of James IV. the archbishop, and John Hepburn the prior, and the chapter of St. Andrew's, called the College of Poor Clerks, or St. Leonard's College, from its vicinity to St. Leonard's church. It appears from the foundation-charter, that there had been an hospital in the same place, for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims of different nations, who crowded to St. Andrew's, to pay their devotions to the arm of St. Andrew, which wrought a great many miracles. At length, however, the saint's arm being tired with that laborious kind of work, or thinking he had done enough, the miracles and the conflux of pilgrims ceased, and the hospital was deserted. The prior and convent, who had been the founders and were the patrons of the hospital, then filled it

it with old women. But these old women produced little or no fruit of virtue or devotion, and were turned out. The prior and convent having repaired the church and hospital of St. Leonard, resolved to convert them into a college, to consist of a master, or principal; four chaplains, two of which were to be regents; and twenty scholars, who were first to be taught the languages, and then the liberal arts and sciences; and six of them who were thought most fit, should then apply with great ardour and vehement reading to the study of theology under the principal. Such of these scholars as were found fittest for it were to be taught music, both plain song and descant. The foundation-charter to this purpose was executed by the archbishop, the prior, and chapter, at St. Andrew's, August 20th, A. D. 1512. By another charter the prior and chapter endowed this college with all the houses, lands, and revenues which had belonged to St. Leonard's hospital. Both these charters were confirmed by royal charter, dated at Edinburgh, February 20th, A. D. 1513*.

Nurseries for the education of youth, and preparing them for the universities, were not now wanting in any considerable town in Britain; and some very illustrious ones were founded in this period; as St. Paul's school by Doctor Collet, Ipswich school by cardinal Wolfey, Westminster school by Henry VIII. and many others, both in England and Scotland.

* Ex Archiv. Univers. St. And.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K VI.

C H A P T E R V.

History of the Arts in Great Britain, from the
Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the
Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

S E C T I O N I.

History of the necessary and useful Arts.

FROM the accession of the Tudors, and the union or extinction of those factions that distracted England, a period of comparative tranquillity commences; a long period, protracted almost to the middle of the seventeenth century, during which the English nation was neither exhausted by its wars abroad, nor much disquieted by domestic sedition. Such repose was propitious to arts and commerce; and the country, recovering from the calamities of internal discord, continued afterwards in a state of slow but progressive improvement. A few years suffice to repair the disasters inflicted by war; but during the period allotted to the present volume, the effects of the civil wars were sometimes prolonged after the causes from which they originated had ceased to operate.

Agriculture exchanged for pasturage.

To the devastations produced by the civil wars may be justly attributed the decay of population, and in some measure the decrease and disappearance both of predial and domestic servitude. The bondsmen, so numerous formerly, were either consumed in battle, emancipated for their services, or enabled, by the frequent fluctuations of property, to regain their freedom. Proprietors were obliged to convert into pasturage those demesnes which their slaves and cottagers had formerly cultivated *; and while the estates of either party were alternately wasted, it was soon discovered that flocks and herds were better adapted, than the produce of agriculture, to such troublesome times. They might be removed with ease on the irruption of an enemy, or disposed of secretly, if the proprietor were involved in the misfortunes of his party. A measure recommended by its expediency was generally adopted, and continued prevalent, when no necessity required such precaution. When government, under Henry VII. and his son, had attained to stability, when its vigour repressed the depredations of the barons, and precluded the danger of a future revolution, the conversion of arable lands into pasture increased through England to a dangerous extreme. Inclosures were multiplied; demesne lands were extended, till the farms of husbandmen were appropriated to pasture; their houses were demolished or permitted to decay, while a few herdsmen, fewer than are usually allotted to pasturage, supplanted the yeomen, and occupied by means of inclosures the largest estates †. Landlords, it is probable, were still desirous of retaining the management of those lands, the culture of which they had formerly conducted by their villains or cottagers; and their tenants, accustomed hitherto to the most moderate rents, were unwilling to submit to an unusual advance. But the circumstances most detrimental to agriculture may be discovered in the restrictions attending the exportation of grain, and the constant, perhaps the increasing, consumption of English wool. At a former period the exportation of corn had, in certain circumstances, been permitted, and its importation regulated by different statutes ‡; but by

* See vol. iii. ch. 5. sect. 1.

† Bacon, p. 44. Hollingshed's Description of England, p. 205. Strype, vol. i. p. 392. Stowe, p. 512.

‡ See vol. iii. ch. 5. sect. 1. ch. 6.

these statutes a discretionary control was committed to the king; and there is reason to believe that the operations of prerogative were seldom favourable, or exerted, unless for the purpose of partial monopolies and pernicious restraints. During the present period the manufacture of cloth was encouraged and augmented by the refinement of Europe in taste and dress; and although the manufactures of England were now considerable, those of the Netherlands were still supported by large exportations, that increased the demand and enhanced the value of English wool. A system of management, lucrative but pernicious, was thus promoted; lucrative to landholders, but pernicious to the country.

The system was severely felt in its consequences, in the beggary and diminished population of the peasants. Hamlets were ruined by oppressive encroachments; townships and villages of an hundred families were reduced to thirty, sometimes to ten. Some were desolate, demolished by the avarice of unfeeling proprietors; others were occupied by a shepherd and his dog*. These representations are transmitted by contemporaries, and perhaps are exaggerated; yet a country appropriated to pasturage is thinly inhabited, and must be depopulated by inclosures multiplied for the purpose of rearing sheep and retrenching herdsmen. England at a subsequent period was regarded as better adapted for grazing than tillage; and in the reign of Elizabeth the lands in culture were computed at a fourth of the kingdom†; yet the legislature were never inattentive, but interposed repeatedly (with what success may be justly suspected) to enforce cultivation, and repress the inordinate increase of pastures. Early in Henry the Seventh's reign a statute was enacted for the future support of those houses of husbandry, to which twenty acres had been formerly annexed; sanctioned by the forfeiture of half the rents, till the lands were occupied and the houses built‡. Severe forfeitures are not easily exacted; and it appears that a practice, dictated by private gain, was neither suppressed by the vigilance of law, nor counteracted by the legal extortion of the monarch. A statute enacted under his suc-

* Strype, vol. i. p. 392. Latimer's Sermons, p. 12.

† Stowe, p. 2. Hollingshed, p. 108.

‡ Stat. 4 Hen. VII. c. 19. Bacon, p. 44.

cessor expatiates in the preamble, with apparent truth, on the extent of the mischief, and feelingly enumerates the complicated miseries which the increase of sheep and extension of pastures had inflicted on the poor*. The flocks of individuals, which sometimes exceeded, and often amounted to twenty thousand sheep, were restricted to two thousand; an inadequate remedy, frustrated apparently by the partial exception of hereditary opulence. Had the restraints imposed on the exportation of corn been transferred to wool, the internal consumption would have soon regulated the respective prices of those articles; the proportion between arable and pasture lands would soon have been adjusted, and the declining cultivation of the country prevented. An improved cultivation was reserved, however, for a future period, when persecutions extirpated manufactures from the Netherlands; when the exportation of English wool had subsided, and its price diminished, the farmer or landholder, disappointed of his former exuberant profits, discovered the necessity of resuming the plough, and again restoring his pastures to culture.

State of
agricul-
ture.

While husbandry suffered such general discountenance, much improvement in its operations is not to be expected. A treatise of husbandry, ascribed to Fitzherbert, judge of the Common Pleas to Henry VIII. explains those operations chiefly practised and most approved. The instruments were nearly the same with ours; and as they have continued during successive generations with little alteration, are probably not susceptible of much improvement. The operations of husbandry were conducted apparently with more skill than in former periods. Directions are given for draining, clearing, and inclosing a farm; and for enriching and reducing the soil to tillage. Lime and marl are strongly recommended, but appear to have seldom been employed as manure. Fallowing was practised as preparatory to wheat, but not that rotation of crops and fallows which invigorates the soil or preserves its nutrition†. When a field was exhausted by successive harvests the farmer suffered it to rest till recruited, and proceeded to cultivate a fresh field from a part of

* 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

† Fitzherbert's *Surveinge & Husbandrie*, 1539, reprinted London, 1767.

his pastures. An improved cultivation is produced by the skill and traditional knowledge which farmers accumulate; and the produce of their labour may enable us to estimate with sufficient precision their knowledge and skill. Sixteen and twenty bushels are assigned by Hollingshed as the usual return of an acre of wheat*. A poor return, that argues a sordid degree of cultivation; yet let us remember that at present, in the fertile and beautiful vale of Gloucester, eighteen bushels are the common produce obtained from an acre†. The prices were various; in years of scarcity seldom exceeding the present rates; but in those of abundance, from a restricted exportation, too low perhaps to afford an adequate recompence to the farmer. The greatest dearth appears to have happened in 1486, when the quarter of wheat sold at 1*l.* 4*s.* (equal to 1*l.* 17*s.* of our present money); but in subsequent years the prices subsided sometimes to 4*s.* (equal to 6*s.* of our modern coin.) Famine and pestilence afflicted the country in 1521, and raised the quarter to 20*s.* (about 1*l.* 11*s.*); but in 1527, though many perished in London from hunger, a large and seasonable importation from Dantzick restricted the price to 15*s.*‡. It is observable that the dearths so frequent in former times, are generally attributed by our ancient chronicles to the rigour of the seasons, and with some truth; for whenever the culture is languid, every unexpected alteration of weather must influence the harvest, and produce an immediate deficiency of grain.

Leases, though not uncommon, were hitherto precarious; neither protecting the tenant from the entry of purchasers, nor securing his interest against the operation of fictitious recoveries. To reinstate him when expelled by a new proprietor, an action of ejectment was sustained, about the 14th Hen. VII. in courts of law; but to restore him against a recovery required and obtained the authority of a statute§. Leases for three existing lives are recommended by Fitzherbert, to enable tenants whose sole stock is their personal labour, to surround

Leases.

* Hollingshed, p. 110.

† Marshall's Rural Economy of Gloucestershire, vol. i. p. 129.

‡ Stowe, p. 471, 481, 526, 536.

§ Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 199 21 Hen. 8. c. 5. The action of ejectment was perhaps of an earlier date; but its benefit was not extended to tenants till this period.

their

their farms, and divide them by hedges into proper inclosures; by which operation, he says, "If an acre of land be worth six pence, or it be inclosed, it will be worth eight pence when it is inclosed, by reason of the composting and donging of the catell*." But the advantage which he chiefly proposes to the farmer is more economical, the preservation of his corns without the expence of maintaining herdsmen. England, it is probable, to a sordid practice introduced into pasturage and adopted in husbandry, is indebted for those inclosures and minute subdivisions which distinguish its appearance from other countries, which increase its fertility, and bestow on its plains the interchangeable diversity of rich culture and luxurious woodlands.

Scotland.

Scotland during the present period had her historians; but such historians as were too much enamoured of great achievements to record the minute yet instructive incidents of their own times. The situation of their country, of its arts and commerce, is seldom mentioned, or described so slightly that it is impossible to discover, not perhaps to conjecture with precision, the state of cultivation to which the country had attained. Its lands had formerly been held in *ward*, a military tenure, in Scotland peculiarly oppressive; on the feudal forfeiture, or during the wardship of the vassal, every subordinate grant was suspended; his tenants were removed, his sub-vassals ejected by the lord of the fee. Infeudations for rent had in 1457 been recommended, perhaps ineffectually, by parliament; but a statute enacted in 1503†, authorized the king and his vassals to make such infeudations for an adequate rent, and exempted the grants from the operation of ward. A partial cultivation was thus promoted; but the peasant's possession was either precarious, or his lease, which seldom extended to five years, of a duration too short to encourage improvement. His possession was precarious, but it was maintained by a general combination against intruders; new tenants were removed by murder, and the peasants, according to a cotemporary, neither inclosed nor planted, nor endeavoured to meliorate the sterility of the soil‡. A persuasion prevails that Scotland formerly was a cultivated country; but the state

* Surveinge, p. 95.

† Black Acts, p. 42, 57.

‡ Major's Hist. p. 7.

of agriculture must have been poor and languid that required for its encouragement a new tenure, and a perpetuity instead of a temporary interest. The summit of a mountain may be marked by the plough; but before the vallies were cleared of wood, tillage was necessarily confined to hills. Religious houses might derive a large revenue of wheat from lands productive of none at present; but before the establishment of regular markets, while the articles of commerce were produced with difficulty, feudal proprietors stipulated with their vassals for whatever their domestic consumption required. Wheat at a future period was supplied from England, for the produce of the country consisted chiefly of oats and barley*.

Gardening, during the distractions of the civil wars, Gardening. had been much neglected; but now it was prosecuted with more assiduity, and with such success, that to the present period is ascribed the introduction of various fruits and vegetables formerly known and produced in England. The fruit garden was enriched indeed by large accessions from foreign countries, and apricots, melons, and currants from Zante were introduced, for the first time, in the sixteenth century, about the middle of Henry the Eighth's reign†. That sallads, cabbages, and other vegetables were unknown till then, is a general, but I believe a mistaken, opinion. Sallads are mentioned early in Edward the Fourth's reign; and if we may credit Hollingshed, cabbages, turnips, and other roots, the produce of the garden, had been known and cultivated, but afterwards neglected‡. The introduction of the cherry is also ascribed to the latter part of the present period, but we have discovered it already in the thirteenth century; nor was it afterwards extirpated or forgotten in England||.

* Fyne's Moryson's Itinerary, part iii. p. 155.

† Anderson, vol. i. p. 338, 355, 362.

‡ Penn's Original Letters, vol. i. p. 288. Hollingshed, p. 208.

|| Vide vol. ii. ch. 5. It appears to have been common, from the following rude verses, printed anno 1496, but composed, perhaps, at an earlier period:

“ Who, that mannyth hym wyth his kyne,

“ And clofyth his crofte wyth cherry trees;

“ Shall have many hegges brokynne,

“ And also full lytyll good ferves.”

HERBERT'S Typographical Antiquities, vol. i. p. 129.

Parks.

Gardening, however, was practised more for utility than pleasure, and consisted chiefly in the culture of esculent herbs and fruits. The pleasure garden was reserved, I believe, for Elizabeth's reign, when a square parterre was inclosed with walls, scooped into fountains, and heaved into terraces. Yet the large and numerous parks of the nobility may be regarded either as contracted forests, or extended gardens*. Their extent comprehended several miles, and their number, in Kent and Essex alone, amounted to an hundred†. Such large inclosures were peculiar to England, and better entitled to the appellation of pleasure grounds, than those gardens of a future period, that exhibited in the vegetable the mimic appearance of the animal creation.

In Scotland.

In Scotland, different laws were enacted for planting groves and inclosing with hedges; a proof that the woods were nearly exhausted, and that no provision had been made to renew them. By the same statutes the formation of orchards, gardens, and parks for deer, is imposed on the landholders, as a necessary improvement; but a spirit of improvement is excited in a country by causes very different from the penalties, or the barren injunctions of statutes‡.

Hops and flax.

The culture of hops in the present period was either introduced or revived in England; and flax was attempted, but without success, though enforced by law§. Legislature at that time endeavoured to execute, by means of penalties, those national improvements which have since been fostered and cherished by bounties.

Breed of horses.

To the passion of the age, and the predilection of the monarch for splendid tournaments, may be attributed the attention bestowed on a breed of horses, of a strength and stature adapted to the weight of the complicated panoply with which the knight and his courser were both invested. Statutes of a singular nature were enacted, allotting for deer parks a certain proportion of breeding

* Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. iv. p. 126.

† Hollingshed, p. 204. The earl of Northumberland possessed in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire, twenty-one parks, containing five thousand seven hundred and seventy-one red and fallow deer, from which his table was supplied with twenty bucks in summer and twenty-nine does in winter. Setting Lent aside, this was more than a deer a week. Besides these, he had several parks in Suffex, and other southern counties. *Northumberland Household Book.*

‡ Black Acts, p. 104, 105, 108.

§ Hollingshed, p. 110, 111. 24 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

mares, and enjoining, not the prelates and nobles only, but those whose wives wore velvet bonnets, to have stallions of a certain size for their saddle. The legal standard was, fifteen hands in horses, thirteen in mares, and "unlikely tits" were, without distinction, consigned to execution *. James the Fourth, with more propriety, imported horses from foreign countries, to improve the degenerate breed of his own †. Artificial grasses for their winter provender were still unknown; nor were asses propagated in England till a subsequent period ‡.

There is a certain perfection in art to which human genius may aspire with success, but beyond which, it is the apprehension of many, that improvement degenerates into false taste and fantastic refinement. The rude simplicity of Saxon architecture was supplanted by the magnificence of the *ornamental Gothic*; but magnificence itself is at last exhausted, and it terminated during the present period in a style which some, with an allusion to literature, denominate the *florid*. Its characteristics are a profusion of ornaments, minute yet delicate; a finishing light and slender, from which apparent strength and solidity recede; walls surmounted by latticed battlements; windows less pointed, but broad and open; roofs divided by slight ribs into numerous compartments, fretted curiously like rich embroidery, interspersed with sculpture, and spangled with pencil and clustering decorations, like those grottoes where the oozing water is petrified before it distils from the vault. It is a style censurable as too ornamental, departing from the grandeur peculiar to the Gothic, without acquiring proportional elegance; yet its intricate and redundant decorations are well calculated to rivet the eye, and amaze, perhaps to bewilder, the mind. In Somersetshire, a county devoted to the cause of Lancaster, several churches were rebuilt in this style by the gratitude or policy of Henry VII.; but the superb chapel which he erected in Westminster exhausted, it is probable, every ornament that taste could dictate, or piety accumulate. The expence amounted to 14,000*l.* in quantity upwards of 20,000*l.* but in efficacy equivalent, perhaps, to 80,000*l.* of our modern coin; and the fabric exhibits a splendid specimen of Gothic architec-

Architec-
ture.

* 27 Hen. VIII. vol. vi. 36 Hen. VIII. vol. xiii. Vide Barrington's Observations on the Statutes, p. 443.

† Pitfcottie, p. 153.

‡ Hollingshed, p. 220. Polydore Virgil, p. 13.

ture, in its latest, perhaps most degenerate period. Christ Church College was built by Wolsey in the same stile, and with similar taste; but the genius of Gothic architecture languished after the death of that favourite, and expired with his sovereign. Grecian architecture was then introduced, but its orders, till a purer taste was created, were intermixed promiscuously with those of the Gothic, producing a discordant and barbarous assemblage*.

Civil.

The sacred imparted to civil architecture a character so suited to the profuse magnificence of Henry the Eighth. His predecessors had resided in castles, or in houses constructed with few ornaments and little convenience†; but after the invention of cannon, and during a long season of profound repose, the utility of castles had ceased; the nobles solicited better accommodation, the king and his minister superior elegance. Whitehall, Nonsuch, and Hampton Court were erected; the former by Henry, the last by Wolsey, in the florid style of the present period. Whitehall and Nonsuch have perished, but Wolsey's magnificence is still attested by Hampton Court; a residence, says Grotius, befitting rather a god than a king‡. Ancient buildings, the property of the crown, were either repaired or renewed by Henry; but his taste and rapacity were both gratified by the dissolution of the monasteries, and the conversion of religious structures into royal abodes. Dartford was appropriated to his use, and St. James's transformed from a nunnery to a palace§. His nobles began to remove the martial fronts of their castles, and endeavoured to render them more commodious||; but in architecture the nation participated neither the spirit nor the taste of its sovereign. The mansions of gentlemen were still fordid; the huts of the peasantry poor and wretched. The former were generally thatched buildings composed of timber, or, where wood was scarce, of large

* Vide Wren's *Parentalia*. Bentham's *Hist. of Eliz.* Warton's *Observations on Spencer*. Grose's *Antiquities of England*, Pref.

† The Old Palace of Westminster, burnt in Henry the Eighth's reign, was a fortified place. Howel's *Londonopolis*, p. 346.

‡ Si quis opes nescit, sed quis tamen ille,
Hamptencourta tuos, consulat ille lares,
Contulerit toto cum sparsa palatia mundo,
Dicet ibi reges, hic habitare Deos. GROTII *Poemata*.

§ Hollingshed, p. 196. Stowe's *Survey*. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 563.

|| Hollingshed, p. 194.

posts inserted in the earth, filled up in the interstices with rubbish, plastered within, and covered on the outside with coarse clay *. The latter were slight frames, prepared in the forests at a small expence, and, when erected, probably covered with mud †. In cities, the houses were constructed mostly of the same materials, for bricks were still too costly for general use; and the stories seem to have projected forward as they rose in height, intercepting sun-shine and air from the streets beneath ‡. The apartments, Erasmus observes, were stifling, lighted by lattices, so contrived as to prohibit the occasional and salutary admission of external air. The floors were of clay strewed with rushes; but in the frequent renewal of these (they remained for years a foul receptacle of every pollution) we discover nothing of the scrupulous cleanliness that attends the English §. A more pleasing picture is exhibited in an ancient ballad, of a rustic habitation on the borders of England. The house was divided into two apartments; the outer for servants; the inner, or chamber, for the peasant and his wife ||; and on this simple plan, which is still retained in a part of Scotland, farmers houses were generally constructed. Chimnies were appropriated to larger mansions; but the fire was kindled against a *revedosse* in the middle of the hall, and the smoke escaped through a perforation in the roof ¶.

In military architecture, whatever improvements were Military.
produced on the continent, few alterations were adopted in Britain. Ancient castles were much diminished, nor was it the policy of the crown to rebuild them. As fortresses, they were dangerous, yet not secure; dangerous to public tranquillity, yet not secure against regular sieges. Neither their strength nor construction was calculated, after the invention of artillery, to annoy besiegers, or resist the continued impression of cannon. Low batteries instead of turrets, and instead of square or circular, angular ramparts were, after the application of artillery to sieges, improvements requisite in military

* Hollingshed, p. 187.

† 37 Hen VII. c. 6. Fenn's Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 141.

‡ Hollingshed, p. 188. Anderson, vol. i. 337. Swait's Antiq. vol. i. p. 46.

§ Erasmi Epist. 432.

|| Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems, vol. i. p. 65. vol. ii. 398.

¶ Hollingshed, p. 188.

architecture;

architecture ; yet, unless some platforms of cannon for the protection of the Thames, and a few block-houses, too insignificant to acquire a name, no new fortifications were erected in England by either of the Henries *. Their vigilance repressed or prevented internal discord, and the castles upheld on the borders were sufficient to resist the incursions of the Scots.

Metallic
Arts.

In manual operations skill and dexterity increase insensibly ; nor is it possible, or is it the scope of this history, to mark, in the progress of the arts, the silent improvement acquired by the artist. We may remark, however, that the increasing refinement of the period was conducive to the perfection, as well as the increase of the metallic arts. The luxury of the table descended to citizens, requiring so generally the use of plate, that there are few, says Polydore, whose tables are not daily provided with spoons, cups, and a salt-cellar of silver. Those of a higher sphere affected a greater profusion of plate † ; but the quantity accumulated by cardinal Wolsey, though the precious metals are now so copious, still continues to excite our surprise ‡. At Hampton Court, where he feasted the French ambassadors and their splendid retinue, two cupboards, extending across the banquet chambers, were piled to the top with plate, and illuminated ; yet without encroaching on these ostentatious repositories, a profuse service remained for the tables §. From the complaints of the people, reiterated

Anno
1528.

* Polydore Virgil, Hist. p. 15. Stowe, p. 576. Hollingshed, p. 194.

† Polydore Virgil, p. 13. His testimony is explicit. Yet the scarcity, or rather total want of plate in the Northumberland family, is a singular exception. *Treen*, or wooden plates, were used in the family, and pewter vessels were hired on solemn festivals. The luxury of London and the southern counties had certainly not extended to the north, where old families, whose journeys to court were only occasional, and never voluntary, affected to retain the manners of the former age. (See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. i.) Besides, the Northumberland family was seated too near the borders, and its castles were too frequently plundered by the Scots, for any quantity of plate to be accumulated or purchased. *Northumberland Household Book*.

‡ See Cavendish, ch. 17.

§ Stowe, p. 537. Cavendish. Two hundred and eighty beds were provided for the guests ; a goodly company. " Every chamber," says Stowe, " had a bason and an ewer of silver, a great livery pot of silver, and some gilt ; yea, and some chambers had two livery pots with wine and beer ; a silver candlestick, having in it two sizes, yet the cupboards in the two banquetting chambers were not once touched,"

even in parliament *, we may infer that the artificers were often foreigners; yet in one art, the manufacture of pewter, such merit was imputed to English workmen, that they were prohibited by statute from quitting the realm, or imparting their *mystery* to foreign apprentices †. Carving, gilding, embroidery, the making of clocks, and probably other ingenious metallic arts, had been practised in monasteries; and their suppression furnished a considerable accession of useful artists ‡. Pins, such as are used at present, were fabricated in the latter end of the present period; yet it is observable that the legislature, whose interference in manufactures is seldom salutary, attempted for a time to suppress this trivial but useful art §.

While foreign artificers were discountenanced in Eng- In Scot-
land, an opposite policy was attempted in Scotland; and land.
if we may credit historians ||, workmen of every description were collected from different countries by James the Fifth. His endeavours to introduce manufactures, or to improve the rude arts that were practised in Scotland, are represented as partly successful; but they were partly frustrated by his premature death.

Mines of gold, discovered during his father's reign, Mines.
were wrought by Germans under his direction; and from these mines, the first in Scotland, it is said that he extracted considerable treasure *. It is possible that their produce, while labour was cheap, and before the influx of wealth from America, might have been valuable; but it is more probable that the undertaking soon ceased to defray the expence. In the same region, instead of the precious metals, mines of the richest lead have been since discovered; but the gold that was formerly sought by monarchs is reduced to a few minute

* 14 Hen. VIII. c. 2. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 16. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 13. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 16.

† 33 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

‡ Strype, vol. i. p. 372. Fenn's Orig. Let. vol. ii. p. 31.

§ 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 6. 37. Hen. VIII. c. 13. Anderson, vol. i. p. 372.

|| Piscottie, p. 153. Hawthornden, p. 114.

¶ Hawthornden, *ibid.* Boethius, *Descript. Reg. Scot.* p. 6. The spars and crystals of the lead-hills are easily recognized in the jaspers, rubies, and adamants, with which the warm imagination of Boethius has impregnated these hills.

Clothing
arts.

fragments, gathered by the shepherd from the sands deposited by the winter torrents.

The clothing arts, if retarded formerly by the civil dissensions, were now promoted by various circumstances—the tranquillity of the period, the policy ascribable to Henry VII. the magnificent court which his son supported, and the gaiety, taste, and refinement of the age. There were few insurrections, and these insufficient to subvert the government. Henry VII. was attentive, next to his own, to the national interest; and when he laboured, both by treaties and private assistance, to encourage the spirit of commercial adventure, we may presume that manufactures, the true source of commercial intercourse, were not neglected *. It is said, on what account I have not discovered, that the woollen manufacture was improved and extended by workmen whom his bounty allured from Flanders †, and it is certain that the period of English prosperity commences after the decline of Bruges, the removal of its commerce, and the dispersion of its artists. The splendid dissipation of his son's reign was, if possible, more propitious to manufactures, than the father's prudence. His policy was seldom judicious; but his example served to diffuse and to countenance a taste for magnificence. The nobility and gentry, renouncing their former rustic hospitality, frequented his court, where their fortunes were dissipated in a mutual emulation of costly equipage and rich attire. Nor was this peculiar to courtiers, or confined to the English; refinement had already pervaded Europe, and instructing every rank to aspire to a better situation and to superior enjoyments, re-acted on commerce from which it originated, and redoubled the produce of those manufactures by which it was gratified.

It must be confessed, however, that in England the dress of the wealthy, and in some measure the homely cloathing of the poorer orders, were supplied from abroad. Silks, velvets, and *cloth of gold*, an article at that time in high estimation, were imported from Italy; coarse fustians from Flanders, of a texture so durable

* See in Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 202, an instance of the king's attention to the trade of Bristol, then declining.

† Anderson, vol. i. p. 306.

that

that the doublet lasted for two years*. The manufactures were judiciously confined to woollens, the extent of which is attested in different statutes, by the varieties fabricated and the quantities exported. Of a slighter texture or inferior quality thirteen different cloths are enumerated; but the fabrication of broad cloth was adjusted and regulated with an anxious precaution†. The repeated provisions that regard exportation, may convince us that the quantity exported was then considerable; but a better proof is discovered in the constant and otherwise unaccountable increase of prices. The exportation of cloth was restrained by statute, till *shorn, rowled*, or completely manufactured; but an exception was granted in 1486, for rays, vesses, and white woollens, whose prices exceeded not forty shillings. At the distance of twenty-seven years, cloths of the same description and quality acquired an exemption when below five merks, and after an interval of twenty years the exception was again extended to four pounds‡. It is true, the voice of the legislature is not always the organ of truth, but credit is due to its information wherever the times extort a reluctant concession. The manufactures of a nation are commonly estimated by its positive situation at different periods; a juster measure may be obtained from the relative situation of other states, its competitors and rivals. At a time when the manufactures of the Netherlands were prosperous, and those of Spain still considerable§, England, indebted to neither for her internal consumption, appears to have furnished from the surplus of her manufactures a large exportation. Her sales were chiefly confined to the Netherlands, then the emporium of exchange through Europe; but her foreign commerce was daily extended; her traders, early in the sixteenth century, diffused her manufactures through the Grecian isles||, and discovered, in the middle of the same century, a new market in the Russian empire.

A. D.
1511-12.

Such were the woollen manufactures of England, more extensive than those of Spain, and rivalled only by

* Anderson, vol. i. p. 306. 376. 11 Hen. VII. c. 28.

† See Stat. Hen. VII. and VIII. passim.

‡ Stat. 3 Hen. VII. c. 11. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 7. 5 Hen. viii. c. 3.
27 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

§ Anderson, vol. i. p. 349.

|| Hakluyt's Voyages, part ii. p. 96.

those of Flanders. Their prosperity resulted from natural causes, not from systems concerted by the legislature, whose regulations are rarely dictated by a judicious policy. Regulations operate as restrictions; but the wisdom of Henry VII. is chiefly conspicuous in the few restrictions imposed on trade. Under his successors the interposition of parliament was frequent, often injurious, and sometimes productive of pernicious monopolies. The preparation of Yorkshire coverlets was confined to York, an ancient city, depopulated, says the statute, by the neighbouring villages*, but in Worcestershire the woollen manufactures were all restricted, for a similar reason, to five towns†. At a former period the exportation of wool had been prohibited, apparently without effect; but a power devolved on prerogative, of dispensing with the statute, operated, it is probable, in occasional monopolies‡. A patent obtained by the city of York for shipping wool, to the exclusion probably of the whole county, required a formal abrogation in parliament§. The exportation of wool was immense; in one year sixty cargoes were dispatched to the Netherlands from Southampton alone||. To agriculture the consequences were ruinous; to manufactures perhaps they were salutary. The rude produce exceeded the quantity employed at home; the surplus therefore was wisely exported; and every exportation enabled the kingdom, by increasing its capital, to enlarge the circle and increase the produce of its own manufactures. But for an early and lucrative exportation of wool, England might still have been poor and wretched, without cultivation, and destitute equally of arts and of commerce.

The smaller manufactures were still inconsiderable; consisting principally of ribbands, laces, and similar articles prepared by the silk company; and felt hats, a coarse manufacture established in London after the accession of Henry VIII¶. Cottons occur in the statute-

* 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

† Hen. VIII. c. 18. The towns were Worcester, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Broomsgrove.

‡ See vol. ii. ch. 5. § 21 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

|| Anderfon, vol. i. p. 381.

¶ 19 Hen. VII. c. 21. Anderf. p. 332. Stowe, p. 870. Hats, however, are of greater antiquity; they are mentioned in the letters published by Fenn, and were probably imported by the Flemish so early as Hen. IV. See Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. p. 83.

book; an appellation bestowed, I suspect, on a species of woollen; for linen, even the coarsest dowlas, was derived from Flanders*. Hemp was introduced, and its culture recommended; not however for the weaver's benefit, but to furnish materials for cordage and cables†. Tapestry-weaving was attempted, with what success is uncertain‡. Among the smaller manufactures those of Scotland might perhaps be included; yet Hector Boethius, partial perhaps to his birth-place, celebrates the woollen manufactures of Dundee, and assures us that cloths of the whitest and most delicate texture were fabricated at Dumfries, and exported to England, Flanders, France, and Germany§. But whatever was the progress of Scotland in arts and commerce, her historians, regarding the subjects as ingracious, have maintained a guarded and ambiguous silence.

The English are classed by Erasmus, with some Art of truth, among those barbarians that are prone to war || war. Is it the genius or the peculiar misfortune of the nation, when secure at home, to search abroad for military glory, to reject the tranquillity which their insular situation has always proffered, and in the wars of others, to which they ought to have no accession, to spend profusely their strength and treasures? Henry VII. had no inclination, his imprudent successor had no call, to unsheath the sword. His example is the first of an English monarch interposing to regulate the balance of Europe; but his victories were barren, his conquests transient, and succeeding princes who have imitated his example have seldom failed to inherit his fortune. His frequent levies preserved the national arms and discipline, but his foreign expeditions served merely to enure the English to the recent improvements in the art of war.

Military services had passed into desuetude, or were Raising seldom exacted from the feudal tenants, unless for the troops. purpose of pecuniary extortion. Forces were levied for

* 21 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

† 24 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

‡ Dugdale's Warwickshire, vol. ii. p. 584.

§ Descriptio Scot. pp. 3 & 5.

|| Ad Philippum Paneg. Vid. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. ii. p. 171.

the defence of the kingdom by commissions of array; for expeditions abroad by indentures for soldiers *. When an invasion was apprehended from France or Scotland, commissions were issued through the different counties, for *mustering* the inhabitants in arms, selecting those that were fitted for service, and *arraying* them according to their rank and weapons †. Foreign wars were conducted by troops of mercenaries, raised by mutual indenture between the king and his officers. An indenture between the earl of Kent and Henry VII. provides, that the former shall furnish six men at arms, including himself, each attended by a page and custrel; sixteen demilances, sixty archers on foot, and twenty-one on horseback; at the daily pay of 6*d.* (equivalent to 2*s.* 6*d.* of our present money) for each of the archers; 9*d.* (equal to 4*s.*) for the demilances; and 1*s.* 6*d.* in its efficacy equal to 7*s.* 6*d.*) for the men at arms, their attendants and horses ‡. Such indentures are numerous, and were certainly lucrative; for the principal nobility on the same terms contracted to furnish the army with soldiers. Their service was temporary, limited commonly to the space of a year; for unless the yeomen of the guard, instituted by Henry VII. and the gentlemen pensioners by his son, (a band of archers and a troop of horse,) a military establishment was unknown in England §.

Arms.

Their weapons and armour were, with little variation, such as the assize of arms had formerly appointed ||. Men at arms whose prowess was most conspicuous held the highest estimation; but the strength of the army still consisted in archers, now more formidable by the addition of halberts, which they pitched on the ground till their arrows were exhausted, and with which they resisted the impression of cavalry ¶. Sometimes they fought intermixed with the common soldiers, who were armed indiscriminately with bills and spears **. The troops were distinguished by scarfs and badges; but the

* See vol. i. c. 5. sect. 1.

† Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 300. 374. 399.

‡ Rym. vol. xii. p. 477.

§ Hall. Hen. VII. p. 3. Grose's Milit. Antig.

|| See vol. ii. c. 5. sect. 1.

¶ Herbert's Hist. p. 20.

** Strutt, vol. iii. p. 9.

diversity both of their dress and arms must have given their arrangements a motley appearance *.

Two hundred years had elapsed since the discovery of Fire-arms. gunpowder, and its first application to the art of war; but fire-arms of a portable construction were a recent invention, that gave no promise of supplanting the bow. Hand-guns were first introduced; a species of small culverin without a stock, fastened to a tripod, and managed like a swivel †; but the musket mounted on a stock and discharged from the shoulder, was employed in 1521, at the siege of Parma, and probably soon adopted in England ‡. Its form was clumsy, and its weight inconvenient; it was placed on a rest, and discharged by a match lock; but the different operations requisite for the management of the rest and match (for adjusting the one, and blowing, fixing, and removing the other) perplexed the soldier, and rendered his discharges slow and irregular. Muskets, to facilitate their management, were then reduced to a diminutive size, till a statute prohibited those the length of whose stock and barrel was less than a yard §. But the bow was still preferred for its greater dispatch, and in the hands of an English archer it possessed, within a determined range, a steadier aim and a greater execution ||. The musketeers were defective in skill; their muskets probably were ill-constructed, yet their fire was formidable to men at arms, whose harness never resisted the stroke of a bullet.

The improvements produced on artillery are at this distance neither perceptible nor of much importance. Brass and iron ordnance had been procured from the continent, till a foundery for cannon was established in 1535, by Owen an Englishman ¶. Such a foundery had been attempted in Scotland at an earlier period with some success by Borthwick, an artist in the service of James IV. **. Mortars and bombs were invented in 1544, by foreigners whom Henry VIII. employed ††.

* Grose's Milit. Antiq.

† Beling Herbert.
Milit. Antiq.

¶ Stowe, p. 571.

cast in Edinburgh-castle, and some of them remained with his inscription in Lesly's time.
Machina sum Scoto Borthwick fabricata Roberto.

† Daniel's Hist. de Milice.

§ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 6. Vide Grose's
|| Life of Lord Herbert, p. 51.

** Leslie, p. 353. The guns were

Machina sum Scoto Borthwick fabricata Roberto.

†† Stowe, p. 584

Scotland.

In Scotland armies were levied by musters; and to render the inhabitants expert at arms, *weaponshaws*, or reviews, were appointed four times, afterwards twice a year, in the different counties. The arms to be provided by every rank were adjusted as in England; suits of armour by the nobles, gentlemen, burgeses, and others, whose rents or whose goods amounted to 100*l.*; jacks of plate and steel bonnets by persons of inferior rank and opulence, with swords and spears, or instead of the latter, with halberts or battle-axes, bows, culverins, or two-handed swords*. The spear (whose length was seventeen feet) was the national weapon; a formidable weapon when projected by a steady and compact battalion. But the Scottish troops were deficient in discipline; when galled at a distance by the English archers, their impatience often precipitated their steps and disordered their ranks, intercepted the use of their unwieldy spears, and impelled them promiscuously on the sword of the enemy.

Printing.

The necessary or useful arts may be concluded with printing, the utility of which is acknowledged, not merely as subservient to science, but as conducive to the perfection of whatever ministers to comfort or elegance. Its introduction by Caxton has been noted†; its improvement under his successor was such, that the types of Wynken de Worde have served, it is asserted, for Saxon characters to the present times‡. The books which he printed are numerous; but Pinson, Kastell, and others his competitors, contributed equally to the improvement of printing. The publications of these early printers were chiefly of a popular nature, legends, romances, religious discourses; books necessarily popular at every period, because they are calculated to agitate the passions, or amuse the untutored taste of the multitude. Some Latin grammars were also printed; but it is observable, that after the revival of letters, at a time when the ancients were studied, their languages adopted, and their elegance imitated, Terence, Virgil's Eclogues, and Tully's Offices were the only classical productions of the English press§. But the printers were either translators or authors; their literature seldom extended to Latin;

* Black Acts, p. 93. 130, 131.

† See vol. iii. ch. 5.

‡ Herbert's Typographical Antiq. vol. i. p. 118.

§ Id. passim.

they had few classical readers to gratify, and their own vernacular compositions coincided happily with the national taste. The Germans were diverted from improving their language, by their numerous presses, conducted by scholars and teeming with classics; but the books that issued from the English press were adapted to those who were neither learned nor untinctured with letters, and promoted more perhaps than the study of the ancients the early refinement of the English language.

These printers have yet a merit in compiling the materials and recording the annals of English story. Grafton, who printed the Bible, completed the Chronicles of Hall and Harding; and of those published by Hollingshed and Harrison, much must be ascribed to the previous collections of Wolfe, a printer, whose life was consumed in historical researches*. Their presses, however, were confined to black letter, (the Roman character was seldom employed,) and were still inferior to those on the continent. The reformers printed abroad, a circumstance imputable to Henry's imperious supremacy; but the Bible which he authorized was attempted first at Paris, where workmen, it is said, were dexterous, and paper abundant†. A paper-mill had been erected at Hartford, Anno 1507; but its paper probably was much inferior to that of the French‡. Printing was also introduced into Scotland; but missals and statutes were the only productions of the Scottish press.

S E C T. II.

History of the fine and pleasing Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music, in Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

THERE are certain imitative arts that solicit retirement, others that sicken in the shade, and only expand to the sunshine of courts, or the genial influence of popu- Fine arts.

* Vid. Hollingshed's Pref.

† Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 515.

‡ Typograph. Ant. vol. i. p. 200.

lar favour. Poetry has prospered in obscurity, or under discountenance; but sculpture and painting are more dependent on the public regard, and require, particularly in an age emerging from rudeness, more immediate protection and patronage. None was to be obtained or expected from Henry VII. who had neither taste to relish, nor spirit to remunerate distinguished merit. His chapel may be ascribed to a pious solicitude for his future welfare, or regarded as an instance, a solitary instance, of vanity predominating over his avarice: but this tomb originated solely from vanity, and its merit is exclusively due to his successor, by whom it was erected and the expence defrayed.

Sculpture.

The tomb was executed, according to Stowe, by Peter T. a native of Florence *. And in this obscure appellation antiquaries have discovered Pietro Torregiano, a sculptor once the competitor of Michael Angelo. That artist's pre-eminence he had resented by a hasty blow, for which he was expelled or departed from Florence; and after some vicissitudes of life, was retained as a sculptor by Henry VIII. and employed in erecting his father's monument †. His reward was liberal; 1000*l.* for the materials and workmanship, (equivalent now to 5000*l.*) but it is easier perhaps to trace his history than pronounce on his merits ‡. The tomb was probably designed by another, as its taste is Gothic, and adapted, particularly in the outward shrine, to the style of the chapel. The minute and florid decorations of architecture, which often serve to distract the attention, are applied with peculiar advantage to monumental shrines, where the whole is comprehended at a single inspection, and of which the parts are susceptible of an exquisite polish §. The small statues that embellished the sepulchre are partly decayed;

* Stowe, p. 486.

† Walpole's Anecd. of Painting, vol. i. p. 96.

‡ Some. Walpole. He quitted England to settle in Spain, where, in his passion, he demolished an image he had carved for the Virgin, for which he was imprisoned by the inquisition, and, from madness or a lofty spirit, starved himself to death. Sir Antonio More for a similar offence met with a more lenient punishment. Philip king of Spain bestowed a familiar but rough slap on the painter's shoulder's, which she later returned with his cane; and for this the punishment was a temporary banishment. In Spain it is safer to assault the person of a living monarch, than to deface the statue of a dead virgin. Walpole, vol. i. p. 123.

§ See Dart's Antiq. of Westminster Abbey.

those of Henry and his consort remain; but whatever be their merit, it would be difficult to recognise in the sculpture a competitor worthy of Michael Angelo.

Sculpture seems to be a rarer talent, its perfection Painting- more unattainable than painting; and in the patronage of the latter, Henry certainly was more successful. Mabuse, a profligate Flemish painter, but of some merit, appears to have been employed in his father's court, whither he was probably driven by his own distresses, rather than allured by the monarch's bounty. The art, however, was little regarded till the son's reign, who endeavoured, it is said, to procure from Italy Raphael and Titian; and under whose protection several Flemish and Italian painters frequented England. But their merit is obscured by that of the celebrated Holbein, who, for the softness and richness of his colouring, was preferred to the first Italian painters, at a time when painting had attained in Italy its meridian splendor. He was first established in Basil, afterwards (1526) recommended by Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, and passed the subsequent part of his life, with more security than his unfortunate patron, in the service of Henry VIII. and his son. His pencil, among its other employments, portrayed the beauties of Henry's wives, or of those whom Henry intended to wed; and to procure a just report of the latter, he was twice dispatched to the continent as the secret emissary of Henry's love. But he was not always a faithful emissary; his pencil, if impartial to the duchess of Milan, imparted unmerited charms to Anne of Cleves, and ensnared his master into a distasteful marriage; for which, while the painter escaped unpunished, Cromwell the minister lost his head. Princes in their marriages are now to be pitied; they must see and choose from a flattering portrait, and wed by proxy without inclination; but the disasters that Henry tasted in marriage provoke derision: Henry, who exalted his female subjects to his throne and bed, when sated with their charms, like an Eastern tyrant, dismissed them to the scaffold. Holbein lived in England without a competitor, and died (1554) without a successor to eclipse his memory. His works, of which many are lost or dispersed abroad, are justly celebrated as dear to connoisseurs for the perfection of their

their colouring, dear to antiquaries for their age and scarcity*.

Engrav-
ing.

To painting may be added a subordinate art, that copies and serves to diffuse its designs. Engraving was coeval in England with printing; a rude engraving was employed, as a substitute for illuminating, to decorate the titles and initials of books. Some copperplates were produced at the end of this period†; but these are only memorable as the first specimens in England of an art that aspires to imitate, though unable to emulate, the perfection of painting. Poetry and painting will still retain this material difference, that the works of the latter cannot be multiplied like those of the former, not at least in their original lustre; but the disadvantage is in some measure recompensed by this, that the productions of poetry are more local, confined to a district, a nation, a language; while those of painting, expressive only of natural appearances, are intelligible in every region to every nation.

Poetry.

The age of Henry VII. and his predecessor Richard is characterised by the historian of English poetry as fertile in versifiers, but productive only of one that merits the name of poet‡; yet in this exception there is reason to suspect that the historian's judgment was bribed, or his taste perverted by a love of antiquity. Stephen Hawes, a groom of the chamber to Henry VII. composed, among other poems of obscure merit, the Temple of Glass and the Pastime of Pleasure; but the one is a transcript from Chaucer, the other a prolix and tedious allegory; the conception of which required little invention, and of which the imagery is apparently of little value§. His versification, however, improves upon Lydgate's, and is far superior to Barclay's or Skelton's, contemporaries curious for the manners of the period, but as poets beneath attention. The truth is, that with every advantage derived from learning, with a language that approached, though it had not attained to its present state, English

* Such is the eulogy pronounced by Mr. Walpole; a rare instance of taste united to a love of antiquities. *Anc. Paint.* vol. i. p. 94.

† Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers, p. 5.

‡ Warton's Hist. Poet. vol. ii. p. 165, 210.

§ Ibid. Warron has dissected the poem, but has given no favourable specimens of its particular merits.

poetry, till refined by Surry, degenerated into metrical chronicles or tasteless allegories.

It was different in Scotland, where poetry, such as Chaucer might acknowledge and Spencer imitate, was cultivated in a language superior to Chaucer's. Dunbar and Douglas were distinguished poets, whose genius would have reflected lustre on a happier period, and whose works, though partly obscured by age, are perused with pleasure even in a dialect confined to rustics. Dunbar, an ecclesiastic, at least an expectant of church preferment, seems to have languished at the court of James IV. whose marriage with Margaret of England he has celebrated in the Thistle and the Rose; an happy allegory, by which the vulgar topics of an epithalamium are judiciously avoided, and exhortation and eulogy delicately insinuated. The versification of the poem is harmonious, the stanza artificial and pleasing, the language copious and selected, the narrative diversified, rising often to dramatic energy. The poem from its subject is descriptive, but Dunbar improves the most luxuriant description by an intermixture of imagery, sentiment, and moral observation. The following is a specimen:

The purpour sone, with tendir bemys reid,
In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
Throw goldin skvis putting up his heid,
Quchis gilt tressis schone so wondir cleir,
That all the world tuke comfort, fer and neir,
To luke upone his fresche and blif full face,
Doing all fable fro the hevenis chace.

And as the bliffull sonne of cherarcley
The fowlis sung throw comfort of the licht;
The burdis did with open vocis cry,
O luvaris so, away thow dully nicht,
And welcum day that comfortis every wicht;
Hail *May*, hail *Flora*, hail *Aurora* schene,
Hail princes Nature, hail Venus, Luvis quene.

The Golden Terge is another allegorical poem of Dunbar's, constructed in a stanza similar to Spencer's, but more artificial, and far more difficult *. In description perhaps it excels, in sentiment it scarcely equals, the Thistle and Rose. Its narrative is not interchanged with dialogue; its allegory refers to the passions, the dominion of beauty, the subjection of reason, and is less fortunate

* Like Spencer's it consists of nine verses, restricted however to two rhymes instead of three, which Spencer's admits of.

than the Thistle and Rose, whose occult and secondary signification is an historical truth that subsists apart, and however embellished, cannot be obscured by the ostensible emblem. When the passions or the mental powers are personified and involved in action, we pursue the tale, forgetful of their abstraction, to which it is relative; but to remedy this, the Golden Terge has a merit in its brevity which few allegorical poems possess. The allegorical genius of our ancient poetry discovers often a sublime invention; but it has intercepted what is now more valuable, the representation of genuine character and of the manners peculiar to ancient life. These manners Dunbar has sometimes delineated with humour, in poems lately retrieved from oblivion*; and from them he appears in the new light of a skilful satirist and an attentive observer of human nature.

Gawin Douglas, his contemporary, was more conspicuous by the rare union of birth and learning, and is still distinguished as the first poetical translator of the classics in Britain. Early in youth he translated Ovid's *de Remedio Amoris*, (a work that has perished); at a maturer age, Virgil's *Eneid* into Scottish heroics; a translation popular till superceded at the close of the last century by others more elegant, not more faithful, nor perhaps more spirited†. His original poems are *King Hart* and the *Palace of Honour*, allegories too much protracted, though marked throughout with a vivid invention; but his most valuable performances are prologues to the books of his *Eneid*, stored occasionally with exquisite description. As a poet he is inferior to Dunbar, neither so tender nor so various in his powers. His taste and judgment are less correct, and his verses less polished. The one describes by selecting, the other by accumulating images; but with such success, that his prologues descriptive of the winter solstice, of a morning and evening in summer, transport the mind to the seasons they delineate, teach it to sympathise with the poet's, and to watch with his the minutest changes that nature exhibits. These are the earliest poems professedly descriptive; but in description Scottish poets are rich beyond belief. Their language

* Vide his Poems in Pinkerton's Collection.

† It was finished in sixteen months; and till Dryden's appeared, seems to have been received as a standard translation: till then it was certainly the best translation.

swells with the subject, depicting nature with the brightest and happiest selection of colours. The language of modern poetry is more intelligible, not so luxuriant, nor the terms so harmonious. Description is still the characteristic, and has ever been the principal excellence of Scottish poets; on whom, though grossly ignorant of human nature, the poetical mantle of Dunbar and Douglas has successively descended *.

Poetry revived in England under Henry VIII. and was cultivated by his courtiers as a vehicle of gallantry; but by none more than the brave but unfortunate Surry, who had taste to relish the Italian poetry, and judgment to reject their affected though splendid conceits. His sonnets were once celebrated, but are now neglected; unjustly neglected, for their merit is considerable, and their influence imparted a new character to English poetry. Surry was inspired by a genuine passion, and his sonnets breathe the unaffected dictates of nature and love. Tenderness predominates in the sentiment, ease and elegance distinguish the language. From these sonnets, the earliest specimens of a polished diction and refined sensibility, succeeding poets discovered the capacity and secret powers of the English tongue. They are not numerous, though sufficient to effect a reformation in poetry, nor discriminated always from the sonnets of others; but of those whose authenticity is certain, the complaint uttered in confinement at Windsor touches irresistibly the heart with woe. Blank verse, now peculiar to English poetry, had been recently attempted in Italian and Spanish, and was first transplanted by Surry into some translations from Virgil, which discover rather the concinnity of rhyme than the swelling progression of blank verse. As a specimen of his poetry our limits only admit of a sonnet, selected for the variety, choice, and compression of its images.

The soote season that bud, and bloome fourth brings,
With grene hath cladde the hyl, and eke the vale,
The Nightingall with fethers new she singes;
The turtle to her mate hath told her tale:

* Other poets of inferior reputation flourished during this period in Scotland; but it is the purport of this history to record progressive improvements, not the stationary merit of poetry.

Somer is come, for every spray now springes,
 The hart hath hunge hys olde head on the pale,
 The bucke in brake his winter coate he flinges;
 The fishes flete with newe repayred scale:
 The adder all her slough away she flynges,
 The swift swallow pursueth the flies smallë,
 The busy bee her honey now she mynges;
 Winter is worne that was the flowres bale.
 And thus I see among these pleasant thynges
 Eche care decayes, and yet my sorrow sprynges.

In the refinement of poetry the elder Wyat is supposed to have co-operated with Surry, as both studied in the Italian school *; but he follows at a submissive distance, with an unpliant genius and untunable numbers. His verses are amatory and satirical, or rather didactic; but in the first, as his passion was fictitious, its utterance is harsh. With the taste he adopted the affectation of the Italians, and in his sonnets labours perpetually at some hopeless conceit. Yet his numbers burst sometimes into melody, and his satires exhibit, with much obscurity, an occasional strength and propriety of thought and diction.

Dramatic poetry was attempted after the arrival of letters, or rather mysteries of the church were converted in the universities into regular dramas. Plays on historical or religious subjects were composed in Latin for the students to perform; and the authors probably succeeded better in their observance of the rules than in their imitation of the divine spirit of the Grecian stage. These spectacles could never be popular; but occasional *interludes* were written in English †, and performed by students in the inns of court, or by itinerant minstrels in the halls of the nobility. The poetry is worthless, memorable only as the first productions of the English drama ‡. *Philotus*, a comedy in the Scottish language, is ascribed to the close of this period, and some interludes were written by Lindsay of the Mount, a Scottish poet, whose laurels are faded §.

The imitative arts, as their primary object is the gratification either of sense or passion, are not necessa-

* Warton's Hist. of Poet. vol. iii. p. 28.

† Vide one in the Harleian Miscell. vol. i. p. 98.

‡ Warton, vol. ii. p. 366.

§ Pinkerton's Ancient Scot. Poems, Pref. 110. Lindsay's remains are in the Banatyne Manuscript. I have not found that they are of much value.

rily allied to religion, to which occasionally they have been rendered subservient; and accordingly some are rejected by the orthodox, others retained as instrumental to devotion. Painting and sculpture are proscribed as idolatrous, poetry and music cherished as sacred; nor did the reformation produce in England an immediate alteration on the music of the church. Counterpoint, the invention of a former period, was improved in the present, particularly by the introduction of discords to provoke attention, or relieve from satiety. The plain chants of the church were selected by composers as a basis for florid counterpoint and figurative harmony; recent improvements, constructed on the continent with all the artificial perplexity of fugue and canon. Such artifices as the last were disregarded, or seldom adopted by English composers, whose masses and other choral productions are characterized as grave in their style, and according to the rules at that time established, correct in their harmony, free from imitations, and marked with an originality apparently national. Compared with the recent perfection of music, they are deficient however in measure and melody, design and contrivance; but perhaps it is the misfortune of music, that its refinement terminates in a fastidious delicacy, unwilling to be pleased, and in its desire of novelty rejecting whatever has already delighted*. The productions of these early masters have preserved their names; and now that flattery is silent, Taverner, Shepherd, and Parsons have obtained, in the annals of music, the precedence of their Sovereign. Henry VIII. from the skill of a performer, aspired to the merit of an original composer; his instruments were, the recorder, the flute, the virginals; and his genius sometimes condescended to furnish his courts with ballads, and his chapel with masses†. His name is forgotten among poets, but his music seems to have survived his reign; yet of two productions, a motet and an anthem, ascribed to his finger, the one from its mediocrity is admitted to be genuine, the other is supposed to exceed the capacity of a royal musician‡.

It is difficult to speak with precision of secular music, of which the written specimens are few, and the tra-

* Burney's Hist. of Music, vol. ii. pp. 461. 466. 507. 555.

† Herbert's Hist. p. 2. 13. Hoilingshed, vol. ii. p. 806.

‡ Burney, vol. iii. p. 1. Hawkins's Hist. Mus. vol. ii.

ditionary antiquity vague and uncertain. Popular melodies were originally simple, acquired with ease, and transmitted without the assistance of notation, till adopted by composers, disfigured by a multiplicity of new variations, and so perplexed by a redundancy of notes, that their difficulty constituted their only merit. Such was the employment of secular composers, who, instead of attempting invention in air or melody, produced, it is said, from simple songs, an elaborate assemblage, to the execution of which the skill and dexterity of modern performers are confessedly unequal †. The melodies peculiar to Scotland escaped such torture, and some of them, from their style or the subject of their verses, are ascribed by conjecture to the present period ‡. New songs are adapted daily to former tunes, and whatever be the antiquity of Scottish music, (antient it is, and perhaps the produce of different periods,) the poetry is recent; but conjectures are not admissible as a substitute for historical certainty.

The improvement of secular music was perhaps retarded by the imperfect construction of musical instruments. The organ, I believe, was appropriated to the church; the clavicord, virginals, and harp, to the chamber. Wind instruments are described as of various constructions; but it is observable of instruments played with keys, or blown by reeds, that the intonation is defective, not susceptible of nice modulation *. The viol was in much request; but its finger-board was fretted, its intonation limited; and it is asserted that, before the admission of the violin, perfection in harmony was unknown to mankind †.

* Burney, vol. ii. p. 553.

† Arnot's History of Edinburgh, App. 8.

‡ Figures of these instruments are to be found in Hawkins's Hist. vol. ii.

§ Burney, vol. ii. p. 353. n.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

B O O K VI.

C H A P T E R VI.

The History of Commerce, Corn, and Shipping
in Great Britain, from the Accession of Henry
VII. A. D. 1485, to the Accession of Edward
VI. A. D. 1547.

THE accession of Henry VII. to the throne of Eng-
land was an event favourable to the commerce of that
kingdom in several ways. It put an end to a long and
ruinous civil war, which had thrown every thing into
confusion, and inflamed the minds of one half of the
people with the most violent hatred against the other; a
situation in which commerce could not flourish*. It
placed on the throne a prince in the prime of life, of a
sound and good understanding, improved by the obser-
vations he had made in foreign countries, and fully con-
vinced of the great importance of commerce, both to
the crown and to the people, by increasing the revenues
of the one and the riches of the other. Accordingly we

Accession
of Henry
favourable
to trade.

* See vol. iii. ch. 6.

find, that Henry was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to turn his thoughts to trade, to remove the obstructions by which it had been interrupted, and to procure the English merchants and mariners a free course to and favourable reception in all parts of the world. With this view he cultivated peace with all his neighbours, and concluded commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe. Nothing can give our readers a more distinct idea of the trade of England in this reign, than by laying before them the substance of those commercial treaties in as few words as possible.

Commer-
cial treaty
with
France.

The trade between England and France had been interrupted in the late reign, and Henry made so much haste to terminate all disputes with that kingdom by a truce, in which freedom of trade and commercial intercourse were stipulated, that it was proclaimed in the beginning of October, A. D. 1485, even before his coronation *. This truce, which was only for one year, was prolonged for other three years, January 17th, A. D. 1486, with additional securities for the freedom of trade †.

About the same time Henry dispatched his almoner into Italy, with a very extensive commission, to negotiate commercial treaties with the king of Naples, and with all the other princes and states of that country. In that commission, he discovers that he had very just and liberal sentiments of trade, as beneficial to all nations, by procuring them what they wanted in exchange for what they could spare. “The earth (says he) being the
“ common mother of all mankind, what can be more
“ pleasant and more humane than to communicate a
“ portion of all her productions to all her children by
“ commerce ‡.” We have no particular account of the success of this commission, but it could not be unsuccessful. The maritime states of Italy could have no reason to decline a commercial intercourse with England.

This prudent prince lost no time to accommodate all differences with his neighbours the Scots, and to lay open the trade between the two British kingdoms, for

* Rymer. tom. xii. p. 277.

† Ibid. p. 281.

‡ Ibid. p. 283.

their mutual benefit. He concluded a truce for three years from July 1st, A. D. 1486, with James III.; the chief object of which was, besides the cessation of all hostilities by sea and land, to procure the free admission and friendly treatment of the merchants and mariners of the one country in the other *. He had it also much at heart to establish a more cordial peace between the two nations, by several intermarriages between the two royal families. But in that he was unhappily disappointed, by the untimely death of King James.

Henry granted, June 8th, A. D. 1486, a free con- Florence.
duct to Michael de Seprello, Mark Stroze, and all other merchants of Florence, for ten years, to come into his dominions with their ships, to dispose of their goods as they pleased, to purchase and export wool, woollen cloths, tin, lead, and other merchandize, without danger or molestation, upon paying the usual customs †. Such a safe-conduct was not unnecessary, as the Italian and other foreign merchants had been often insulted and plundered in the ports of England.

Henry, in the same first year of his reign, concluded Britanny.
a commercial treaty with Francis duke of Britanny, (who had been his protector in his distress) to continue in force during their joint lives, and one longer. In this treaty many stipulations are made that discover a thorough knowledge of trade, and an anxious concern to render it mutually beneficial to the subjects of the contracting parties ‡.

A similar treaty was made about the same time with With Bur-
Maximilian king of the Romans, as guardian to his infant son Philip duke of Burgundy and Brabant and earl of Flanders. The object and stipulations in this were the same with those in all other commercial treaties, and a very great trade was carried on between England and the Low Countries §.

The Italian and other foreign merchants paid double Reduction
custom in England on goods they imported and exported, which was no small discouragement to trade. of customs.
Though Henry certainly loved money too well, and was not very apt to exact less than his right, he wisely considered, that by lowering the customs payable by foreign

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 285.

† Ibid. p. 300.

‡ Ibid. p. 303.

§ Ibid. p. 320.

merchants, he would encourage a greater number of them to frequent his ports, and thereby rather increase than diminish his revenues. He made the experiment, and granted, February 18th, A. D. 1488, to the merchants of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, and of all other Italian cities, for three years, a considerable abatement of the customs on some articles of export *. We are not particularly informed of the success of this experiment; but we know that the commercial intercourse between England and Italy was at this time very great, and that the Italian merchants took off great quantities of English cloth, lead, tin, &c. for which they returned velvets, silks, gold lace, with the spices and other precious commodities of the east †.

With Denmark, &c. Henry concluded two commercial treaties with John king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, A. D. 1490, by which he procured several privileges to his subjects who traded to these countries, and particularly to the English fishers on the coasts of Iceland and Norway ‡. In a word, this active intelligent prince had the interest of commerce so much at heart, that in the four first years of his reign he renewed old, or formed new, commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe, and thereby procured his trading subjects a favourable reception and friendly treatment in all places, which revived the trade of England from that languor and decline into which it had fallen by the confusions of the late times.

Commercial laws. This was not the only method by which Henry VII. contributed to revive and increase the trade of England. He procured several laws to be made to promote the same patriotic purpose. The greatest part of the foreign trade of England had hitherto been carried on by foreigners in foreign bottoms. Henry was sensible that this prevented the increase of English ships and English sailors; and to remedy this in part, he procured a law to be made in his first parliament, that no Gascony or Guienne wines (to which the English had been long accustomed, and of which he knew they were very fond) should be imported into any part of his dominions, ex-

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 335.

† Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. i. p. 304.

‡ Rym. *ibid.* p. 374, 381.

cept in English, Irish, or Welsh ships, navigated by English, Irish, or Welsh men, which obliged them to build ships and go to sea, or to want their favourite liquor *. This law was enforced and enlarged by an act made in the third parliament of Henry VII. A. D. 1487, to which the following preamble was prefixed: "That where great minishing and decay hath been now of late of the navy of this realm of England, and idleness of the mariners within the same, by the which this noble realm, within short process of time, without reformation be had therein, shall not be of ability, nor of strength and power to defend itself." To prevent this it was enacted, that no wines of Gascony and Guienne, or woads of Tholouse, should be imported into England, except in ships belonging to the king or some of his subjects; and that all such wines and woads imported in foreign bottoms should be forfeited †. From this act we may observe, that Henry VII. so early as A. D. 1487, had ships of his own, which he either employed in trade or freighted to his merchants: a practice which he pursued during his whole reign, by which he gained much money, while he increased the shipping, sailors, and trade of his dominions.

A few years before the accession of Henry VII. a spirit of maritime enterprize and adventure, for the discovery of new and unknown countries, had sprung up in some parts of Europe, which soon produced very great and surprising effects. The Portuguese in particular, animated and directed by their intelligent sovereign John II. attempted to discover a passage by sea to the East Indies, to obtain a share in the trade of those countries, which had enriched the Venetians and other Italian states. In this attempt they sailed along and explored all the west coasts of Africa as far as the Cape of Good Hope, which they reached A. D. 1487; but there they stopped short, and proceeded no further in their discoveries for several years.

In the mean time, an extraordinary man had reasoned himself into a persuasion that there was a great continent and many islands beyond the Atlantic Ocean, and had formed the bold design of attempting the discovery of that New World. This was the justly celebrated Chris-

Discoveries.

Christopher Columbus.

* Stat. 1 Hen. VII. c. 8.

† 4 Hen. VII. c. 10.

topher Columbus, one of the most adventurous, intelligent, and sagacious sailors that ever lived, to whom mankind are indebted for bringing one half of the world acquainted with the other. Though Columbus was fully convinced himself, he knew it would not be easy to convince others of the existence of such a country, and that he could not attempt the discovery of it without the aid of some powerful prince or state. Being a Genoese by birth, he made his first application to the republic of Genoa, A. D. 1482; but that state declined embarking in the enterprize. He next applied to John II. king of Portugal, who he knew to be intent on making discoveries. King John received him favourably, and seemed inclined to engage in the undertaking; but referred him to a committee of his council, with whom he was to settle all preliminaries. With this committee he had many meetings; they made many objections, and asked many questions, to which he returned answers with unsuspecting frankness. When they had obtained, as they imagined, all the information he was capable of giving, they privately fitted out a ship to make the discovery. Columbus, justly irritated at this ungenerous attempt to deprive him of the honour and profit of his project, which had cost him so much thought, expence and toil, left the court of Portugal in disgust, A. D. 1484 *.

Sends his
brother to
England.

Not yet discouraged, he next repaired to the court of Spain, and sent his brother Bartholomew into England, to solicit the means of attempting the proposed discovery, A. D. 1485. Bartholomew was unfortunately taken by pirates on his passage, who stripped him of every thing, and chained him to the oar. At length he made his escape, and arrived in England, A. D. 1489, almost naked, and emaciated by his sufferings. In this situation, without credentials, without money, and without friends, he could not procure access to the king or his ministers; but endeavoured to support himself by making maps and sea charts. When he had recovered his health, and could make a decent appearance, he presented a map of the world to the king, which procured him an audience of that prince, and an opportunity of explaining the commission he had received from his brother. Henry heard him with attention, examined all

* Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 557—658.

circumstances, and thinking his success probable, he agreed to his proposals, and sent him back with an invitation to his brother to come into England; but before Bartholomew arrived in Spain, his brother Christopher had sailed on his second voyage to the islands he had discovered in the first *. Thus it was by the misfortunes of Bartholomew Columbus, and not by the avarice of Henry VII. that the English lost the honour of being the first discoverers of the New World: but it may be justly doubted whether this was any real loss to them, or their posterity. Spain doth not seem to have gained either honour, power, population, or prosperity of any kind, but rather to have been a loser in all these respects by the discovery.

But though Henry and his subjects were thus deprived of the honour of being the first discoverers of the New World, they were determined to have a share in the discovery. John Cabot, a Venetian, had resided several years in Bristol as a merchant and mariner, in which last capacity he had acquired great knowledge by many voyages. Having heard of the fame and success of Columbus, he presented proposals to Henry VII. for attempting similar discoveries. His proposals were readily accepted, and the king granted letters patent, March 5th, A. D. 1496, to him and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, to sail with five ships under English colours for the discovery of unknown countries, which had never been visited by any Christians, and granting to them and their heirs all the countries they discovered, to be held of the crown of England, reserving to himself and his heirs a fifth part of the nett profits †. Besides this, he fitted out a gallant ship for this expedition at his own expence, and some merchants of London and Bristol provided four smaller vessels. With this little fleet John Cabot sailed from Bristol in spring, A. D. 1497, and directing his course to the north-west, on June 24th, he discovered the island of Newfoundland, and soon after the island of St. John. He then sailed down to Cape Florida, and returned to Bristol with a good cargo and three natives of the countries he had discovered on board. He was graciously received, and

Discovery
of New-
foundland,
&c.

* Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 557—658.

† Rym. tom. xii. p. 595.

knighted by Henry on his return *. From this well-attested account it appears, that the English were the first discoverers of the continent of America; and therefore, according to the political casuistry of those times, had a better title than any other European nation to the possession of that quarter of the globe †. That title, however, at the best, is very questionable.

Commer-
cial treaty.

Though Henry VII. was thus disposed to encourage and assist his subjects in making foreign discoveries, he was not the less attentive to the concerns of commerce nearer home. A misunderstanding having arisen between him and Philip duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders, A. D. 1493, all the Flemings were banished from England and all the English from Flanders, and a total stop was put to the trade between these two countries. This was equally disagreeable and distressful to the people of both countries, who had long carried on a great trade with one another, to their mutual advantage. This pernicious interruption of trade was not of long duration. A very correct and comprehensive commercial treaty, between Henry and Philip archduke of Austria and sovereign of the Netherlands, was signed at London, February 24th, A. D. 1496, in which every precaution was used to render the intercourse between the subjects of the two princes secure, permanent, and profitable to all concerned ‡. It was called *intercurfus magnus*, (the great commercial treaty,) and gave no little joy to the merchants and manufacturers of both countries. When the English returned to Antwerp, (to which they had removed their factory from Bruges a few years before,) they were conducted into that city in triumph, and were received with every possible demonstration of joy.

Act of par-
liament.

On this occasion a violent contest broke out between the merchants residing in the capital, who had been long incorporated under different names, and now called themselves The Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, and the merchants who resided in other cities and towns, who called themselves The Merchant Adventurers of England. The London Company had been

* Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 4, &c. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 461, &c.

† See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 336. 3d edition.

‡ Rym. tom. xii p. 578.

long accustomed to impose a kind of tax or composition on the English merchants residing in other places, for liberty to buy and sell in the great fairs of Flanders, Brabant, and other countries on the continent. This tax was at first only half an old noble (3s. 4d.) and was demanded by the London merchants, who then called themselves The Fraternity of St. Thomas Becket, on a religious pretence, to enable them to do honour to their favourite saint, and thereby gain his protection. But by degrees this imposition was raised so much, that it now amounted to twenty pounds, to the great discouragement of trade. The merchant adventurers therefore, who resided in the out-ports, applied to parliament for a redress of this grievance, and an act was made, A. D. 1496, reducing that fine to ten merks sterling*.

Henry VII. still continued to encourage the trade of his subjects by new commercial treaties with foreign states, and even with particular towns. He concluded such a treaty with the magistrates of Riga in Livonia, A. D. 1498, in which it was stipulated, that the English should pay no tolls or customs in the port of Riga, and that the merchants of Riga should pay the same tolls and customs in the ports of England with other merchant strangers†. They also engaged to remit a debt of 10,637 gold nobles due to them by England. The stipulations in this treaty were very unequal, and so were the contracting parties.

It would be tedious to mention all the commercial treaties of Henry VII. It will therefore be sufficient to remark, that, in his negotiations and treaties with foreign princes and states, he never forgot the concerns of commerce, or neglected to procure some advantage to his mercantile subjects. He was particularly complaisant to the citizens and merchants of London, to whom he communicated the earliest intelligence of all important events and transactions; and by the punctual payment of his debts his credit in the city was unbounded. He even lent considerable sums of money to merchants, to enable them to extend their trade, and sometimes he became a partner in their adventures, and received his proportion of the profits‡.

* Stat. 12 Hen. VII. c. 6.

† Rym. tom. xii. p. 701.

‡ Campbell, vol. i. p. 339.

Weights
and mea-
sures.

Henry VII. was no less attentive to the internal than to the external or foreign trade of his dominions, and procured several wise laws to be made, for regulating their commercial intercourse with one another. Of these it will be sufficient to mention only one, whose salutary effects were extensive and of long duration. The great diversity of weights and measures in different parts of England was very perplexing and inconvenient, and several laws had been made to reduce them to uniformity; but inveterate custom had hitherto proved too strong for all these laws. An act was made therefore in the fourth parliament of Henry VII. A. D. 1494, which promised to be more effectual, because greater care was taken to secure its immediate execution. It was enacted, "That
" unto the knights and citizens of every shire and city,
" assembled in this present parliament, barons of the
" cinque ports, and certain burgesses of burgh towns,
" before they depart from this present parliament, be
" delivered one of every weight and measure, which
" now our sovereign lord hath caused to be made of
" brass, for the commonwealth of all his subjects and
" lieges within this his realm of England, according to
" the king our sovereign lord's standard of his exchequer
" of weights and measures." These knights, citizens, and burgesses, are directed to deliver these brass weights and measures to the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns which they represented, according to a schedule annexed to the act, containing their names, in number forty-three. The inhabitants of all these cities and towns, and the districts around them, are commanded to provide themselves before the feast of St. John Baptist with weights and measures, exactly agreeable to those brass standards, and sealed with the letter H. crowned, and from thence forward to use no other weights or measures. The mayors and bailiffs in the several cities and towns are required to call in all the weights and measures of the people within the jurisdictions twice a year, to examine them by the standards, to break and burn such as were found defective; and to fine their proprietors, for the first offence, 6s. 8d.; for the second, 13s. 4d.; and for the third, 20 shillings and the punishment of the pillory*. Though the king and parliament had been at great pains

* 11 Hen. VII. c. 4.

and no little expence in making this law and providing for its execution, it was soon after found that a mistake had been committed, and that the weights and measures which had been sent to the several cities and towns were not exactly agreeable to the standards in the exchequer. This mistake was rectified by an act made by the next parliament 1496. By that act the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns to which weights and measures had been sent, were commanded to return them to the exchequer, there to be broken in pieces, and new ones more correct to be sent in their room. While these laws were strictly executed they were not ineffectual. But as the strict execution of them was attended with no little trouble, and various inconveniencies to the magistrates of towns and cities, it was gradually relaxed, and the former irregularities in weights and measures gradually returned.

Though Sir John Cabot had discovered the isles of New-Colonies. foundland and St. John and the coast of North America, and had taken possession of them in the name of the king of England so early as A. D. 1497, no attempt was made to establish colonies in any of these countries. But Henry VII. soon after began to entertain thoughts of forming colonies in the New World, or at least to encourage his subjects to form them. This appears from a commission which he granted, A. D. 1501, to Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants in Bristol, John Gunfalus and Francis Fernandus, natives of Portugal, "To sail
 " with as many ships and mariners as they thought proper, with English colours, into the parts and countries
 " of the eastern, western, southern, and northern seas,
 " to discover, recover, and investigate any islands,
 " coasts, and countries of infidel and heathen parts of
 " the world, and to set up the king's banners and ensigns in whatever town, castle, island, or continent
 " they should discover, and to hold the same for our
 " use as our lieutenants. 2. Whenever any discovery
 " shall be made, it is our will that men and women
 " from England be freely permitted to settle therein;
 " and to improve the same, under the protection of
 " these grantees *." From hence it appears, that it was the intention of these adventurers to establish a co-

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 37.

lony in the country they hoped to discover, and that the king approved of their design. What discoveries they made we are not informed, but it is certain they did not plant a colony; and it will afterwards appear that no permanent colony was established by the English in any part of the New World for a whole century after the date of this grant.

Henry's
treasures.

Henry VII. was too fond of money not to be a friend to trade, which added to his own revenues as well as to the riches of his subjects; and there is sufficient evidence that the commerce and wealth of England increased considerably under his government. A cotemporary historian thus concludes his character of Henry VII. "Surely this good prince did not devour and consume the substance and riches of his realm; for, by his high policy, he marvellously enriched his realm and himself, and yet left his subjects in high wealth and prosperity. The proof whereof is manifestly apparent, by the great abundance of gold and silver yearly brought into this realm, both in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants passing and repassing out and into this realm with merchandise, to whom he himself of his own goods lent money largely, without any gain or profit, to the intent that merchandise, being of all crafts the chief arte, to all men both most profitable and necessary, might be the more plentifully used, haunted, and employed in his realms and dominions *." Henry was possessed of those qualities which contribute most effectually to render their possessors rich. He was well acquainted with all the arts and pretences of squeezing money from his subjects, and exacted whatever he pretended to be his right with unrelenting rigour; at the same time he was an anxious wakeful œconomist, and kept most exact accounts of all his expences, even the most trifling †. But with all his arts of getting and saving money, he could not have accumulated so great a mass of treasure as he left in his coffers at his death, if his subjects, particularly his mercantile subjects, had not been opulent for those times. The accounts we have of the amount of these treasures are very different. Lord chief justice Coke affirms, that they amounted to the enormous sum of five mil-

* Hall, Hen. VII. f. 61. † See Append, No. iii. No. iv.

lions three hundred thousand pounds *. Sir Robert Cotton states them at four millions and a half, besides wrought plate, jewels, and rich furniture †. These accounts, though seemingly well attested, are hardly credible. One would rather be inclined to think that there was not so much money in the kingdom in those times, before any of the precious metals from the new world had reached England. The account given by Lord Bacon (which hath been already mentioned) is more moderate, and probably nearer the truth.

James IV. king of Scots, the contemporary and son-in-law of Henry VII. was an intelligent and active prince, ^{Trade of Scotland.} and studied to promote the prosperity of his subjects by promoting trade. With this view many laws were made ^{Commercial laws.} in his reign, all of them well intended; but as trade was then very imperfectly understood, few of them were either wise or useful, and too many of them impracticable or pernicious. Among the useful laws may be reckoned those for the uniformity of weights and measures, if they could have been carried into execution ‡; but though these laws were often renewed, they were never effectual. The importance of the fisheries was well understood. This appears from the preambles to these acts, obliging all cities, towns, prelates, and barons to fit out busses for the fisheries, of twenty tons and upwards, with a certain length of lines and nets, and a certain number of hands §; nor were these acts ineffectual, as the Scots fisheries were at this time flourishing and lucrative.

Wherever there is trade, and imposts on goods exported and imported, there will be smuggling, or attempts to avoid the payment of those imposts, unless the risk of loss can be made greater and more certain than the prospect of gain, by making such attempts. To prevent smuggling, and to secure the payment of the king's customs, was the object of several statutes in this period. These statutes were very simple, and probably not very effectual. By an act of the first parliament of James IV. A. D. 1488, "It was statute and ordanit, that in
" time to come, all manner of ships, strangers, and

* 4 Institut. ch. 35.

† Answer, to the Reasons for foreign Oars, p. 53.

‡ Black Act, James IV. Act 131.

§ Ibid Act 81.

“ others, come to the king’s free burrows, sic as Dum-
 “ barton, Irvine, Wigtoun, Kirkcudbright, Renfrew,
 “ and other free burrows of the realm, to pay their dues
 “ and customs, and take their cocket as effiers *.” The
 ports particularly mentioned in this act are now, and
 were then, very inconsiderable in comparison of many
 others which are not mentioned. But their inhabitants
 were zealous partizans of that predominant party which
 had lately slain their sovereign, and this first parliament
 of James IV. was composed wholly of the heads of that
 party. To such a degree will faction sometimes influ-
 ence public deliberations.

So imperfectly was commerce understood at this time
 in both the British kingdoms, that they imagined they
 could bring the balance of trade in their own favour, and
 add daily to their stock of gold and silver, merely by making
 laws to compell all merchants, foreigners as well as natives,
 to import a certain quantity of coin or bullion in every
 ship, in proportion to the value of the other goods; to lay
 out all that coin and bullion, together with all the money
 they received for their goods, in purchasing the commo-
 dities of the country; and not to export any gold or
 silver in coin or bullion, under the severest penalties.
 Such laws were made both in England and Scotland in
 this period †; but they served only to betray the igno-
 rance of those who made them, and could not be exe-
 cuted. ‡ When the value of the imports into any country
 exceed the value of the exports, the balance must be
 paid in the precious metals, in spite of a thousand laws
 to the contrary. § By another law, equally absurd and
 hurtful to trade, no ships were suffered to sail from any
 port in Scotland from the first of November to the first
 of February. Sailing in the three winter months was
 esteemed too dangerous to be permitted ¶.

Staple.

The staple of the trade of Scotland was several times
 changed. It had been anciently fixed at Campvere in
 Zealand, whose earl married a daughter of James I.
 From thence it was settled at Bruges in Flanders, which
 in the fifteenth century became the center of trade to
 almost all the nations in Europe. It was removed from
 thence by act of parliament to Middleburgh in Zealand,

* Black Act James IV. c. 11.

† James IV. Act 30.

‡ Ibid.

where it did not continue, but was restored to the ancient station at Campvere. The senate and magistrates of Middleburgh never desisted from importuning James IV. and after his death the duke of Albany, to have the staple returned to their town: and having gained the secretary Mr. Panter, by a promise of three hundred gold crowns, they entertained great hopes of success*: but in this they were disappointed. Secretary Panter acquainted them, that when the affair was debated in council he was ill of a fever; and that the people of Campvere had made such interest to prevent so precious a morsel which had so much enriched their town being torn from them that he imagined they would prevail†. He was not mistaken. When the city of Antwerp was in its greatest glory, the emporium of almost all the nations in Europe, the senate and magistrates applied to James V. A. D. 1539, to fix the staple in their city, promising peculiar privileges and immunities to his subjects. The people of Campvere, alarmed at this application of such formidable rivals, exerted all their influence to retain what they had long enjoyed, and of which they knew the value. To determine this question king James summoned a convention of merchants from all the trading towns of the kingdom; and finding the members of this convention almost equally divided in their opinions, he granted every one liberty to do what he thought most for his advantage‡. On this permission some of the merchants carried their staple commodities to Antwerp; but as they did not meet with the favour and encouragement they expected, they gradually returned to Campvere. All this competition between so many towns seems to indicate that the trade of Scotland in this period was not inconsiderable.

Wherever the staple was fixed, an officer called the Conservator of the Scots Privileges was stationed, with authority to protect the privileges that had been granted to the Scots merchants, and to determine all disputes that arose among those merchants, with the assistance of four of them as his assessors. By act of parliament, A. D. 1503, the merchants are prohibited from prosecuting one another before any other judge than the con-

Conservator.

* Epist. R. R. S. tom. ip. 176.

† Epist. R. R. S. tom. i. p. 284.

‡ Ibid. tom. ii. p. 55.

fervator and his assessors*. By another act of the same parliament, the conservator is commanded to come to Scotland once every year, or to send a procurator sufficiently instructed to give an account of his transactions, and to answer to any complaints that have been made against him †.

Accession
of Henry
VIII. fa-
vourable
to trade.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne of England was no disadvantage to trade, though he did not understand it so well, nor attend to it so much as his father had done. He was young, ostentatious, and fond of pleasure; possessed of a prodigious mass of treasure, and unboundedly expensive in his household, dress, tournaments, disguisings, and diversions of all kinds. He was too well imitated in this splendid expensive way of living by those of the nobility and men of fortune, who frequented the court, and aspired to the notice and favour of the youthful monarch. This occasioned an uncommon demand for many costly commodities, as clothes of gold and silver, velvets, silks, embroideries, jewels, plate, wines, spices, &c. and that demand was supplied by trade. This trade was for some time chiefly carried on by the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and Florence, to whom the strongest assurances were given of safety and friendly treatment in the ports of England ‡. By degrees, however, these foreigners became so unpopular, that it was hardly in the power of government to protect them; and this trade came gradually into the hands of the English merchants. We may form some idea of the great importation of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, vandekin, velvet, damask, sattin, sarcenet, sarston, camblet and other cloths of silk, and of silk and gold and silver, in the beginning of this reign, from an act of parliament, A. D. 1513, in which it is said “that three
“or four thousand pieces of these cloths were commonly
“imported in one ship §.” This trade was more profitable to the merchants than to their country.

Circle of
trade en-
larged.

That spirit of mercantile adventure which had sprung up in the preceding reign still continued and increased, and the circle of trade was gradually enlarged. The trade of the English in the Mediterranean was become so considerable, that it was found necessary to establish a

*Black Acts, James IV. c. 116.

† Rym. tom. xiii. p. 271.

‡ Ibid. c. 117.

§ 4 Hen. VIII. c. 6

consul in the island of Chios in the Archipelago, A. D. 1513 *. Though no English colonies were as yet settled in any part of the new world, it appears that the merchants carried on a trade with these countries, and even with the islands in the West Indies, which had been seized and settled by the Spaniards; and that they had agents residing in some of these islands, particularly in the great island of Cuba, for the management of their trade †. Many voyages were undertaken in this reign for the discovery of unknown countries, in order to enlarge the circle of trade; but the accounts we have of these voyages are very short and imperfect. It appears that Henry VIII. fitted out a fleet, for making discoveries in the South Sea, A. D. 1516, and gave the command of it to Sir Thomas Pert, vice-admiral of England, and the famous Sebastian Cabot; but all we know farther of this expedition is, that it was unsuccessful, owing to the cowardice of Sir Thomas Pert ‡. Mr. Thorne, of Bristol, was one of the greatest merchants and boldest adventurers in England in this reign. He had not only factors residing in Cuba, but he sent agents in the Spanish fleets, furnished with great sums of money, to bring him exact descriptions and charts of the seas, rivers, and lands, visited by these fleets §. Mr. Thorne, by his letters, earnestly intreated Henry VIII. not to be discouraged by the ill success of his first attempts to make discoveries, but to persevere and to direct his researches towards the north, for which his dominions were most conveniently situated. He gave the king also some very prudent advices for conducting his future voyages of discovery ||; but what regard was paid to the entreaties and advices we are not informed. Mr. William Hawkins, of Plymouth, father of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, made three very successful voyages in a ship of his own to the coast of Brazil, and in his passage he traded with the Negroes of Guinea. Mr. Hawkins, by his good behaviour, became so great a favourite of the Brazilians, that one of their kings came voluntarily with him into England, and being presented to Henry VIII. at Whitehall, excited great admiration by the strangeness of his dress and ap-

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 353.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 498.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 498, 499.

† Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 500.

§ Ibid. p. 726.

pearance *. Mr. Hore of London, who was an accomplished gentleman as well as an adventurous merchant, was not so fortunate as Mr. Hawkins. Having prevailed upon thirty young gentlemen to accompany him in a voyage of discovery, they sailed from Gravesend in April, A. D. 1536, with two ships, the Trinity and Minion, and about one hundred and twenty men. After a tedious voyage of about two months they discovered the island of Cape Breton, and some time after the island since called Newfoundland. They sailed along the coasts of that island, endeavouring, but in vain, to gain some communication with the natives, till their provisions began to fail, and they were by degrees reduced to such extreme distress, that they came to a resolution to determine, by casting lots, which of them should be first sacrificed to the preservation of their companions. In that awful moment a French ship approached, which the perishing English immediately assaulted and seized, and, to their inexpressible joy, found her almost loaded with provisions. They removed a sufficient quantity of the provisions into their ships, and set sail for England. They arrived at St. Ives, in Cornwall, in October the same year; but so emaciated, that their nearest relations could hardly recognize them †. Other evidence, if it were necessary, might be produced, to prove that the English in this reign enlarged the circle of their trade, by visiting several countries with which they had formerly been unacquainted.

Henry
VIII. en-
couraged
trade.

Henry VIII. endeavoured to encourage commerce by various other methods. He made commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe; in which, and in his other treaties, he took care to secure certain privileges to his mercantile subjects ‡. In his reign, and most probably by his influence, several acts of parliament were made for removing all obstructions to navigation out of the great rivers, and for deepening smaller ones, to make them navigable §. He repaired the harbours of Scarborough, Southampton, and several other towns; and on the port of Dover alone he expended between sixty and seventy thousand pounds. He built a great many strong forts at the mouths of rivers, and

* Hackluyt, p. 700.

† Rym. tom. xiii. passim.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 129.

§ Stat. temp. Hen. VIII.

the most exposed parts of coasts, for the security of shipping and of the country. Great pains were taken in this reign to clear the surrounding seas of pirates; and the king on some occasions discovered the greatest anxiety for the safety of his merchants ships*. For the improvement of navigation, the famous maritime guild or fraternity called the Trinity-house of Deptford, was instituted, A. D. 1512; and similar fraternities were soon after established at Hull and Newcastle upon Tyne, for the instruction and examination of pilots, erecting of beacons, light-houses, and buoys, and for various purposes, to prevent shipwrecks†. But it is the peculiar glory of Henry VIII. that he may be stiled the founder of the royal navy of England, by appointing a board of commissioners of the navy, and by erecting storehouses for all manner of naval stores, and making yards and docks at Woolwich and Deptford for building and equipping ships of war. From these and other facts that might have been mentioned, it plainly appears, that Henry VIII. paid no little attention to trade, and that his endeavours to promote and encourage it were not altogether in vain.

But though the intentions of Henry and his ministers were favourable to commerce, their knowledge of it was so imperfect, that not a few of their laws and regulations were rather hurtful than beneficial. Of this it would be easy to give many examples, but a few will be sufficient. What could be more unreasonable in itself, or more obstructive to the freedom of commerce, than that law, which was so frequently renewed and so strongly enforced, against the exportation of gold or silver in coin or bullion, and commanding all native merchants to import a certain quantity of these precious metals in every ship; and obliging foreign merchants to invest all the money they received for the goods they imported in the commodities of the country‡. Several corporations obtained monopolies by acts of parliament, which must have been hurtful both to trade and manufactures; and they obtained them on very strange suggestions. The bailiffs and burghesses of Bridport in Dorsetshire presented a petition to

* Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 27—33.

† Anderson's Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 342.

‡ Stat. 4 Hen. VII. c. 23.

parliament, A. D. 1529, representing that the people of their town had been in use, time out of mind, to make the most part of the great cables, halfers, ropes, and other tackling for the royal navy, and for the most part of all other ships within the realm, by which their town was right well maintained. But that of late years certain evil-disposed persons in the neighbourhood had begun to make cables, halfers, and ropes, by which their town of Bridport was in danger of being ruined, and the prices of cables, halfers, and ropes were greatly enhanced. The first of these allegations might be true; but the second was certainly a most impudent and glaring falsehood. The increase of manufacturers could not raise the price of the goods manufactured. It must have had a contrary effect, which was undoubtedly the real grievance of the good people of Bridport. On this false and absurd suggestion, an act was made that all the hemp that grew within five miles of Bridport should be sold only in that town, and that no person within five miles of Bridport should make any cables, halfers, ropes, hilters, &c. on pain of forfeiting all they made*; an act no less imprudent than it was unjust. One other example will be sufficient to convince us, that very pernicious laws were made in this period, (and perhaps not in this period only) on very absurd pretences. The city of Worcester, the towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromesgrove, represented to parliament, A. D. 1533, that the said city and towns, were well inhabited, and their inhabitants well maintained, by making woollen cloths of various kinds; but that of late years, divers persons dwelling in the hamlets, towns, and villages of the shire of Worcester, for their own lucre, had begun to exercise cloth-making of all kinds, to the great decay, depopulation, and ruin of the said city and towns. Upon this representation, an act was made, that no person of any degree in Worcestershire should make any cloth to be sold, except such persons as resided in the city of Worcester, or in the towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, or Bromesgrove†. That such restrictive laws were unfriendly and hurtful both to trade and manufactures is obvious, though it was certainly not the intention of the legislators to hurt them. Good intentions are not

* Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

† 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18.

sufficient to make good legislators. Prudence and caution to prevent being deceived by interested persons, patient laborious investigation, and a thorough knowledge of the subject on which the laws are to be made, are no less necessary than good intentions. But notwithstanding these and several other obstructions to trade which might have been mentioned, there is sufficient evidence that the commerce of England was considerably extended and increased in the reign of Henry VIII.

If commerce was but imperfectly understood in England in this period, it was still more imperfectly understood in Scotland. Several laws relating to trade were made in the reign of James V. but they were all restrictive, and tended rather to curb than to encourage a spirit for mercantile adventures. None but the inhabitants and freemen of royal boroughs were permitted to engage in it unless they had a certain stock in money or goods*. While Henry VIII. encouraged his subjects to undertake long and dangerous voyages for the discovery of unknown countries, James V. made laws to prohibit his subjects from putting to sea in the three winter months†. Trade could not flourish under such restrictions.

As money and ships are two great instruments of commerce, without which it cannot be carried on, it is necessary to give a brief account of the state of them in every period of this work.

Though a pound is one of the most common denominations of money, it never was a real coin, either in gold or silver, in any age or country. Such large and ponderous coin would have been in many respects inconvenient. But for many ages, both in Britain and in other countries, that number of smaller coins which was denominated a pound in computation, or a pound in tale, really contained a pound of silver; and they might have been and frequently were weighed, as well as numbered, to ascertain their value. If the number of coins that were denominated a pound in tale did not actually make a pound in weight, an additional number of coins were thrown into the scale to make up the weight. This was a fair and honest practice; the departure from which occasioned many difficulties, mistakes, and impositions

Pound in weight and pound in tale the same.

Began to differ.

* Black Acts, James V. ch. 27.

† Ibid. ch. 37, 34, 80.

in money transactions, both in foreign and domestic trade.

About the beginning of the fourteenth century, Edward I. having exhausted his treasures by his long and expensive wars with Scotland, coined a greater number of pennies, halfpennies, and farthings out of a pound of silver than formerly; which gave rise to the distinction between the pound in weight and the pound in tale. The difference at first was very small, and hardly perceptible; but it gradually increased in every succeeding reign; and at the succession of Henry VII. the nominal pound, or the pound in tale, was little more than half a real pound in weight, and contained only as much silver as thirty-one shillings of our money at present.

Shillings.

Groats, weighing each forty-three grains, had been hitherto the largest silver coins: but Henry VII. A. D. 1504, coined shillings, then commonly called festoons, each weighing 144 grains, equal to three groats, and to twelve pennies. They were fair and beautiful coins, for those times; but they are now become so exceedingly rare, that it is imagined that no great numbers of them were coined*.

Silver
Coins.

Henry VII. made several alterations in the form and devices of the coins of England. Instead of the full face that appeared on the coins of former kings, and which bore little or no resemblance to the prince intended to be represented, his face appears in profile, and bears a great resemblance to his real countenance. Still further to distinguish his coins from those of preceding or subsequent kings of the same name, the number VII. was added immediately after the name: this practice hath been followed by all his successors. He laid aside the open crown of former kings, and appears upon his coins with an arched imperial crown, surmounted by the globe and cross. To prevent clipping, he caused a circle to be made at the very edge of his coins. The silver coins of Henry VII. were shillings or festoons, groats, half-groats, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, of the same weight and value with those of his two predecessors, Edward IV. and Richard III. †.

Henry VII. coined a great deal of gold as well as of silver; but his gold coins in general bore the same names,

* Folkes on Coins, p. 19. edit. 1763.

† M. Leake, p. 179.

and were of the same weight and value with those of his Gold coins, two predecessors, which have been already described *. He was however the first king of England who coined those large and beautiful pieces of gold called sovereigns, value forty-two shillings of those times, and half-sovereigns, value twenty-one shillings: he coined also quadruple sovereigns, weighing each an ounce of gold; but these last were undoubtedly designed for medals, and not for current coins †. The gold coins of Henry VII. as they are enumerated in an act of parliament, A. D. 1503, were sovereigns and half-sovereigns, ryals, half-ryals, and quarter-royals, nobles, and half-nobles ‡. All the coins of Henry VII. both of gold and silver, were of standard purity. He possessed too much money, and loved it too well, to sink its value by too great a number of baser metals.

Henry VIII. coined a great deal of money in his long reign. In the former part of it, his coins were of the same kinds and of the same weight and fineness with those of his predecessors, which have been described. But towards the end of his reign, after he had squandered all his father's treasures, the grants he had received from parliament, and the great sums he had derived from the dissolution of the religious houses, he began to diminish his coins both in weight and fineness. This diminution at first was small, in hopes perhaps that it would not be perceived; but after he had got into this fatal career, he proceeded by rapid steps to the most pernicious lengths. In the thirty-sixth year of his reign, silver money of all the different kinds was coined, which had only one half silver and the other half alloy. He did not even stop here; in the last year of his reign he coined money that had only four ounces of silver and eight ounces of alloy in the pound weight; and the nominal pound of this base money was worth only nine shillings and three-pence three farthings of our present money §. He began to debase his gold coins at the same time, and proceeded by the same degrees.—But it would be tedious to follow him in every step. In this degraded and debased condition Henry VIII. left the money of his kingdom to his son

* M. Leake, p. 179.

† 18 Hen. VII. c. 5.

‡ Leake, p. 182.

§ M. Folkes, p. 27.

and successor Edward VI. This shameful debasement of the money of his kingdom was one of the most imprudent, dishonourable, and pernicious measures of his reign; it was productive of innumerable inconveniences and great perplexity in business of all kinds, and the restoration of it to its standard purity was found to be a work of great difficulty.

Interest of money. It had long been a great obstruction to trade and to improvements of every kind, that lending money upon interest was declared by the church to be usury, and highly criminal in Christians. This prevented laws being made for regulating the rate of interest; and the money lenders (many of whom were Jews) took advantage of the necessity of the borrowers, and exacted most exorbitant interest. They had invented also several curious devices to elude the penalties of the laws against usury. Of these evils many complaints had been made; and by an act of parliament, A. D. 1545, the interest of money was fixed at ten per cent.; and if any person took more, he was to forfeit three times the sum lent, the one half to the king, and the other to the informer. In the same act, the various tricks and devices that had been practised by the money-lenders, to escape the penalties of the laws against usury, are enumerated and prohibited*.

Scotland. The coins of Scotland were originally the same with those of England, in weight, purity, and value; and continued to be so till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when they began to fall a little below them. This difference in the coins of the two British kingdoms gradually increased; and not long after the beginning of our present period, the nominal pound of Scotland was only equal to one-third of the nominal pound of England. This appears with the clearest evidence, from the contract of marriage between king James IV. and the princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. A. D. 1502. In one article of that contract it is stipulated, that the princess should be infeoffed in lands of the yearly value of 2000*l.* English, or 6000 Scots. By another article, king James is bound to pay his queen 1000*l.* Scots, or 500 marks English, yearly, to be disposed of as she pleased†. As the nominal Eng-

* 37 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

† Rym. tom. xii. p. 787—791.

lish pound at that time was equal to thirty-one of our present shillings, the Scots pound, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was equal to ten shillings and four-pence sterling. But towards the end of this period, A. D. 1544, the nominal pound of Scotland had sunk to one-fourth of the nominal pound of England. This appears from a contract of marriage between Matthew earl of Lennox and the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the queen-dowager of Scotland by her second husband the earl of Angus, and niece to Henry VIII. By one article in that contract, king Henry engaged to settle an estate in England on the earl of Lennox and the lady Margaret, and their heirs, of the yearly value of 6,800 marks Scots, which is equal (says the record) to 1700 marks English *. James IV. and V. coined a good deal of money both gold and silver; for a particular description of which the reader must be referred to the work quoted below †; the introducing of it here would be tedious, and unsuitable to the design of general history. It may however be observed, that the kings of Scotland assumed the arched imperial crown upon their coins about the same time with the kings of England; that their coins were not inferior in their fabrication to those of England; and that the gold coins of James V. called bonnet, (because they have a bonnet on the king's head,) were the most elegant and beautiful coins in Europe in those times.

As money was certainly more plentiful in Britain, and the prices of provisions and the other necessities of life were higher in this than the preceding period, we have reason to believe that the expence of living was only six, or rather five times cheaper in nominal pounds than it is at present ‡. Various evidences of this might be produced; but one decisive proof will, it is hoped, be thought sufficient. By an act of parliament, A. D. 1545, it was provided, that when the church of a small parish, whose benefice did not exceed six pounds a year, was situated within a mile of another church, the small parish might be annexed to that other church. For this two reasons are assigned: 1st, That it would save the expence of

* Rym. tom. xv. p. 31.

† Numismata Scotiæ, by Adam de Cardonnel.

‡ See Fleetwood's Chronicon Pretiosum, p. 114—120.

keeping up two churches. 2d, That six pounds a year was too scanty a living for a parish priest. And may not the same thing be said of five times six, or thirty pounds at present? By another clause in the same act it is provided, that if the parishioners of the small parish annexed shall within a year raise their benefice to eight pounds a year, the annexation shall be dissolved; because, in the opinion of this parliament, eight pounds was a competent living for the minister of a small parish. And can more be said of five times eight, or forty pounds a-year in our times? If we wish therefore to form a judgment of the real riches of persons in the different ranks in society at two different and distant periods, we must not only take into account the quantity of money which they possessed, but chiefly the quantity of all other things which that money could have purchased. Thus, for example, the wages of a common labourer in our present period was only three-pence a-day; but he was really as rich, and could live as well as a labourer in our times who earns fifteen pence a-day. The same reasoning will hold good with respect to persons in all the other ranks in society. Money is not only a capital article in commerce, but it is a kind of commercial barometer. When money is scarce it is dear, and all other things are cheap. When money abounds it is cheap, and all other things are dear. This bears hardest upon stipendiaries, who have a certain fixed income in money; because, as money increases, the value of their income gradually decreases, and in time becomes quite incompetent.

As ships are no less necessary to foreign and even to coasting commerce than money, the state of shipping requires some of our attention in every period.

The ships that had been formerly employed by the merchants of Britain in foreign trade were in general small, many of them under fifty, and few of them above one hundred and fifty tons. A few ships of greater burthen are mentioned by our historians, but they are mentioned as a kind of prodigies. But after the discovery of the New World, when more distant voyages were undertaken, the merchants of England began to build larger and stouter ships. In this they were assisted and encouraged by Henry VII. who built several great ships, which he freighted to the merchants when they were not employed

employed in the public service. The ship in which Mr. William Hawkins, of Plymouth, made three successful voyages to the Brasils and the coast of Guinea, (the first in 1530,) is represented as a ship of uncommon magnitude, a stout tall ship, of two hundred and fifty tons*.

But if the merchant ships were now in general larger and better built than those of preceding times, the ships designed for war were, it is said, augmented in size and strength in a much greater proportion. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the great importance of superiority at sea was well understood; and the sovereigns of the several maritime states of Europe began to vie with each other which of them should have the largest and stoutest ships of war. Henry VIII. built several great ships; particularly one named the Regent, of 1000 tons, which required a crew of eight hundred men†. The king of France had also a number of great ships, of which the Cordelier was by far the greatest, and contained accommodation for eleven hundred men. These two noble ships, the Regent and Cordelier, having grappled with one another in a sea-fight off the port of Brest, A. D. 1512, they were both burnt, with every person on board‡. To replace the Regent, Henry VIII. soon after built another ship of the same burthen, but far more splendid and ornamental, called the Mary Grace Dieu§. King James IV. of Scotland, we are told, engaged also in this noble contest, and resolved to build a greater ship than any that had yet appeared. Lindsay of Pitscottie, who gives the most circumstantial description of this famous ship, which was called the Great Michael, says, that he received his information from Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo, who was her quarter-master, and Robert Bartyne, who was master-skipper. As this writer seems to have been so well informed, it may not be improper to give his description of this famous ship in his own words, changing only a few of them that would be unintelligible to an English reader.

“ In this year (1512) the king of Scotland bigged a great ship, called the Great Michael, which was the greatest ship and of the greatest strength that ever

* Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 700. † Archæologia, vol. vi. p. 201.

‡ Hall, f. 22. § Arch. vol. v. p. 209.

“ failed in England or France : for this ship was of so
 “ great stature, and took so much timber, that, except
 “ Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which
 “ was oakwood, besides all timber that was gotten out
 “ of Norroway ; for she was so strong and of so great
 “ a length and breadth, to wit, she was twelve score
 “ feet in length, and thirty six within the sides. All
 “ the wrights of Scotland, yea and many other strangers,
 “ were at her device, by the king’s commandment, who
 “ wrought very busily in her ; but it was year and day
 “ ere she was complete. This great ship cumbered
 “ Scotland to get her to the sea. From that time that
 “ she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with
 “ ropes and ancores effiering thereto, she was counted to
 “ the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expences,
 “ besides her artillery, which was very great and costly
 “ to the king, and besides all the rest of her furniture *.
 “ She had three hundred mariners to sail her ; she had
 “ six-score gunners to use her artillery, and had a thou-
 “ sand men of war besides her captains, skippers and quar-
 “ ter-masters. If any man believe that this description of
 “ the ship is not of verity as we have written, let him
 “ pass to the gate of Tillibarden, and there before the
 “ same ye will see the length and breadth of her planted
 “ with hawthorn by the wright that helped to make
 “ her †.” Such is the description of this ship given by
 Pittscottie, and he certainly believed it to be true. It is
 probable, however, that he was misinformed in some things,
 particularly that she had a thousand fighting men on
 board, which is hardly credible.

King James sent this great ship with two other gallant
 ships the Margaret and the James, and a fleet of smaller
 vessels, having an army on board, to the assistance of the
 king of France, against a threatened invasion of that
 kingdom, by the English, which soon after took place †.
 The Great Michael never returned to Scotland, but was
 sold by the duke of Albany to the king of France, A. D.
 1514, for 40,000 franks § ; a very great sum in those
 times. James VI., who had a taste for maritime affairs,
 appears to have formed the design of raising a royal

* 30 000*l.* Scots at that time contained as much silver as 15,000*l.*
 sterling at present, and was equal in efficacy to 50,000*l.*

† Pittscottie, p. 107.

‡ Ibid. p. 110.

§ Epist. R. R. Scot. tom. i. p. 214.

navy; but, by his untimely death, that design was blasted. Henry VIII., who may be justly stiled the founder of the English navy, had formed the same design about the sametime; but as he survived king James upwards of thirty years, and was at the head of a much greater, more powerful, and opulent nation, he made much greater progress in the execution of that design; and at his death he left a fleet greatly superior to that of any other prince in Europe. Some of Henry's predecessors had a few ships, which they employed sometimes in trade and sometimes in war; but they did not deserve the name of a navy. At the death of Henry VIII. the navy of England was on a very different footing; it consisted of fifty-three ships belonging to the crown, and only equipped for war. Some of these ships were of great magnitude: the *Henry Grace de Dieu* was of 1000 tons; she carried 19 brass and 103 iron guns; and her complement of men consisted of 349 soldiers, 301 mariners, and 50 gunners. There was another ship of 700 tons, two of 600, and two of 500, and the tonnage of the whole fleet was 6255 tons*. More evidence, if it was necessary, might be produced to prove, that the ships employed in England and even in Scotland, both in trade and war, in this period, were in general larger, stronger, and better built than in any former time; which is a strong presumptive proof that the commerce, power, and opulence of the country had increased.

The trade of England was still carried on, for the most part, by two great companies; the company of the German merchants of Steelyard, and the company of merchant adventurers of England. The first of these companies was the richest, the most ancient, and for several ages the most favoured by the kings of England, to whom they made valuable presents. This company was composed almost wholly of foreigners, and was far from being popular. They at length became so unpopular, that their persons were often insulted and their goods plundered by the populace of London. The company of merchant adventurers consisted wholly of Englishmen, and every English merchant was admitted a member of it on paying a small fine. It appears so to have been the intention of government to divide the trade of England

* *Archæologia*, vol. vi. p. 220.

between these two companies; and certain branches of it were allotted to each of them in their charters, with strict prohibitions not to exceed their bounds. But the love of gain is not to be restrained by prohibitions lurking in charters. These two companies encroached on each others privileges, and brought bitter complaints against one another before the king and council. The complaints of the merchant adventurers were well-founded; the injuries they had received from the other company were very great, and ought to have been redressed: but their antagonists had powerful protectors at court, which enabled them to repel all attacks during the whole reign of Henry VIII. In the succeeding reign, the complaints of the merchant adventurers prevailed, and the privileges enjoyed by the merchants of the Steelyard were, after mature deliberation, revoked, and their corporation abolished by the privy council. It appeared that they had exported in one year 44,000 pieces of cloth; and as they enjoyed an exemption from *alien* duties, they had defrauded the revenue, and injured the private adventurers, by colouring, or passing under their own names, the merchandize of others foreigners to a large amount *.

* Anderfon vol. i. p. 383.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K VI.

C H A P T E R VII.

History of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Customs, Languages, Dress, and Diversions of the People of Great Britain, from the Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

AMONG nations whose government is monarchical, the supreme magistrate is exalted to a power, and invoked by titles scarcely compatible with human nature; while the people, from whom his authority originates, and on whose breath his existence depends, are in history regarded only as subservient to him. Their annals are adjusted and marked by his reign, filled with his public transactions or secret policy; and as every achievement is ascribed to his auspices, it is his life rather than their history that is recorded for the benefit of succeeding generations. From the public transactions, or the dark and dishonest intrigues of princes, the transition to the private character of the people is grateful; yet

yet there our attention is still irresistibly attracted to the sovereign, whose example either extends to society, or whose court is an index to the manners, customs, and taste of the age.

Spirit of
the Eng-
lish.

It is observable that the spirit of a nation is subject to frequent and sudden vicissitudes; that it passes from the extremes of religious frenzy, or civil discord, to a state of inactive and cold indifference. The English, after a long interruption, obtained by the union of the rival roses the blessings of a permanent government and domestic concord, and were unwilling to forfeit these by the rash renewal of their former troubles. The power of the nobles was broken, and their numbers diminished; the policy of the crown had suppressed their retainers; war, or the progress of society, had either destroyed or enfranchised their bondsmen; nor were armies ready to start, as formerly, at the sound of their trumpets. *Their* depression, and the disusage of slavery, produced a salutary alteration on the ranks of society, removing the materials as well as the causes of future commotions; but on the removal of these, an important change is perceptible in the spirit both of the government and people. The regal power, counteracted hitherto by that of the nobles, subsisted, after the decline of their influence, without opposition and without restraint. Government was sanguinary, the people were passive, and submissive to rapacious vindictive tyrants, at whose pleasure the laws were either superseded or perverted. The scaffold streamed with the blood of the nobles, and the flames of persecution consumed the religious; but the people suffered with patience, resigned the constitution to their monarch, and received as their religion whatever his caprice or his passions might dictate. Other nations, amidst the remains of chivalry, (the force of which was not yet exhausted) discovered in their government much of their present moderation and lenity; and the contemporary reigns of Charles and of Francis exhibit despotic authority mitigated by refinement, mild in its exercise, and unstained by sanguinary exertions of power. In England, a tyrannical government argues a more barbarous state of society. The people were inured to bloodshed by the civil wars; and while their own security remained unaffected, beheld the fate of their superiors with supine indifference,

or

or perhaps with a secret malignant pleasure. Government, it is true, was always vigilant to suppress their murmurs; and Henry VIII. condescended repeatedly to court their affections; religious contests served to balance their hopes and their fears; and the religious parties into which they were divided applauded alternately every tyrannical action of Henry's reign. Perhaps they esteemed his character; but theirs is marked by a tame servility, unexampled hitherto in the annals of England.

Their manners, though comparatively rude, attained Manners. in the present period to considerable refinement; of which, however, it is difficult to ascertain the precise degree, impossible to distinguish the minute gradations. Foreigners who visited the country have transmitted a favourable report of the inhabitants; and Polydore Virgil, with a visible partiality, pronounces that theirs resembled the Italian manners*; but Erasmus informs us, that their manners participated of those nations from whom they originated, exhibiting a mixture neither so refined as the French, nor so rude as the German†. The resort of foreigners was considerable, and apparently acceptable to all ranks, the plebeians excepted‡, who, like their own mastiffs, are still noted for their antipathy to strangers.×The nobility and gentlemen of opulence began to travel for improvement through Europe, to study the languages, and acquire the refinement of different courts§; and this intercourse with foreigners at home and abroad contributed, without supplanting, to correct the rudeness of the national manners. If the character, however, of a court be assumed from the sovereign, these manners, in the court of Henry VII. must have been rude indeed. On arriving at a village where Catherine of Arragon, after landing in England, was lodged for the night, Henry was told that the prin-

* Hist. p. 15.

† Erasmi Colloq. diversoria ad finem. Erasmus promised a description of English inns, which it is to be regretted he did not execute.

‡ Pol. Virgil. p. 15. Stowe, p. 505. Hall, Hen. VIII. p. 62.

§ Surry, Wyat, and others, had travelled; and it is said that the first of the Bedford family distinguished at court was a Mr. Ruffel, who had acquired by travelling the languages of the Continent, and was employed by Sir John Trenchard his kinsman to attend on Philip of Austria as an interpreter during his journey to court.

cess had already retired to rest; but he announced his intention of visiting her bed-side, obliged her to rise and dress to receive him, and affianced her that evening to his son prince Arthur *. Henry VIII. affected more gallantry, and his court was distinguished by superior politeness; but that romantic gallantry, which was congenial to Francis and to James IV. was adopted through emulation, and sat with visible constraint upon Charles, who disregarded, and upon Henry, who forgot his youthful professions of respect for the fair. His passions were impetuous, his gallantry was indelicate, yet his character brave, frank, and generous like his grandfather Edward, though, like his father Henry, rapacious and jealous, attracted the nobility, and encouraged a magnificence unknown till then in the English court. The nobility, who had formerly shunned the court unless at seasons when their appearance was necessary †, began to frequent it in Henry's reign; they exchanged their solitary dignity for social intercourse, exhausted their revenues in ostentatious magnificence, and while their existence literally depended on the smiles or frowns of a capricious master, acquired the frivolous, the pleasing refinement of courtly manners.

But the polish of courts is imparted only to a portion of society, and the refinement of the people may be estimated perhaps by their means of improvement, their early education, and domestic manners. Their education in the present period was extremely defective. Schools were rare; and before the reformation, young men were educated in monasteries, women in nunneries; where the latter were educated in writing, drawing, confectionary, needle-work, and what were regarded then as female accomplishments, in physic and surgery ‡. The acquisitions of the former were confined to writing, and a tincture probably of barbarous Latin §; but ignorance was still so common, that Fitzherbert recommends to gentlemen unable to commit notes to

* Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. v. p. 354.

† During parliament, or once a year, to perform their homage.

‡ Vid. a tract written in the last century, and published from a MS. of Mr. Astle's in the *Antiq. Repertory*, vol. iii. p. 43.

§ A specimen, not indeed very intelligible, of the Latin acquired at Eton, may be found in Fenn's *Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 300.

writing,

writing, the practice of notching a stick to assist their memory *. When removed from these seminaries to the houses of their parents, both sexes were treated in a manner that precluded improvement. Perhaps the best criterion of civil society is a free intercourse and reciprocal confidence between parents and their offspring; a situation in which an indulgent equality supercedes authority, and conciliates mutual esteem and affection. But domestic manners were severe and formal; a haughty reserve was affected by the old, and an abject deference exacted from the young. Sons, when arrived at manhood, are represented as standing, uncovered and silent, in their father's presence; and daughters, though women, were placed like statues at the cupboard; nor permitted to sit, or repose themselves otherwise than by kneeling on a cushion, till their mother departed. Such austere manners were prevalent even in France †, and peculiar rather to the age than the nation; but the English, I am afraid, discover a latent unfeeling ferocity in the relentless rigour of their domestic tribunals. Omissions were punished by stripes and blows; and chastisement was carried to such excess, that the daughters trembled at the sight of their mother, and the sons avoided and hated their father ‡. These circumstances indicate that the manners of the people were ceremonious and stately, their refinement artificial, adopted only in their external intercourse, not habitual, nor retained to purify domestic life.

Chivalry, though its influence diminished daily, still Chivalry. subsisted as a splendid spectacle, supported by the mutual emulation of princes, their enthusiastic gallantry, or their predilection for arms and exploits of valour. Francis and James IV. imbibed the genuine spirit of chivalry; and in an age when craft began to predominate in politics, their conduct was often preposterously adjusted by the precipitate dictates of romantic honour. The introduction of refinement and taste in Scotland is

* Husbandry, p. 86.

† "At Rosny are still shewn two stone benches, where the illustrious Tully enjoyed domestic comfort, himself seated, and the rest of his family standing uncovered near a bench facing him." Vid. Mirabeau's Considerations on the Order of Cincinnati; note AA.

‡ Vid. Tract. ut supra—Fenn's Letters, passim.

ascribed to the espousals of James and Margaret; but although the people were fierce and untractable, the court was polished, and the king, whose deportment during the celebration of his nuptials was remarked and recorded, displayed the courtesy of an accomplished knight, and a delicacy far superior to the English monarchs *. Henry VIII. delighted in chivalry; its spirit neither perverted his judgment nor improved his heart; but its tournaments gratified his taste for magnificence and his passion for arms. On these amusements, in which he engaged as a constant combatant, his father's treasures were profusely expended. His weapons sometimes were unusual, at least at tourneys, the battle-axe and two-handed sword †; but these, I suppose, were *re-bated* or blunted, as the spears were with which the combatants were furnished. Yet on one occasion his life was endangered by his favourite Brandon, who shivered a spear on his helmet, without perceiving that his vizor was open, and his face exposed to a mortal blow ‡. At his interview with Francis in *the field of the cloth of gold*, his strength and dexterity were both conspicuous in a tournament perhaps the most splendid of the age. The two kings, who, with fourteen companies, had undertaken to encounter all who challenged, entered the lists with their assistants, sumptuously arrayed in the richest tissues; and in the presence of their queens awaited the appearance of those knights whom the fame of their tournament was supposed to have attracted. Their opponents were ready, twelve gentlemen richly habited. Francis began; and after performing successive courses, and breaking several spears with applause, was succeeded by Henry, who shivered his spear at the first encounter; at the second, demolished his antagonist's helmet. Their justings were continued for five days with equal splendour and similar success; and the minute descriptions of the attire of the knights and the trappings of the horses, of their quaint devices and feats in arms, assure us that these spectacles were highly estimated §. The mock encounters with princes appear at present unim-

* Vid. An account of Margaret's journey to Scotland, and reception there, in Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 265.

† Herbert's Hist. p. 13.

‡ Hall, 122.

§ Ibid. 77.

portant and trivial, as those of the mimic monarchs on the stage; yet if a servile or brutal exhibition delighted by its massacre the refined and rational nations of antiquity, how superior, as a spectacle, is the image of war, where kings and heroes are the only combatants?

These, inspected at a distance, were magnificent ^{Simplicity} times, yet diversified withal, when examined closely, ^{of the} with simplicity of manners, and plainness or penury in ^{times.} the chief comforts of modern life, Margaret, on her marriage with James IV. made her public entry into Edinburgh, riding on a pillion behind the king *. The apartments of Hampton-court had been furnished, on a particular occasion, each with a large candlestick, a basin, goblet, and ewer, of silver; yet the furniture of Henry's chamber, independent of the bed and cupboard, consisted only of a joint-stool, a pair of andirons, and a small mirror †. The halls and chambers of the wealthy were surrounded with hangings, sometimes with arras, and replenished with a cupboard, long tables, or rather loose boards placed upon trestles, forms, a chair, and a few joint-stools ‡. Their beds were apparently comfortable, often elegant; but those of inferior condition slept on a mat, or a straw pallet, under a rug, with a log for a pillow. Glass windows were confined to churches and mansions, and carpets were only employed to garnish the cupboard §. The floors, composed of clay, and covered either with sand and rushes, were foul and loathsome, collecting and retaining for twenty years the offals of the table, and the putrid excretions of dogs and men; and Erasmus, from whom this description is taken, attributes justly to the uncleanness of the English, the frequent and destructive visitations of the plague ||.

The morals are less flexible than the manners of a ^{Virtues.} people; and those virtues that in former ages distinguished the British, subsisted in the present with little alteration. The English were generous and brave as formerly, fond of war and intrepid in danger. Their hospitality continued, not indeed in its former profu-

* Leland's Coll. vol. iv. p. 284.

† Supra, ch. v. sect. 1. Strutt, vol. iii. p. 69. ‡ Id. 65.

§ Hollingshed, p. 188. Tract ut supra. Vid. Strutt.

|| Epist. 432.

sion, but corrected rather than abated by the changes produced on the modes of life. Their active virtues have already been enumerated in our former volumes, in a manner that renders repetition unnecessary. Their predominant vices afford a more copious and ungrateful subject; for the reformation detected the profligate lives of the monks and clergy, and the eloquence of the pulpit, acquiring from the reformers a new direction and additional vigour, touched with freedom or asperity the vices of the people.

Vices of the clergy. Ignorance, a venial imperfection of the laity, becomes criminal in those who profess to teach or to discover the way to salvation; but perhaps the ignorance formerly conspicuous both in the monastics and the secular clergy, diminished after the dawn of reformation and letters. Their pravity did not diminish however, but resisted, at least in England, the censures of their enemies, and the sense of their own impendent danger. The visitations that preceded the suppression of the monasteries discovered, if credit be due to the inspectors, crimes the most degrading to human nature. Hypocritical sanctity and holy frauds are congenial to every monastic institution; and the counterfeit relics imposed on the vulgar, or the artifices practised to support their credit, are to be regarded as the established trade and profession of religious orders. Intemperance is also to be expected wherever ascetics have obtained a relaxation from rigid discipline; nor is their guilt inexpressible, if, after indulging in evening collations, they assembled irregularly, and drank to matins. But the reports are replete with other crimes of a deeper complexion; the lewdness of the monks, the incontinence of the nuns, the abortions forcibly procured by the latter, and the monstrous lusts which the former indulged*. The particulars would stain and dishonour our page; yet an historian, anxious for the dignity of human nature, might wish to believe, that the reports of the visitors were inflamed by zeal, and perverted by an interested and malignant policy. It is difficult to conceive that they would venture, unsupported by evidence, to accuse a community of crimes repugnant to human nature; and their veracity seems to

* Strype, vol. i. ch. 34 and 35. Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 241. Antiq. Repertory, vol. iii. p. 166.

be vindicated by their extreme solicitude to preserve some convents whose conduct was exemplary. But these crimes were apparently notorious; nor is their existence doubtful, or the licentious lives of the regulars disputable, when their debaucheries had already attracted the papal indignation, and their crimes incurred the censures and menaces of Morton the primate. If, at the commencement of this period, the monks of St. Alban's had begun, in different convents, to displace the nuns and substitute prostitutes, it is not probable that their morals were afterwards improved or their discipline re-established.*.

The monks, however, had a merit in their liberal Their hos-
hospitality and charity. Their tables were open to pitality.
strangers, and, as the cheer was excellent, much frequented by the neighbouring gentlemen. At St. Alban's, and probably at other abbies, every traveller found an hospitable reception for three days; and was then permitted, if his conduct was satisfactory, or his business important, to protract his stay †. The fragments of their luxury furnished an extensive charity; and their indulgence to their tenants, whose rents were always moderate, endeared them to the peasants. In Scotland, where the regulars were not, I believe, so dissolute, similar hospitality was supported in monasteries; and in the abbey of Aberbrothwick, about nine thousand bushels of malt seem to have been annually expended in ale ‡. But these communities were prejudicial, even by their charities, to the increase of industry; and their dissolution assures us that the most venerable institutions, however sanctioned by time or supported by prejudice, may be suppressed when useless, without detriment or danger to society. It is probable that forty thousand were discharged from different religious houses; and it is certain that a number superior to that of the clergy at present was absorbed with facility into the mass of the people.

From the morals of the clergy, the transition to those Vices of
of the laity is natural: and Henry, after dislodging vice the people.
from the cloisters, proceeded, in the same strain of reformation, to cleanse the stews. These were a range of buildings in Southwark, on the banks of the Thames, privileged by patent as brothels, regulated by statute, and

* Supra, ch. ii.

† Antiq. Rep. vol. iii. p. 61.

‡ Chartulary.

tolerated as a necessary drain for corruption, from the reign of Henry II. to the last year of Henry VIII. The wretched prostitutes were then expelled, the stews were *put down* by sound of trumpet *, and their suppression was perhaps attended with more solemnity than that of the convents. Their suppression failed however to extirpate lewdness; and Latimer, whose sermons are replete with a barbarous eloquence, inveighs bitterly at its subsequent prevalence: “ You have put down the stews,” says this rude declaimer, “ but what is the matter amended? What availeth that? Ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away. I advertise you, in God’s name, to look to it. I hear say there is now more whoredom in London than ever there was in the Bank. There is more open whoredom, more *stewed* whoredom †.” The vices obnoxious to clerical censures are not always pernicious to society, nor is their magnitude certain, when transmitted through the medium of intemperate zeal. But Latimer’s proposal, in a court sermon, for restraining adultery by a capital punishment, attests its prevalence ‡; nor is any inferior infliction too severe for a crime that embitters life, and corrodes the dearest connexions of nature; a crime, in its ultimate consequences, subversive either of social intercourse, or productive of an utter relaxation of morals.

The vices and the follies peculiar to the age are necessarily the chief topics of pulpit eloquence; and, if credit were due to this severe reformer, the statesmen and judges were corrupted by bribery, the people profligate, destitute of charity, immersed in vice, and devoted to perdition §. Wherever government is arbitrary, the administration of justice is perverted and partial; and judges subservient to regal influence are certainly not inaccessible to secret corruption. The unmeaning oaths to which the English have in every age been addicted are peculiarly offensive to pious ears, and in some minds generate a persuasion, that a people habituated to profane swearing are disaffected to the Deity whose name they dishonour, impervious to religion, and insensible of vir-

* Stowe’s Survey, by Strype, vol. ii. p. 7. Howel, Londonopolis, p. 337.

† Latimer’s Sermons, p. 43.

‡ Ibid. 103.

§ Ibid. p. 18, 46, 55, 63, 66, 84.

tue. It may be observed, however, with more propriety, that habitual swearing diminishes our sense of the obligation attached to judicial oaths. Perjury was still the predominant vice that tainted the morals of every rank, and infected even the breast of the sovereign. Juries were perjured; their verdicts were generally procured by bribery; their corruption was notorious, and encouraged openly by Henry VII. in the iniquitous prosecution of his own subjects*. Princes claim and obtain an exemption from vulgar honesty; and that which is fraud and perfidy in private life, is dignified, in their transactions, by the appellation of policy: yet the reader must observe, with some surprise, the repeated examples contained in this history, of princes corroborating, by mutual oaths and the rites of religion, those treaties which they had previously determined to frustrate or violate. Their treaties are at present neither more permanent nor more secure; but the intervention of oaths is wisely omitted as a superfluous adjection, not obligatory on the lax morals peculiar to princes.

To these crimes may be added theft and robbery, Robbery. which were still so prevalent that twenty-two thousand criminals are said to have been executed by the rigid justice of Henry VIII. Robbery was seldom attended with murder, and was probably still regarded as an occupation, of which the guilt might be extenuated by courage and success†. Murders and assassinations are frequent however in Scottish history, for the people were cruel, fierce, and ungovernable; and, to judge from the desperate crimes of the nobility, their manners were neither more softened nor their passions better controlled and regulated. But whatever be the crimes of a people, there is in human nature a reforming principle that ultimately corrects and amends its degeneracy; and history furnishes repeated examples of nations passing from even a vicious effeminacy, to an enthusiasm that regenerates every virtue. Such a change was effected, in a partial degree, Religion. by the reformation; which, recalling its profelytes from the errors and abuses of the Romish superstition, taught them to renounce the dissipation and vices of the age, to assume the badge of superior sanctity and more rigid vir-

* Stowe, 485. 11 Hen. VII. c. 21. 23 Hen. VIII. c. 3. Barington's Observ. on the Stat. p. 410.

† Hoilingshed, p. 186, 199, 246.

tue, to suffer in adversity with patience, and to encounter persecution and death with fortitude. Sectaries, from the constant circumspection requisite in their conduct, contract an habitual and gloomy severity; and foreigners, ever more observant than natives, discovered, in the present period, symptoms of that puritanical spirit which at the distance of a century was destined to give liberty to England and law to kings*.

Credulity. The reformation might reflect discredit on recent miracles; but the period is still distinguished by excessive credulity. The astrologers in 1523, from the approach of eclipses and planetary conjunctions, predicted incessant rains and destructive inundations: the people were alarmed; many retired to the high grounds for safety; the abbot of Bartholomew in Smithfield built a house, which he stored with provisions, on Harrow of the Hill; and those who reposed in the promise to Noah, were still apprehensive of a partial inundation, and collected meal sufficient for subsistence till the waters subsided. But the year elapsed with little rain, and the astrologers redeemed their credit by confessing a mistake in their calculations of an hundred years†. The reformers probably were less credulous; but, believing that the pope was antichrist, they expected, as his power was partly broken, the speedy arrival of Christ in judgment; and, in every unusual appearance of the heavens, perceived, with a mixture of hope and trepidation, those signs supposed to announce the cessation of time, and destruction of the world‡. An Egyptian experiment repeated by James IV. exhibits the superstitious credulity of the Scots. Whether to discover the primitive language of the human race, or to ascertain the first formation of speech, he inclosed two children with a dumb attendant in Inchkeith, an uninhabited island of the Forth; and it is believed that the children, on arriving at maturity, communicated their ideas in pure Hebrew, the language of Paradise§.

I would mention as an instance of credulity, the belief of a monstrous production of the human species, but the concurrence of grave historians attests and renders the fact indisputable. This monster was born in Scot-

* Erasmi Epist. 127. Scaliger, 21.

† Hall. Hen. VIII. 123.

‡ Latimer, 247:

§ Pitscottie, 104.

land, and its appearance suggested the idea of twins fortuitously conjoined in the womb, united at the navel in a common trunk, and terminating below in the limbs of a male, but disparted above into two bodies, distinct and proportioned in all their parts, each endued with separate members and animated each by a separate intelligence. Their sensations were common when excited in the loins or inferior extremities; peculiar to one, and unfelt by the other, when produced by the particular body of either. Their perceptions were different, their mental affections unconnected, their wills independent, at times discordant, and again adjusted by mutual concession. They received, by the direction of James IV. such liberal education as the times afforded; attained in music to considerable proficiency, and acquired a competent knowledge of various languages. Their death was miserable: at the age of twenty-eight the one expired; and his body corrupting, tainted and putrified his living brother*.

The feudal system was productive, among other preposterous customs, of early marriages, formed without disparagement of rank or birth, but without regard to disparity of age or repugnance of sentiment. Vassals during their wardship were at the disposal of their lord, who literally sold them, while minors, in marriage; and prudent fathers, to frustrate his rapacity, were careful to accelerate, before their death, the nuptials of their offspring. The custom extended beyond the necessity from which it originated, and the death of prince Arthur is to be ascribed to the premature consummation, at the age of fifteen, of his marriage with Katherine. When on her divorce from Henry, a proof of that delicate circumstance was requisite, the opinion of two witnesses, the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewsbury, was founded on their own marriage at the age of prince Arthur; and it is remarkable that Herbert, the historian of these transactions, was himself married at the same age, to a wo-

Customs.

* Buchanan, 242. Pitscottie, 103. Hawthornden, 69.

Mortua, quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora,
Tormenti genus! et sanie taboque fluentes
Complexu in misero, longa sic morte necabat. VIRGIL.

man of twenty*. Chivalry was the season of romantic love; yet as mankind are actuated chiefly by interest, marriage, with few exceptions, has in every age been a sordid bargain.

The mode which is still peculiar to Britain, of saluting ladies, appears to have excited the surprise of foreigners; and Erasmus, who approved of it as a laudable custom, avers with pleasantry, that whether you assemble by concert, or encounter by accident, you cannot stir in England without an interchange of luscious kisses†. An interchange not so disinterested was supported at court, where, on the new year, the king accepted, from his nobles and clergy, of gifts from five to fifty pounds, and repaid them either with smiles or occasional presents of gilt plate‡. On solemn festivals, the king and his nobles bestowed each his *largesse* on the guards or attendants, and an herald proclaimed the different donations with great solemnity; but James IV. delicately suppressed at his marriage, the mention of his own, when his queen's was published§. Marriages, christenings, and established festivals, furnished frequent occasions for convivial intercourse; but the gentlemen are described as assembling at other times in fields or forests, with hawks and hounds, and bugles suspended in filken baldricks||. There, under the pretext of hunting, they had often concerted rebellions, or convoked their military retainers to arms; and an early statute of Henry VII.'s still prohibits their hunting in vizors, or during the darkness and concealment of night¶.

Scots.

The domestic manners of the Scots have seldom attracted historical notice; and their advances in refinement are to be collected or conjectured from their peculiar customs, their progress in the arts, and their improvement in the various comforts of life. Their morals, contrasted with those of their ancestors, are arraigned as degenerate by their historian Boethius, who accuses their intemperance, censures their luxury, and laments

* Herbert's Hist. p. 270. Herbert's Life, p. 26.

† Epist. 65. In the description of Margaret's journey to Scotland, which was written by an herald, every kiss that she received is recorded with care. Lel. Col. vol. iv.

‡ Strype, vol. i. p. 138. Walpole's Anec. vol. i.

§ Ibid.

|| Tract, ut supra, in the Antiq. Report.

¶ 1 Hen. VII. ch. 7.

their

their departure from the frugal moderation and rugged virtues of the ancient Scots *. His description, however, of these primitive obdurate virtues is far from attractive; and what he denominates vicious intemperance and excessive luxury, may be fairly interpreted an increasing refinement and superior elegance in social life. The nobles, who resorted seldom to cities, preserved in their castles their former rude but hospitable magnificence, which increased their retainers and strengthened their power, secured their safety, and enabled them to prosecute their deadly feuds. The people were divided into factions by those lords to whom they attached themselves, whose interest they espoused, and whose quarrels they adopted †; and the clans peculiar at present to the Highlands, were probably once universal in Scotland. In the Highlands, and on the borders, clans were perpetuated by a constant warfare, that inured the people to the fierceness and rapine of a predatory life. As thieves and plunderers their character was proverbial; yet their depredations, committed generally on hostile tribes, assume an appearance of military virtue; and their mutual fidelity, their observance of promises, and in the Highlands, their inviolable attachment to their chieftains, are circumstances sufficient to redeem their character ‡. The Chattan clan, during the minority of James V. had made a destructive incursion into Murray, but after their return were assailed and oppressed by superior forces; and two hundred of the tribe, rather than betray their chieftain or disclose his retreat, preferred and suffered an ignominious death §.

The mutability of language to the learned, whose fame depends upon its duration, an incessant topic of serious regret, seems to be counteracted by the art of printing; which, in proportion as it disseminates a taste for letters, re-acts as a model on colloquial speech, and operates, if not entirely to prevent innovation, at least to preserve the stability and perpetuate the radical structure of language. Such a stability the English language has acquired from printing, and at the distance of three centuries, still exhibits the same phraseology and syntactical form, varied only by those alterations essential to the pro-

Language.

* Boethius Descrip. Scot. p. 12.

† Lesly's Hist. pp. 56, 61.

‡ Major's Hist. p. 32.

§ Id. 425.

gressive refinement of speech. The language of the period, if necessary to discriminate its peculiar style, was unpolished and oral; its character is rude simplicity, neither aspiring to elegance, nor solicitous of ease, but written as it was spoken, without regard to selection or arrangement. Reduced to modern orthography, it is only distinguishable from the common colloquial discourse of the present period, by a certain rust of antiquity, by phrases that are abrogated, or words that are either effaced or altered. These, however, are not numerous; and we may conclude from the compositions of the learned, that the language of the people differed little from the present, unless in pronunciation, which, to judge from orthography, was harsh, and such as would now be denominated provincial or vulgar. Whatever has been since superadded, either by a skilful arrangement or the incorporation of foreign or classical words and idioms, is more the province of critical disquisition than historical research; yet it merits observation, that the first attempts at elegance are ascribable, in poetry to Surry, in prose perhaps to Sir Thomas More, whose English style, as it was modelled on his Latin, is constructed with art, and replete with inversions, approaching to that which, in contradistinction to the vulgar, may be justly denominated a learned diction.

This history has already furnished sufficient specimens both of the Scottish and English languages, which descended from the same Gothic original, and nearly similar in former periods, divaricated considerably during the present. This is to be attributed to the alteration and improvement of the English, for the Scottish was more stationary; nor is there in the language a material difference between the compositions of James the First and those of Bellenden*, Dunbar, and Douglas; each of whom, by the liberal adaptation of Latin words, enriched and polished his vernacular idiom. But for the union of the crowns, which in literature rendered the English the prevalent language, the Scottish might have risen to the merit of a civil dialect, different rather in pronunciation than structure; not so solemn but more energetic, nor less susceptible of literary culture.

* Bellenden, archdeacon of Murray, translated Livy and Hector Boethius into Scotch; the latter was published, the former is in MSS. in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh.

Dress, submitted to the guidance of taste or vanity, is Dress, first displayed in magnificence; then, when the improvement of manufactures has rendered magnificence cheap and common, in the incessant change and variety of fashion. The dress of the period was costly, and in its fashions subject to frequent fluctuation; so costly, that the wardrobes of the nobility in fifty years had increased to twenty times their former value†; so changeable, that the capricious inconstancy of the national dress was quaintly represented by the figure of an Englishman naked in a musing posture, with sheers in his hand, and cloth on his arm, perplexed amidst a multiplicity of fashions, and uncertain how to devise his garments‡. These fashions it is impossible now to discover, but the general dress of the period may be described from prints and pictures with sufficient precision.

The dress of the nobility during the reigns of Richard Its fashi-
and Henry the Seventh, was grotesque and fantastical, ons.
such as renders it difficult at first to distinguish the sex. Over the breeches was worn a petticoat; the doublet was laced, like the stays of a pregnant woman, across a stomacher, and a gown or mantle with wide sleeves descended over the doublet and petticoat down to the ankles. Commoners were satisfied, instead of a gown, with a frock or tunic shaped like a shirt, gathered at the middle, and fastened round the loins by a girdle, from which a short dagger was generally suspended. But the petticoat was rejected after the accession of Henry the Eighth, when the *trauses* or light breeches, that displayed the minute symmetry of the limbs, was revived, and the length of the doublet and mantle diminished. The fashions which the great have discarded, are often retained by the lower orders, and the form of the tunic, a Saxon garment, may be still discovered in the waggoner's frock; of the *trause*, and perhaps of the petticoat, in the different trousers that are worn by seamen. These habits were again diversified by minute decorations and changes of fashion; from an opinion that corpulence contributes to dignity, the doublet was puckered, stuffed, and distended around the body; the sleeves were swelled into great ruffs; and the breeches bolstered

† Fitzherbert's Husbandry, p. 96.

‡ Camden's Remains, p. 17.

about the hips; but how shall I describe an artificial protuberance, gross and indecent, in the age of Henry the Eighth, if we judge of his, and the portraits of others, a familiar appurtenance to the dress of the sovereign, the knight, and the mechanic, at a future period retained in comedy as a favourite theme of licentious merriment*?

The doublet and breeches were sometimes slashed, and with the addition of a short cloak, to which a stiffened cap was peculiar, resembled the national dress of the Spaniards. The doublet is now transformed into a waistcoat, and the cloak or mantle, to which the sleeves of the doublet was transferred, has been converted gradually into a modern coat; but the dress of the age was justly censured as inconvenient and clumsy. "Men's servants," to whom the fashions had descended with the cloaths of their masters, "have fuche pleytes," says Fitzherbert, "uppon theyr brestes, and ruffes uppon their sleeves, above theyr elbowes, that if they mayster or theym selfe, hadde never so greate neede they coude not shoote one shote to hurte theyr ennemyes, tyll they had caste of theyr cotes, or cut of theyr sleves †." The dress of the peasantry was similar, but more convenient, consisting generally of trunk hose, and a doublet of coarse and durable fustian ¶.

Magnificence.

The materials employed in dress were rich and expensive; cloth of gold, furs, silks, and velvets, profusely embroidered. The habits of Henry VIII. and his queen, on their procession to the Tower previous to their coronation, are described by Hall, an historian delighting in shows and spectacles. "His grace wared in his upperst apparrell a robe of crimsyn velvet, furred with armyn; his jacket or cote of raised gold; the placard embroidered with diamonds, rubies, emerauds, greate pearles, and other riche stones; a greate bauderike aboute his necke, of large balasses. The quene was appareled in white satyn embroidered, her haire hangyng downe to her backe, of a very greate length, bewtefull and

* The codpiece, on which Shakespear is often so witty, made its first appearance, I believe, at the French court. It appears in a portrait of Henry by Holbein, and became so prevalent, that we discover it even in the picture of a common beadle. Vide Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. † Fitzherbert's Husbandry, p. 96.

¶ For a more particular account of this period vid. Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. p. 75. plates L. 12, 13, 14.

"goodly

“goodly to behold, and on her hedde a coronall, set
“with many riche orient stones*.” The attire of females was becoming and decent, similar in its fashion to ^{Female} their present dress, but less subject to change and ca- ^{dress.} price †. The large and fantastic head-dresses of the former age were superseded by coifs and velvet bonnets, beneath which the matron gathered her locks into tufts or *tussocks*; but the virgin’s head was uncovered, and her hair braided and fastened with ribbons ‡. Among gentlemen, long hair was fashionable through Europe till the emperor Charles, during a voyage, devoted his locks for his health or safety §; and in England, Henry, a tyrant even in taste, gave efficacy to the fashion by a peremptory order for his attendants and courtiers to *poll their heads* ||. The same spirit induced him, probably, by sumptuary laws to regulate the inordinate dress of his subjects. Cloth of gold or tissue was reserved for dukes and marquises; if of a purple colour, for the royal family. Silks and velvets were restricted to commoners of wealth and distinction; but embroidery was interdicted from all beneath the degree of an earl. Cuffs for the sleeves, and bands and ruffs for the neck, were the invention of this period; but felt-hats were of earlier origin, and were still coarser and cheaper than caps or bonnets ¶. Pockets, a convenience unknown to the ancients, are perhaps the latest real improvement on dress; but instead of pockets, a loose pouch seems to have been sometimes suspended from a girdle **.

The Scottish was apparently the same with the Eng- ^{Scotland.} lish dress, the bonnet excepted, peculiar both in its colour and form. The masks and trains, and superfluous finery of female apparel, had been formerly prohibited; but fashion is superior to human laws, and we learn from the satirical invectives of poets, that the ladies still persisted in retaining their finery and muzzling their faces ††.

* Hall, p. 3

† Polydore Virgil, p. 15.

‡ Latimer, p. 107. Moryson’s Itinerary, part iii. p. 179.

§ Whether in consequence of a vow or a head-ach is disputed by historians, Herbert, p. 316.

† Stowe, p. 571.

¶ Strutt, vol. iii. p. 83. 4 Hen. VII. 8. by which the price of the best hats is limited to 20s. of the best caps to 2s. 8d.

** Strutt, plates i. 14. vol. iii.

†† Black Acts, p. 43. The Statute provides, “That no woman cum to kirk nor mercat with hir face mussalit.” Dunbar and Lindsay inveigh at the extravagance of the ladies in dress.

The diet of the peasantry is subject, in different periods, to few alterations; because it consists of the common produce of the soil, prepared in the simplest manner for food. Their bread-corn in England was rye or barley, sometimes oats mixed with pulse; a food preferred for its nutrition to wheat, which, till rendered by a better cultivation cheap and abundant, was usually confined to the tables of the wealthy*. These tables were more luxurious and expensive than formerly; distinguished by the variety of delicate viands, as well as by the quantity of substantial fare†; and Polydore expatiates with visible complacency on the various pleasures of those tables at which he had feasted; on the juicy flavour of the mutton, and the sweetness of the beef, especially when slightly salted; on the tenderness of the young geese and the kentish hens; the delicacy of the partridges, pheasants, and quails, and the fatness of the larks, thrushes and blackbirds, of which incredible numbers were caught in winter, and presented almost at every table. But his taste was peculiarly gratified by the varieties and abundance of excellent fish, which, to a churchman, renders the mortification even of the appetite luxurious; he discriminates the gurnard, whiting, mullet, turbot, breme, and sturgeon; depreciates the mackerel as dry, the shad as insipid; extolls the rich and delicious oysters, and approves of the recent translation of the pike from fens and lakes into gentlemen's ponds‡. To these the carp might be added, introduced from the continent in the present period as store for ponds||; and from these particulars, to a foreigner important, we may conclude that few delicacies were wanting at feasts. Vegetables however, were sparingly provided; and as regular markets were not general, country families killed a number of beesves at Michaelmas, and subsisted till Whitsuntide on salted meat¶.

* Moryson's Itinerary. part iii. p. 449.

† Fitzherbert's Husbandry, 97. According to this writer the table was four times more expensive than in former times.

‡ Polydore Virgil, p. 13.

|| Hollingshed, p. 46. Anderson quotes the following distich:

“Turkeys, carps, hops, piccarel, and beer,

“Came into England all in one year.”

Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 354.

¶ Northumberland Household Book.

Their cookery cannot now be appreciated, or distinguished, otherwise than by a profusion of hot spices with which every dish was indiscriminately seasoned*. Dinner and supper were served in the hall, where the first table was placed in a sort of recess, or elevation, at the upper end, and reserved for the landlord and his principal guests, while visitors, less respectable, were seated with the officers of the household at long and narrow tables that occupied the sides and the middle of the hall. The rank of the guests was again discriminated by their arrangement, by their situation above or below the salt-celler, which was placed invariably in the middle of the table, and the usher was carefully instructed to displace such as might seat themselves unmannerly above their betters. The chief servants attended always above the saltceller, beneath which the table was probably crowded with poor dependents, whom the guests despised, and the servants neglected. The servants were marshalled, and the dishes served, by orders issued aloud from the usher †; and at table none presumed to taste of the dishes till they were drawn successively upwards to the principal personage, from whom they descended again to the rest of the company ‡. Churchmen affected peculiar ceremony, and the abbot of St. Alban's dined with greater state than the nobility themselves. His table was elevated fifteen steps above the hall, and in serving his dinner, the monks, at every fifth step, performed a hymn. He dined alone at the middle of his table, to the ends of which guests of distinguished rank were admitted; and the monks, after their attendance on the abbot was over, sat down to tables at the sides of the hall, and were served with equal respect by the novices §. At Wolsey's entertainment of the French ambassadors, the company were summoned by trumpet to supper, and the courses were announced by a prelude of music. The second course contained upwards of an hundred devices or subtilties; castles, churches, animals, warriors jousting on foot and on horseback; others dancing with ladies; "all as well counter-

Manner of living.

* Above 100 lb. of spices were employed annually in the Northumberland family. *Northumberland Household Book.*

† Vid. Notes in the *Northumberland Household Book*. This mode of living was retained by some great families till the middle of the last century. *Ibid.*

‡ Hollinghed, 166.

§ *Antiq. Repert.* vol. iii. p. 61.

“ feited,” says the historian, “ as the painter should “ have painted on a cloth or wall *.” Such entertainments were not of a short duration; the dinner hour was eleven in the forenoon, the supper six in the evening; but the dinner was often prolonged till supper, and that protracted till late at night †. Breakfast seems to have been a solitary meal, not universal, but, like the collation after supper, confined to a few in their private apartments ‡. But it was not probably an unsubstantial meal; and the collation, the slightest repast of the age, consisted often of brawn, jellies, sweetmeats, ale, brandy, and spiced wines §.

In Scotland.

The diet of the Scots was worse, and more penurious than that of the English. The peasants subsisted chiefly on oatmeal and cabbages, for animal food was sparingly used, even at the tables of substantial gentlemen. An English traveller, who experienced the hospitality of a Scottish knight, describes the table as furnished with large platters of porridge, in each of which was a small piece of sodden beef; and remarks, that the servants entered in their blue caps without uncovering, and, instead of attending, seated themselves with their master at table. *His* mess was better however than theirs, a boiled pullet with prunes in the broth; but his guest observed, “ no “ art of cookery, or furniture of household stuff, but “ rather rude neglect of both ||.” Forks are a recent invention, and in England the table was only supplied with knives; but in Scotland every gentleman produced from his girdle a knife, and cut the meat into morsels for himself and the women; a practice that first intermixed the ladies and gentlemen alternately at table. The use of the fingers in eating required a scrupulous attention to cleanliness, and ablution was customary, at least at court, both before and after meals ¶. But the court and the nobility emulated the French in their manners, and

* Stowe, p. 535. Cavendish.

† Warton's Hist. Poet. vol. iii. p. 343. n. Antiq. Rep. p. 154, 185. Latimer, 108.

‡ Morison's Itinerary, part iii. p. 150. Hollingshed, 170.

§ Vid. The Articles of a Collation enumerated in Squire Mel-drum, a Scottish Poem, by Sir David Lindlay of the Mount.

|| Morison's Itinerary, part iii. p. 155. Morison's journey into Scotland was in 1598; but his landlord seems to have retained the manners of the former age.

¶ Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 283.

adopted probably their refinements in diet. The Scottish reader will observe, that the knights dinner was composed of two coarse dishes peculiar to Scotland*; but others of an exquisite delicacy were probably derived from the French, and retained, with little alteration, by a nation otherwise ignorant of the culinary arts. The Scots, though assimilating fast to the English, still resemble the French in their tables.

Ale and Gascony wines were the principal liquors; but mead, cyder, and perry were not uncommon. Hops were still scarce, and seldom employed in ale, which was brewed therefore in small quantities, to be drank while new. At the king's table ale was prohibited as unfit for use till five days old†. The wines, whatever was their quality, were certainly superior to our present harsh and astringent port; yet Erasmus complains repeatedly that good wine was unknown in England. His frail and sickly constitution required wine of a peculiar age and quality; and it is probable that his poverty deterred him from procuring the best‡. The wine was still circulated in a large cup, from which the company drank alternately§. The English were sober, the Scotch intemperate; they are accused at least by their own historians of excessive drinking, an imputation long attached to their national character||.

Martial diversions have been already described, and the sports of the field are, in different ages, pursued with an uniformity almost permanent. In England hunting has ever been a favourite diversion, and hawking has only been superseded by the fusil; but it was still practised with unabating ardour, and cultivated scientifically as a liberal art. Treatises were composed on the diet and discipline proper for the falcon; the genus was discriminated like social life, and a species appropriated to every intermediate rank, from an emperor down to a knave or peasant; nor were gentlemen more distinguished by the blazoning of heraldry, than by the particular hawks they were entitled to carry¶. The long bow was also employed in fowling, a sport in which much dexte-

* The one was, salt-meat and oatmeal boiled together; the other, a fowl boiled with leeks and prunes—both national dishes.

† Strutt, vol. iii. p. 72, 108.

‡ Epist. 124, 144.

§ Id. 447.

|| Boethius, p. 15. Moryson, 156.

¶ Strutt, vol. iii. p. 124.

rity was requisite; but archery was even a female amusement; and it is recorded that Margaret, on her journey to Scotland, killed a buck with an arrow in Alnwick Park *. The preservation of the feathered game was enforced in the present age by a statute, the first that was enacted of those laws which have since accumulated into a code of oppression †.

Hunting.

The Scottish monarchs hunted in the Highlands, sometimes in a style of eastern magnificence. For the reception of James V. the queen his mother, and the pope's ambassador, the earl of Atholl constructed a palace or bower of green timber, interwoven with boughs, moated around, and provided with turrets, portcullice, and drawbridge, and furnished within with whatever was suitable for a royal abode. The hunting continued for three days, during which, independent of roes, wolves, and foxes, six hundred deer were captured; an incredible number, unless we suppose that a large district was surrounded, and the game driven into a narrow circle to be slain, without fatigue, by the king and his retinue. On their departure the earl set fire to the palace, an honour that excited the ambassador's surprise; but the king informed him that it was customary with Highlanders to burn those habitations they deserted. The earl's hospitality was estimated at the daily expence of a thousand pounds, at present equivalent at least to three thousand pounds sterling ‡.

Masques
and pageants.

During the present period, several games were invented or practised to the disuse of archery, for the promotion of which, bowls, quoits, cayles, tennis, cards, and dice, were prohibited by the legislature as unlawful games §. Tennis, however, was a royal pastime, in which Henry VIII. in his youth delighted much; and a match is recorded between him and the emperor, the prince of Orange, and the marquis of Brandenburg ||. But the favourite amusements of court, next to tournaments, were masques and pageants; the one an Italian diversion subservient to gallantry, the other a vehicle of gross adulation. The masques were destitute of character, humour, and dialogue; they were conducted in dumb show, and their merit consisted in the grotesque disguises

* Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 278.

† 25 Hen. VIII. c. 11.

§ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

‡ Pitscottie, 146.

|| Hall, 98.

of a part of the company, who entered as strangers to dance with the ladies. The masque and pageant were often united; for the pageant was properly a piece of machinery, an artificial mountain, a ship, a castle, in which the masques were introduced into the hall, or from which, in solemn processions, allegorical personages recited pedantic and long panegyrics.

Curiosity is naturally excited concerning the present Theatri- state, which is properly the origin, of the English drama; cal amuse- that state which preceded its youthful vigour, when ments. Shakespeare delineated human nature, even in the mildness of a fairy creation. But historical informations are not satisfactory, and we can only conclude that the revival of letters discredited mysteries, and propagated a purer taste for dramatic composition. We discover that a comedy from Plautus was performed at court, where at Christmas plays, or rather short interludes, were often represented*. But the revival of letters introduced the drama into schools and colleges; plays were composed by professors, and performed by their pupils; nor did grave lawyers, at their annual festivals, disdain the laurels acquired on the stage†. These however were temporary stages; but the church is still to be regarded as an established theatre, licensed; not indeed by divine permission, for the gratuitous exhibition of religious spectacles. Dispossessed by the reformers, or interdicted from preaching by the king's supremacy, the popish clergy seceded to secular stages, and endeavoured to discredit the gospellers by farces more efficacious and popular than their former sermons. The reformers retaliated, by converting the mysteries of the church into a satirical representation of the corruptions of popery; and repeated ordinances were afterwards necessary to suppress these ludicrous polemics of the church and stage‡. In churches the performers were chiefly the choiristers; at court they were probably minstrels, of whom a company followed queen Margaret from England, and exhibited several plays or mysteries

* Hall, p. 3, 69 256.

† Warton's Hist. Poet. vol. ii. 366. At Gray's-Inn, during the celebration of Christmas, a play was exhibited by the students so offensive to Wolsey, that he imprisoned the author, a Serjeant Roe, and deprived him of his coif. Hall, 154.

‡ Warton, vol. iii. p. 198. Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 318.

at the Scottish court*. The minstrels, who disappeared under Henry VIII. were probably converted, by the prevalence of theatrical amusements, into itinerant players; in the succeeding reign, an established and apparently a numerous profession †.

Bear-bait-
ing.

A more ignoble, perhaps a more popular spectacle, consisted of bears; "of which," says Erasmus, "many herds are maintained in Britain, for the purpose of dancing." Bear-baiting was a favourite diversion, exhibited as a suitable amusement for a princefs ‡.

Domestic
diversions.

The winter solstice, when the sun regains his northern direction, was celebrated by our remote and idolatrous ancestors; and Christianity, unable to suppress the festival, transferred it under the same name to a different day. At Christmas, or the feast of *Yule* §, peculiar dishes have been always employed, and every domestic diversion adopted that tends to cheer or to dissipate the gloom of winter. To regulate, or rather to promote such pastimes, a lord or abbot of misrule was created ||; but of these amusements, perhaps, the most rational was the recital of old and romantic tales. The domestic amusements, in a period subsequent to the present, are thus enumerated: "The ordinary recreations which we have in winter are cardes, tables and dice, shovel-board, chesse play, the philosophers game, small trunks, balliards, musicke, maskes, singing, dancing, ule-games, catches, purposes, questions; merry tales of errant knights, kings, queens, lovers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfs, thieves, fayries, goblins, friars, witches,

* Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 299, 300. Twenty-pence was the established price of each play exhibited at Christmas in the Northumberland family, and the annual expence of such representations amounted only to 33 shillings. *Northumberland Household Book*.

† Warton ut supra. Pinkerton justly remarks that the minstrel, in the entertainment of queen Elizabeth at Killingworth, is introduced as a character of former times. *Scottish Ballads*, Pref. 74.

‡ Erasmi Adagia, p. 361. Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 299.

§ Festis Iolenfis, as it is translated from the Scandinavian language. Vid. Baillie's Lettres sur les Sciences et sur l'Atlantide.

|| In Scotland, the Abbot of Unreason. Arnot's Hist. Edin.

" and

“ and the rest *.” Among these amusements cards began to predominate, to be prohibited by parliament, and licensed by the king. Gaming became more inordinate and ruinous †; but let not cards be therefore depreciated; an happy invention, which, adapted equally to every capacity, removes the invidious distinctions of nature, bestows on fools the pre-eminence of genius, or reduces wit and wisdom to the level of folly.

* Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 271.

† Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiii. p. 330. vol. xiv. p. 707. Fitzherbert, 98.

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

S I X T H B O O K

N U M B E R I.

BIRCH MS. 4160. 5. collated with HARL. MS. 482. fol. 123.

[The original of this, in an old written hand, is in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, 18th August 1616.]

PERKIN WARBECK's *Proclamation, published in the Time of his Rebellion in the Beginning of the Reign of HENRY VII.*

RICHARD, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, prince of Wales: To all those that these our present letters shall see, hear, or read, and to every of them, greeting. And whereas we, in our tender age, escaped, by God's great might, out of the Tower of London, and were secretly conveyed over the sea to other divers countries, there remained certain years as unknown; the which season it happened one Henry, son to Edmond Tydder, earl of Richmond created, son to Owen Tydder, of low birth, in the county of Wales, to come from France and entered into this our realm, and by subtle false means to obtain the crown of the same unto us of right appertaining. Which Henry is our extreme and mortal enemy; as soon as he had knowledge of our being alive, imagined, compassed, and wrought all the subtle ways and means he could devise to our final destruction, insomuch as he hath not only falsely surmised us to be a feigned person, giving us nicknames, so abusing your minds, but
also,

also, to deter and put us from our entry into this our realm, hath offered large sums of money to corrupt the princes in every land and country; and that we have been retained with and made importune labour to certain of our servants about our person, some of them to murder our person, and other to forsake and leave our righteous quarrel and to depart from our services, as by Sir Robert Clyfford and other was verified and openly proved; and, to bring his cursed and malicious intent aforesaid to his purpose, he hath subtilly and by crafty means levied outrageous and importable sums of money upon the whole body of our realm, to the great hurt and impoverishing the same: All which subtle and corrupt labours by him made, to our great jeopardy and peril, we have, by God's might, graciously escaped and overpassed as well by land as by sea, and be now with the right high and mighty prince our dearest cousin the king of Scots; which, without any gift or other thing by him desired or demanded to the prejudice or hurt of us or our crown or realm, hath full lovingly and kindly retained us, by whose aid and supportation we, in proper person, be now, by God's grace, entered into this our realm of England, where we shall shew ourselves openly unto you; also confounding our said aforesaid enemy in all his false sayings, and also every man of reason and discretion may well understand that him needed not to have made the foresaid costages and importune labour if we had been such a feigned person as he untruly surmisseth, ascertaining you how the mind and intent of the foresaid noble prince our dearest cousin is, that if that he may find or see our subjects and natural liege people, according to right and the duty of their allegiance, resort lovingly unto us with such power as by their puissance shall move, be able of likelihood to distress and subdue our enemies, he is fully set and determined to return home again quietly with his people into his own land, without doing or suffering to be done any hurt or prejudice unto our realm, or to the inhabitants of the same. Also our great enemy, to fortify his false quarrel, hath caused divers nobles of this our realm whom he hath suspect and stood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered, as our cousin the lord Fitzwater, Sir William Stanley, Sir Robert Chamberlayne, Sir Simon Montford, Sir Robert Radcliffe, William Daubeney, Humphrey Stafford, among others, besides such as have clearly bought their lives; some of which nobles are now in the sanctuary. Also he hath long kept and yet keepeth in prison, our right entirely well-beloved cousin Edward, son and heir to our uncle duke of Clarence, and others, with-holding from them
their

their rightful inheritance, to the intent they should be of might and power to aid and assist us at our need, after the duty of their leigeance. He hath also married by compulsion certain of our sisters, and also the sister of our foresaid cousin the earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of the blood royal, unto certain of his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree; and putting apart all well-disposed nobles, he hath none in favour and trust about his person but bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovell, Oliver King, Sir Charles Somerset, David Owen, Rysely, Sir Joseph Tuberville, Tyliere, Robert Litton, Guildesforde, Chumley, Emson, James Hobart, John Cutte, Garthe, Hansey, Wyot, and such other caitiffs and villains of simple birth; which, by subtle inventions and putting of the people, have been the principal finders, occasioners, and counsellors of the mis-rule and mischief now reigning in England. Also we be credibly informed, that our said enemy, not regarding the wealth and prosperity of this land, but only the safeguard and surety of his person, hath sent into divers places out of our realm the foresaid nobles, and caused to be conveyed from thence to other places the treasure of this our realm, purposing to depart after, in proper person, with many other estates of the land, being now at his rule and disposition; and if he should be so suffered to depart, as God defend it should be, to the greatest hurt, jeopardy, and perill of the whole realm that could be thought or imagined: Wherefore we desire and pray you, and nevertheless charge you and every of you, as ye intend the surety of yourself and the commonwealth of our land, your native ground, to put you in your most effectual devoirs with all dilligence, to the utmost of your powers, and stop and let his passage out of this our realm; ascertaining you, that what person or persons shall fortune to take or distrefs him, shall have for his or their true acquittal in that behalf after their estate and degrees, so as the most low and simplest of degree that shall happen to take or distrefs him, shall have for his labour one thousand pounds in money, and houses and lands to the yearly value of one hundred marks to him and his heirs for ever. We remembering these promises, with the great and execrable offence daily committed and done by our foresaid great enemy and his adherents, in breaking the liberty and franchises of our mother holy church, to the high displeasure of Almighty God; besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, extortion, the daily pilling of the people by dismes, tasks, tollages, benevolences, other unlawful impositions and
grievous

grievous exactions, with many other heinous offences, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole realm, as God defend, shall put ourself effectually in our devoir, not as a stepdame, but as the very true mother of the child, languishing or standing in perill to redress and subdue for the aforesaid mischief and misrules, and to punish the occasioners and haunters thereof after their deserts, in example of others. We shall also by God's grace, and the help and assistance of the great lords of our blood, with the council of other sage persons of approved policy, prudence, and experience, dreading God, and having tender zeal and affection to different ministrations of justice and the public weal of the land, peruse and call to remembrance the good laws and customs heretofore made by our noble progenitors kings of England, and see them put in due and lawful execution, according to the effect and true meaning they were first made or ordained for; so that by virtue thereof, as well the disinheriting of rightfull heirs as the injuries and wrongs in any wise committed and done unto the subjects of our realm, both spiritual and temporal, shall be duly redressed, according to right, law, and good science; and we shall see that the commodities of our realm be employed to the most advantage of the sameth intercourse of merchandizes betwixt realm and realm, to be ministered and handled as shall now be to the commonweal and prosperity of our subjects; and all such fines, tasks, tollages, benevolences, and lawful impositions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearsed, utterly to be foredune and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as our noble progenitors, kings of England, have of old time been accustomed to have the aid, succour, and help of their subjects and true liegemen.

Also we will, that all such persons as have imagined, compassed, or wrought privily or apparently since the reign of our foresaid enemy, or before any thing against us, except such as since the reign have imagined our death, shall have their free pardon for the same, of their lives, lands, and goods, so that they at this time, according to right and the duty of their allegiances, take our righteous quarrel and part, and aid, comfort, and support us with their bodys and goods.

And over this we let you wotte, that upon our foresaid great enemy, his adherents and partakers, with all other such as will take false quarrel, and stand in their defence against us with their bodys or goods, we shall come and enter upon them as their heavy lord, and take and repute them and every of them as our traitors and rebels, and see them punished according
and

and upon all our subjects, that according to right and the duty of their leigance will aid, succour, and comfort us with their powers, with their lives or goods, or victual our host for ready money; we shall come and enter upon them lovingly as their natural leige lord, and see they have justice to them equally ministered upon their causes: wherefore we will and desire you and every of you, that incontinent upon the hearing of this our proclamation, ye, according to the duty of your allegiance, are ready yourselves in your best defensible array, and give your personal attendance upon us where we shall then fortune to be; and in your so doing ye shall find us your right, especial, and singular good lord, and so to see you recompensed and rewarded as by your service unto us shall be deserved.

N U M B E R II.

The Confession read by PERKIN WARBECK when set in the Stocks on a Scaffold at Cheapside. Extracted from Grafton, p. 929. Hall, 49.

FIRST, it is to be knowne, That I was borne in the towne of Turney in Flaunders, and my father's name is John Olbeck, which sayde John Olbeck was comptroller of the said towne of Turney, and my mother's name is Katheryn de Faro; and one of my grandfires upon my father's side was named Diryek Olbeck, which dyed; after whose death my grandmother was maryed unto Peter Flamme, that was receaver of the forenamed towne of Turney, and deane of the botemen that rowe upon the water or ryver called Lefschelde; and my graundfire upon my mother's was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of Saint John's within the same town of Turney; also I had an uncle called Maister John Stalyn, dwelling in the parishe of Saint Pyas within the same towne, which had married my father's sister, whose name was Jone or Jane, with whome I dwelled a certayne season; and after I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learn Flemishe in a house of a cousin of mine, an officer of the said towne, called John Stienbeck, with whom I was the space of halfe a yere; and after that I returned again to Turney, by reason of the warres that were in Flaunders; and within a yere followyng I was sent with a marchant

chaunt

chaunt of the said towne of Turney named Berlo, to the marte of Andwarpe, where I fell sick, which sicknesse continued upon five moneths; and the said Berlo sent me to borde in a skinner's house that dwelled beside the house of the English nation; and by him I was from thence carried to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the signe of the Olde Man, where I abode the space of two moneths; and after this the sayd Barlo set me with a marchant of Middelborough to service for to learne the language, whose name was John Strewe, with whom I dwelled from Christmastil Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the company of Sir Edward Bramptone's wyfe, in a ship which was called the Quene's ship; and when I was come thether, then I was put in service to a knight that dwelled in Lushborne, whiche was called Peter Wars de Cogna, wyth whome I dwelled an whole yere, whiche sayde knight had but one eye; and because I desyred to see other countries, I toke licence of him, and then I put myselfe in service with a Briton, called Pregent Meno, the which brought me with him into Ireland, and when we were there arrived in the towne of Corke; they of the towne, because I was arrayed with some clothes of silke of my sayde maister's, came unto me and threaped upon mee that I should be the duke of Clarence sonne that was before time at Duellin; and forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought unto me the holy Evangelists and the crosse by the maior of the towne, which was called John le Mellen, and there in the presence of him and other I tooke my othe as the truthe was, that I was not the forsayde duke's sonne, nor nonne of his blood: and after this came unto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephen Poytron, with one John Water, and layde to me in swearyng great othes, that they knew well that I was king Richarde's bastard sonne; to whom I answered with like othes, that I was not; and then they advised me not to be afearde, but that I should take it upon me boldly, and if I would do so, they would ayde and assist me with all their power against the king of England, and not only they, but they were assured well that the erles of Desmond and Kildare should do the same; for they forced not what parte they tooke, so that they might be revenged upon the king of England, and so against my will made me to learne English, and taught me what I should do and say; and after this they called me duke of Yorke, second soone of king Edward the Fourth, because king Richarde's bastard sonne was in the hands of the king of England; and upon this the sayde John Water, Stephen Poytron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with many other, as the forsayde erles, entered

tered into this false quarell: and within a short time after the French king sent an ambassador into Ireland, whose name was Loyte Lucas, and mayster Stephyn Fryam, to advertise me to come into Fraunce; and thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flaunders, and from Flaunders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

N U M B E R III.

Dissertation on the Character of PERKIN WARBECK, and on the Crimes imputed to Richard the Third.

THIS Appendix the author lived not to execute; and it is much to be regretted that no memorial remains of his opinion on a subject so long controverted, and still so obscure. The character of Richard, and the transactions during his troubled reign, are inseparable from the controversy concerning Warbeck; and of that controversy a particular examination is considered as requisite to complete this volume. Historical dissertation admits of minuter research and more critical disquisition than general history; nor am I responsible if in some particulars these researches correspond not entirely with the text of our author.

Most historians represent the murder of Richard's nephews as the necessary sequel of his former crimes. He meditated, it is said, at an early period, his accession to the throne, and for that purpose promoted the execution of Clarence, his brother, and procured from parliament the attainder of his issue. On the death of Edward IV. he intercepted the person of the young king, and imprisoned his kinsmen, conducted him with pomp and seeming respect to the Tower, obtained or extorted from the privy council the office of protector, professed in public, and with repeated oaths, his allegiance to his nephew, but concerted secretly to despoil him of his crown. Alike regardless of the ties of friendship, of oaths, and of bloodshed, he executed, without trial, Hastings his friend, Gray, Rivers, Vaughan, and others, from whom he apprehended obstruction to his schemes; and then circulated absurd reports, to persuade the people that his nephews were bastards, and himself the legitimate heir of the crown. It was insinuated that Richard

alone was legitimate, as his brothers had sprung from their mother's illicit amours, and asserted that Edward's previous marriage with Elizabeth Lucy rendered his connexion with the queen adulterous, and their issue spurious. The last topic was employed by Buckingham, who harangued the citizens on Richard's pretensions; and obtaining a few faint acclamations, he proceeded next day, with the mayor and aldermen, to tender the crown to Richard, who, after much affected importunity, consented to reign. Such an usurpation was to be secured by the murder of the young princes; and is it credible that Richard, the perjured Richard, whose steps to the throne were marked with blood, would abstain from the devoted lives of his nephews? Their removal was requisite for his security; for conspiracies were forming to restore them to liberty, and reinstate them in their rights. That they were removed by murders is demonstrated by their sudden disappearance, and the subsequent prevailing report of their death; by Richard's inability to produce them in order to dispel such rumours; by his proposed alliance with their sister Elizabeth, whose right to the crown was only valid in the event of their death; and by the united testimony of the principal Yorkists, who, assured that the princes were dead, joined the Lancastrians to dethrone the tyrant. The particulars of the murder were afterwards investigated, authenticated by the confession of the surviving assassins, and in a subsequent age, corroborated by the accidental discovery of the bodies. Warbeck, who personated the younger brother, was therefore an impostor. His story is incredible; those who dispatched his brother spared him from compassion, and connived at his escape. In that event, instead of consuming his early youth as an obscure wanderer, he must have speedily re-appeared in the Netherlands at his aunt the duchess of Burgundy's court; and the partisans of York must have been soon apprised of his miraculous escape: but he appeared not till nine years afterwards, not till the support which the duchess had given to another impostor, disclosed her ignorance of his escape, and her readiness to concur in every similar imposture, distressing to Henry; and the evidence, apparently so complete, is fortified and rendered irresistible by Warbeck's voluntary confession at the gibbet, when he had nothing to expect from Henry's clemency, and nothing farther to apprehend from his power.

The preceding is certainly a plausible narrative, if not entirely consistent with historical truth; nor is its truth contested,

ed, unless by a few, whose opinion, however, the result of judicious and accurate inquiries, is entitled to peculiar respect and attention *. The controversy between them resolves into four general divisions or portions, I. The crimes attributed to Richard's youth; II. His usurpation or acquisition of the crown; III. The fate of his nephews; and, IV. The pretensions and character of Perkin Warbeck. But it is necessary previous to such inquiries to ascertain the credit due to original authorities, and these have been properly reduced to the unknown continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland Abbey, to Rous, Fabian, and Sir Thomas More: the three first were contemporary with Richard, the last with Warbeck; but Fabian was a wretched annalist, more attentive to the succession of mayors and sheriffs, than to the transactions of princes; and Rous, a recluse priest, seems to have written without information, but with all the bigotry and prejudice of the Lancastrian party. The Chronicle of Croyland is less partial; the author is favourable to Edward's memory, and expresses some regret at the indignities offered to Richard's body. Sir Thomas More is a copious historian, and his narrative of Richard's usurpation, and the murder of his nephews, has been transcribed in every subsequent Chronicle, adopted by Polydore Virgil, and followed almost implicitly by modern historians. To these Bacon has been added as an original authority; a character to which Buck is equally entitled, as both had access to original papers that are now destroyed. But in these inquiries it is chiefly necessary to guard against the imposing authority of great names.

I. An impartial historian must exculpate Richard of the crimes imputed to his early youth †, the murder of Henry VI. of his son prince Edward, and perhaps of Clarence. According to the Croyland Chronicle, prince Edward, the duke of Somerset, the earl of Devonshire, and others, were slain at the battle of Tewksbury, or afterwards, *ultricibus quorundam manibus*; according to Fabian, Edward, on receiving a blow from the king, was dispatched by his servants; but in the next century, historians, improving on the story, devolved this menial office on Clarence, Dorset,

* With the respected names of Carte and Walpole, may I inscribe that of the late Dr. Henry?

† Richard, who perished prematurely at the age of thirty-two, was a youth of eighteen at the battle of Tewksbury. It is not likely that such a boy would be employed to assassinate Henry and his son.

Hastings, and Gloucester*. The death of Henry happened; according to Fabian, on the eve of Ascension, the night after king Edward's triumphal arrival in London; a concurrence of circumstances sufficient to afford just suspicion of a violent death. It was variously related, says Fabian; but the prevailing report was, that Richard stabbed him. The Croyland Chronicle is less explicit: *Taceo hoc temporum interstitio, inventum esse corpus regis Henrici, in turrem Londiniarum exanime; parcat Deus, et spatium pœnitentiæ ei donet, quicumque tam sacrilegas manus in Christum Domini, ausus est immittere. Unde agens tyranni patiensque gloriosi martyris, titulum mercatur†.* The narrative indicates the popular rumour, that the martyr perished by the tyrant's (probably Richard's) hands; but we discover from Hollingshed that the death of Henry, as recorded in certain contemporary writers, was occasioned by extreme grief for the loss of his son, his own disasters, and the ruin of his friends‡. This, though asserted by writers, "favouring altogether," says Hollingshed, "the house of York," is the more probable, as Richard seems to have entertained too much respect for the good old king, to be the unnecessary and officious instrument of his death. After his accession, he removed the body of Henry from Chertsey, and interred it with royal solemnity at Windsor§; a circumstance imputable only to a veneration either for the illustrious descent or the piety of a monarch who, because he was a fool, was reputed a saint. The pretended rumour is contradicted therefore, both by contemporary evidence and a fair interpretation of Richard's conduct, who would not, after an interval of twelve years, revive, by any indiscreet hypocrisy, a rumour so prejudicial to his own reputation. But the following remarkable information is contained in a late edition of Shakespeare: "It has been observed to me, by Mr. Edderton, that it appears on the face of the public accounts allowed in the Exchequer for the maintenance of Henry VI. and his numerous attendants in the Tower, that he lived to the twelfth of June, which was twenty-two days after the time assigned for his pretended assassination; was exposed to public view at St. Paul's for some days, and

* Hall, Grafton, Hollingshed. Stowe, a more judicious author, adheres strictly to Fabian. Buck quotes an ancient MS. Chronicle in Sir Robert Cotton's custody, to prove that Richard, though present, drew not his sword. Buck apud Kennet. See Chron. Croyl. p. 555.

† Id. p. 536.

‡ Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 690.

§ Rous, p. 217. Stowe, 424.

“ interred at Chertsey with much solemnity, and at no inconsiderable expence *.” If the fact be such, and I see no reason to question the authority, what becomes of our ancient chroniclers? I will not speak of their accuracy; but what reliance can be placed in their truth? If Henry died not on the night of Edward’s triumphal entry, there is no foundation for the suspicion of violence; and we must conclude that Fabian and the monk of Croyland, writing at a distant period, (Fabian died in 1512,) forgot the regular succession of events, and adopted a subsequent vain surmise, in order to render their saint a martyr †. These crimes originated therefore from the same Lancastrian prejudices that accused Richard of murdering his wife, whose death was occasioned by a lingering malady, and accelerated, as the monk of Croyland conjectures and insinuates, not by poison, but her husband’s neglect ‡.

The execution of Clarence is ascribed, by our older historians, to the queen’s instigations, whose intercession might have certainly saved him, and whose brother Rivers was enriched by his forfeiture; but I cannot discover that Richard was a gainer, that he obtained a larger portion of his wife’s inheritance §. The queen’s relations were ambitious and insolent; Clarence impatient, impetuous, and haughty; and, as they domineered at court, his imprudent opposition, and perhaps the temptation of a rich confiscation, provoked his fate. Their procedure was conformable to the court intrigues of the period; they began by accusing and convicting his domestics and friends, in order to impel him to some desperate counsels. Buckingham, connected then with the queen’s party by his marriage with her sister, was created high-steward to pronounce the sentence; and Clarence’s fate is the counterpart of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, who perished in the former reign by the machinations of queen Margaret and Suffolk her

* Malone’s Shakespear, vol. xi. p. 653.

† Hollingshed, to render the murder indisputable, asserts that the wounds bled afresh at St. Paul’s. ‡ Chron. Croyl. p. 572.

§ Rymer Fœd. vol. xii. p. 95. The hypocritical language of this donation is curious, and seems to fasten the murder indisputably on Rivers. “ Sciatis quod nos, inclitæ memoriæ nostræ reducentes de grandibus injuriis, gravaminibusque offensis, non solum carissimo consanguineo nostro Antonio comiti Ryvers, verum etiam nobilibus parentibus suis, per Georgium nuper ducem Clancie indigne perpetratis, et quod idem dux, die quo obiit et antea, voluit et intendebat quod prædictus comes omnino recompensaretur.” The grant insinuates that Clarence, at his death, made a nuncupative will in Rivers’ favour; a proof that his conduct required exculpation.

minion. Richard, who had also quarrelled with the queen's relations, acted with more circumspection than Clarence; yet the same influence that ruined his brother might have been directed afterwards against himself: nor is it probable that he would weaken his own security by conniving indirectly at the destruction of Clarence. The queen's influence was formidable, and exerted for the worst purposes, to aggrandize her family by the depression or ruin of the principal nobility. Hastings once was committed to the Tower, and his life endangered by the accusation of Rivers*; and Richard, from the ambitious views of the queen and her kindred, and their influence during an unprincipled reign, had certainly some reason to apprehend that Clarence's fate might extend to himself.

II. These transactions then give us no indications of Richard's character, his ambition, his cunning, or predisposition to cruelty. The succeeding events are more decisive: the young king intercepted; Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan apprehended, and with Hastings executed, without even the formality of a trial. Gloucester, as first prince of the blood, was constitutionally protector; but the queen had certainly projected measures for retaining her influence during the minority, and securing the regency to herself or her brother. She had ordered Rivers to raise an army; a measure calculated not for escorting the king, but for preserving to themselves the possession of his person, intimidating their enemies, and usurping the government. When the scheme was detected and counteracted in council, the escort was limited to two thousand men; and whether these troops were brought forward, some artifice seems to have been employed at Nottingham in detaching Gray, Rivers, and Vaughan from the king's attendants. There they were arrested; and the hints casually furnished by historians of Dorset's entering the Tower, removing the treasures of the late king, and employing them partly in preparing a fleet, demonstrate that the Grays were accused with reason of conspiring to seize the administration, by retaining the person of the young king†. So far Gloucester is justifiable, as he only anticipated those whose ambition threatened disturbance to the state. But the subsequent execution of these noblemen and of Hastings, Richard's friend and confederate, must be ascribed to a premeditated scheme of usurpation. The protector aspired to the crown, and secured it by

* Sir Thomas More.

† Ibid. Walpole's Historic Doubts.

the previous removal of every obstacle; and in these sanguinary transactions we discover the first certain indications of his ambitious designs.

Yet our progress is arrested by an unexpected difficulty—Edward's marriage with lady Eleanor Butler—a fact better authenticated than historians imagine. The Croyland Chronicle, and a passage (a vague passage) in the Memoirs of Commynes, were regarded as the only evidence, till the rolls of Richard's parliament were discovered and published. Yet these authorities, separately, are not satisfactory: the marriage is mentioned by Commynes and the monk of Croyland as a pretext adopted to justify Richard's usurpation; nor are the rolls of parliament of more authority than any attestation of a falsehood that might be extorted then from a servile, or obtained to-day from a venal parliament. But there is another authority less controvertible, the respected authority of Sir Thomas More.

His history is a highly-coloured though unfinished performance, published originally in English, afterwards in Latin, the language in which it was probably first composed. The English copy is inserted in Hall, Grafton, Stowe, and Hollingshed; but a licentious and faulty paraphrase by Strype or Kennet has, with most authors, superseded the original*. The history from its very commencement is partial; it expatiates on Richard's personal deformity and monstrous birth, his perverseness and pravity *while still in the womb*; ascribes the murder of Henry to his dagger, the death of Clarence to his intrigues and ambition; and proceeds to relate such mysterious and secret transactions as the death of the actors precluded from transpiring. At the death of Hastings, in explaining the pretext employed by Richard for bastardising his nephews, the historian pauses, suspends his narration; reverts to the period of Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Gray, and that for the express purpose of demonstrating that his previous marriage or precontract with another was an obsolete calumny already refuted. He informs us that the duchess of York, disapproving of the proposed connexion with Elizabeth Gray, endeavoured to dissuade her son from the marriage. "The king was inflexible; and his mother" (I translate it from the Latin) "in-

* With Hume, it certainly superseded the original, when he asserted that More mentioned Lady Butler as well as Elizabeth Lucy's marriage, and treated them both lightly as rumours. Hist. vol. iii. p. 455, note M. Lady Butler's name is not once mentioned by More; but her story is inserted in Kennett's Version.

" censured at his disobedience, concerted their measures for im-
 " peding the match. Elizabeth Lucy, a lady of noble birth
 " and exquisite beauty, had been debauched by Edward. On
 " the approach of the nuptials, when the banns were publish-
 " ed, the duchess his mother, as if to absolve her conscience,
 " objected with tears, that her son was already espoused to
 " Elizabeth Lucy, their faith plighted, and their nuptials con-
 " summated. The marriage was therefore interrupted, either
 " by the priest's refusal or the king's reluctance to celebrate
 " the rites, till an asperision, to which his mother's scruples
 " had contributed weight and authority, was examined and
 " disproved. Elizabeth Lucy, though instructed secretly, and
 " inspired with ambitious views by the duchess, confessed,
 " when interrogated on oath, that whatever were her expect-
 " tations, no matrimonial obligation had been contracted by
 " Edward. Thus the pretended marriage was detected, and
 " its falsehood published, previous to the king's marriage with
 " Elizabeth Gray. These circumstances," the historian con-
 " cludes, " are detailed perhaps with too much prolixity; but
 " it is necessary to know that the sole objection which the
 " Protector discovered against Edward's marriage was a ca-
 " lumny long exploded and antiquated."

This passage, divested of its rhetoric, discloses an important
 historical fact—that Edward's marriage with lady Gray was
 interrupted for a time by his own mother; that she appear-
 ed in church when the banns were published, and with tears
 prohibited the celebration of the marriage, as her son was
 already contracted to another. Her allegation, the more au-
 thoritative as it proceeds from a mother, is disproved by Eliza-
 beth Lucy's confession: the historian dwells on this as a con-
 futation of the calumny. Surely were these circumstances ad-
 mitted as truth, when a mother, terrified at the violation of a
 sacramental obligation, (marriage then was esteemed a sacra-
 ment) prohibits her son's nuptials, a reasonable suspicion may
 be entertained that her objection was not without foundation,
 that a monarch, impetuous in his passions, and arbitrary like
 Edward, might either extort or fabricate the pretended con-
 fession.

But in this pretended confession there is no truth. The
 pretext of Richard's usurpation was his brother's precontract,
 not with Lucy, but with lady Eleanor Butler. Shaw there-
 fore, if instructed by the Protector, could not preach on
 Edward's precontract with Elizabeth Lucy; nor could Buck-
 ingham adopt such an injudicious topic in haranguing the ci-
 zens.

zens. Richard could not resort to an objection absolutely preclusive of his own pretensions; for Elizabeth Lucy had a son by Edward, Arthur Plantagenet, afterwards lord Lisle, whose legitimacy must have been recognised with his mother's marriage, and his title established to the crown itself. The fact is indisputable, that Richard's nephews were excluded as spurious, on account of their father's marriage with Eleanor Butler.

“Ostendebatur in quodam rotulo perganieni, quod filii regis Edwardi erant bastardi, supponendo illum præcontraxisse cum quadam Alienora Boteler, antequam reginam Elizabeth duxisset uxorem.” Cron. Croyl.—“Edward was and stood married, and troth plight to one dame Eleanor Butler, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury, with whom the said king Edward had made a precontract of matrimony long time before he made the pretended marriage with Elizabeth Gray.” Roll of Parliament.—What then does More's information amount to? He informs us that the objection was not devised by Richard, but that it had been agitated previous even to Edward's marriage. Does he disprove it? He substitutes a different female, and on her confession, which must be fictitious, argues against the existence of the marriage. The conclusion is inevitable, that the king's marriage with Eleanor Butler stands authenticated by her mother's attestation, and refuted by no contradictory evidence.

I venerate too much the character of Sir Thomas More, not to attribute, if possible, his mistakes to ignorance; but I am afraid that his narrative discovers in the sequel an intended and artful deviation from the truth. Fabian informs us, that Shaw preached on Sunday, to the disparagement of Edward's children, and *abucion* of the audience; that on Tuesday Buckingham harangued the citizens assembled in Guildhall; and that Richard, assuming on Thursday the regal dignity, was conducted to Westminster and installed as king. Fabian in these particulars could not be mistaken, though he knew not, or neglected to mention a public instrument produced on Thursday at Barnard's-castle, conceived in the name of the lords and commons, containing a recital of Richard's titles, and a supplication for his immediate assumption to the crown. This, the Croyland Chronicle assures us, was the *pretext* and *colour* employed to justify the Protector's usurpation; but Sir Thomas More, in opposition to every historical evidence, has devised a different pretext and colour. Buckingham and the lords of his party, attended by the mayor and aldermen and a multitude of citizens, proceeded on Wednesday to the Protector's residence,

residence, who, affecting to mistrust their intentions, appeared at a gallery to receive their address. Buckingham announced the desire of the people; Richard, after much declamatory dialogue, is persuaded to reign; and the historian concludes with some facetious and pertinent remarks on this scenic exhibition. These circumstances are certainly possible, but they could not have escaped the observation of Fabian. A citizen and a spectator apparently of every public solemnity, he could not have failed to mention the convocation of the citizens in consequence of Buckingham's request on Tuesday, their procession to Barnard's-castle, and their interview with the Protector; transactions of far more pomp and importance than Shaw's sermon at Paul's cross, or Buckingham's speech at Guildhall. The events of Sunday, of Tuesday, and of Thursday, are in Fabian recorded with care; the transactions of Wednesday are represented by the acclamations of a few apprentices, and Buckingham's public request to the citizens to attend him on the morrow. The silence both of Fabian and the monk of Croyland disproves these incidents, and demonstrates that they were interpolated by More to supply the unoccupied interval between Buckingham's harangue on Tuesday, and the supplication presented to Richard on Thursday. His intention is obvious to suppress the real pretext or colour employed to vindicate Richard's accession, and for that purpose he diverts our attention to a different day, and substitutes a different and a false pretext. The supplication, still engrossed in the rolls of parliament, establishes Richard's title on Edward's prior marriage with Eleanor Butler, and the consequent illegitimacy of his offspring by Elizabeth Gray. More, instead of refusing, evades the plea, substitutes Lucy to conceal the marriage of Eleanor Butler, and creates a series of fictitious transactions to suppress the knowledge of Richard's titles, and obscure the proximate cause of his accession to the throne. Lucy, preferred it seems as a daughter by the duchess of York, was, according to More, *nec ignobilis, quam forte virginem rex corripet*. She was the daughter of one Wiat, the wife of one Lucy, obscure persons; and if More was ignorant of her marriage with the latter, (a circumstance preclusive of her contract with Edward) he must have been sensible that neither the Wiats nor the Lucys were then ennobled. His inadvertence has retained a circumstance historically certain. Lord Butler's widow was of noble birth; her father was the earl of Shrewsbury, her mother the former duke of Buckingham's daughter, and her marriage with Edward is still attested by more than

common

common historical evidence. Had the historian maintained instead of controverting the existence of the marriage, our assurance would have depended on his veracity; but his attempt to confute it by the suppression of certain circumstances, and the substitution of others, demonstrates that the fact was incontestible, too strong to be fairly stated, and too stubborn to be openly resisted. His extreme anxiety, his solicitude to convince us that the accusation was calumnious, betrays his knowledge and conviction of its truth. He had explored it to the source, traced it backward to Richard's mother, to the distant period of Edward's marriage. He assures that it was not invented by Richard, and explains it at length, *ut melius cognoscatur quam falsam olim revictam, rejectamque calumniam pretextuit. Ne ignoraretur protector, Edwardi filii natalium vitium objecturus, nihil reperisse quod illius matrimonio objiceret, præter excusam olim et antiquatam calumniam.* Yet this antiquated calumny, so long and so industriously exploded, cannot bear a relation without the most material deviation from truth. His very solicitude to explain, his industrious researches to discover, the truth, are evidence against him. He had discovered its origin at Edward's marriage (1463), and must have understood its application at Richard's accession in 1483. In every particular he suppresses the truth, and but for a casual discovery in the sequel of his history, compared with a passage in the Memoirs of Commynes, the world would have still been ignorant that lady Butler's marriage with Edward was examined in council, that it was supported by the depositions of different witnesses, and established by the testimony of Stillington, the bishop who performed the ceremony.

An historian, with whose philosophical genius the minute details of history were scarcely compatible, has remarked, that the statute declaring the illegitimacy of Edward's children appeared, on Henry's accession and marriage with Elizabeth, too despicable to be reversed by parliament *. Henry's policy in suppressing that statute affords additional proof of Edward's marriage with Eleanor Butler, and an adequate solution of More's intentional perversion of the fact. The Year Book informs us, that the judges, assembled by Henry to consult together on the repeal of the statute, proposed, that it should be "taken off the rolls, annulled, cancelled, destroyed, and burnt," without being rehearsed, its contents divulged, or more than a few words of the preamble recited. The reason

* Hume's Hist. vol. iii. p. 457. note M.

assigned was, that the statute, because it was “false, shameful, and seditious, ought to be put in perpetual oblivion;” for if any part of the specialty of the matter had been rehearsed, then had it remained in remembrance always.” The statute would have been destroyed without the ceremony of being reversed, but an act was necessary to indemnify those to whose custody the rolls were entrusted *. The statute was abrogated therefore in parliament, taken off the rolls and destroyed; and those possessed of copies were directed, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment, to deliver them to the chancellor; “so that all things said or remembered in the bill and act be for ever out of remembrance and forgotten †.” The statute was abrogated without recital, in order to conceal its purport, and obliterate if possible the facts it attested; and a proposal for reading it, that Stillington bishop of Bath might be responsible for its falsehood, was over-ruled and stifled by the king’s immediate declaration of pardon ‡. Its falsehood would have merited and demanded detection, not concealment; and Stillington, whose evidence had formerly established the marriage, was, if perjured, an object of punishment, not of pardon. But why this precaution to efface all knowledge of Edward’s precontract, the pre-

* Tous les justice in l’Exchequer chambre, par le commandement le roi, communerent pour le reversal del’ bil et act, qui bastard les enfans les roi E. IV. et Eliz. sa femme. Et pristeront la direction pour ceo, que le bill et l’act fuit cy, faux et standireux, q’ills ne voill *reherfes le matter ne l’effect de la matre* mes taut selemnit que Ric. fist un faux et seditieux bill, a estre mis a luy, qui commence sic, pleaseh it your highness to consider these articles ensuing, &c. sans pl. rehearsal. And this was the consideration of the justices, that they rehearse no more of the matter, that the matter might be and remain in perpetual oblivion for the falseness and shamefulnes of it. And if any part of the especialty of the matter, &c. Nota icy bien la policy. Nota enseint q’ill ne puissent estre pris hors del record sans act del parlement pour l’indemnité et jeoparddie d’eux q’avoient les records in lour gard.—Year Book, Hilary Term, 1 Hen. 1.

† Ref Parl. 1 Hen. note 18.—But for the Year Book, it would be impossible, from the short recital of the preamble, to discover which of Richard’s acts was reversed by this statute. Hume’s mistake was unavoidable, as he overlooked the Year Book which Carter had quoted.—Vol. ii. p. 824.

‡ Et meme le jour le bill fuit leu en parlement chambre, mes fuit mouve per aucun deux que ser. bon ordre que cestuy qui fist ceo faux bill reformera ceo. et disient que le evesque de B. (Stillington then bishop of Bath and Wells,) fist le bill, et les seigniours vouloient aver luy in le parlement chambre a ver luy respondre a ceo. Et le roy disoit, que il avoit luy pardonner et pour ceo il ne vouloit plus fait a luy; quod nota, constantia regi.. Et quidam episcopi fuerunt contra ipsum.—Year Book, ibid.

text of Richard's usurpation or accession? The suppression of the statute without inquiry into its truth, or explanation of its purport, demonstrates that the recital was dangerous, the fact incontestible; otherwise it is not conceivable that Henry would prohibit an investigation so necessary to vindicate his own accession and his queen's legitimacy, or pardon Stillington, whom he never forgave; and whose negotiations to procure the delivery of Henry, when an exile in Brittany, into Richard's hands, had rendered him so peculiarly obnoxious, that his destruction was effected afterwards, on the false pretext of his having participated in Lincoln's rebellion*. But that which Henry interdicted, the historian †, publishing under his tyrannical auspices, durst not venture to revive or investigate. His danger would have been considerable, had he assigned as the means of Richard's accession, the bill of supplication engrossed in a statute erased from the record, the knowledge of which was intercepted, and the possession even of a copy prohibited as criminal; but his destruction would have been inevitable had he perpetuated a fact which the legislature, obsequious to the deliberations of the judges and the injunctions of Henry, had determined to consign to perpetual oblivion. In concealing Edward's marriage with Eleanor Butler, More co-operated directly with Henry's intentions, and in creating a refutable, fictitious marriage with Elizabeth Lucy, endeavoured to discredit all traditionary remembrance of Richard's title.

I observed that the authorities separately were not satisfactory; collectively they are forcible, perhaps conclusive. Stillington's evidence has been rejected as that of an unprincipled priest, actuated either by servility to Richard, or revenge for the injuries sustained from Edward. We now discover, that at a period long previous to Richard's accession, Edward's mother was apprised of his marriage, and strove ineffectually to preserve him from bigamy; that her information originated either from the injured lady, or from Stillington the priest, who pronounced the ceremony, and in whose hands the contract was deposited; that Edward, whether to recover the contract, or to revenge and punish the disclosure of his secret, disgraced and imprisoned the bishop, nor released him till a severe fine was extorted ‡; that the testimony of the latter thus

* Godwin de Presul. Angl. v. Stillington.

† More's History was written according to Grafton in 1508.

‡ L'evêque de Bath mit en avant à ce duc de Glocestre, qui ledit Edward, étant fort amoureux d'une dame d'Angleterre lui promit de l'espouser,

thus corroborated by Edward's resentment, was with other depositions produced and sustained as satisfactory in council; that it was afterwards recognized in full parliament*; and finally, that it was established incontestibly in the succeeding reign by the tacit confession of Henry, who endeavoured to suppress the fact; and if these historians who, in order to disprove it, converted a regular marriage, solemnized according to the rites of the church, into a supposed pre-contract with a different woman; and attempted, on her fictitious confession, to obviate the existence of a previous marriage. More than that, we obtain the unequivocal testimony of Buckingham; who, on the death of his grandfather at the battle of Northampton, became, at the age of five, a ward of the crown, and according to feudal usage was selected during his minority as an advantageous husband for the queen's sister †. During his early youth, while educated under the tuition of Edward, he was probably ignorant of lady Butler's marriage; but his subsequent confederacy with Richard against his wife's relations, can be attributed only to a keen resentment at the discovery of the injury his cousin had sustained. His interest during the administration of the Woodvilles was equivalent to whatever he could expect with Richard; and unless some secret disgust be admitted, he had no temptation to desert his connections. No rational motive could actuate his conduct, but that conviction which he felt and expressed, and those passions which would prompt a proud and indignant spirit to renounce his interests, and relinquish every political connection, to sacrifice even the lives of his friends, in order to revenge the dishonour of his family. That conviction of which he assures us, when alone presumable as a motive, from the tenor of his conduct, is an indisputable testimony of the truth of the marriage. "Richard," he informs us, "brought in instruments, authentic doctors, authorities of the law, with

P'espouser, pourveu qu'il coucha avec elle, ce que la consentit; et dit l'evesque qu'il les avoit epousez et n'y avoit que lui, et eux deux. En plain parlement, le duc de Glocestre fit degrader les deux filles du dit Edward, et declara bastardes, sous couleur de quelque cas quil preuver par un evesque de Bath in Angleterre qui autrefois avoit un grand credit avec Edward, et puis sa desapointa, et tient en prison, et le rasonne pour un somme d'argent; le quel evesque disoit qu'Edward avoit promis fei de mariage a une dame quil nommoit, et en avoit faits la prommission entre les mains du dit evesque.—Mem. de Commines, vol. i. pp. 437. 497.

* En plein parlement, Commines.

† Dugdale's Baronage.—Buckingham's education was committed by Edward to his sister the duchess of Exeter. 1d.

“deposi-

“ depositions of divers witnesses, testifying Edward’s children
 “ to be bastards ; which depositions then I thought to be *as*
 “ *true* as now I know them to be false and feigned *.” His
 belief is certain ; his subsequent incredulity may be regarded
 as a gratuitous concession to Morton, with whom, in concert-
 ing rebellion, a disavowal of his former conviction was a de-
 cency not to be omitted by historians. Whether he was af-
 terwards disabused of error, or perverted by ambition, may
 be justly questioned, when his deliberate conviction had al-
 ready adjudged the crown to Richard. ‘ When the said de-
 “ positions were before us (lords spiritual and temporal, evi-
 “ dently the council) read, and diligently heard, Richard
 “ stood up, bareheaded, saying, “ Well, my lords, even as
 “ I and you would that my nephews should have no wrong,
 “ so I pray you do me nothing but right ; for these witnesses
 “ and sayings of famous doctors be true, for I am only the
 “ indubitable heir to Richard Plantagenet duke of York, ad-
 “ judged to be the very heir to the crown of this realm by the
 “ authority of parliament.’ Which things, (says Bucking-
 “ ham) so by learned men for verity to us declared, caused
 “ me and others to take him for our lawful and undoubted
 “ prince and sovereign lord †.” I am unwilling unnecessarily
 to criminate human nature ; and as Richard’s conduct, previ-
 ous to his appointment to the protectorate, may receive an
 explication on justifiable motives, I will not presume that, in
 the allegiance sworn to his nephew, he was intentionally per-
 jured ; that he meditated schemes to support his pretensions,
 or was conscious even of his right to the crown. Were con-
 jecture admissible in historical controversy, I would advance,
 as a reasonable supposition, that the duchess of York, a pru-
 dent woman, who had guarded the secret from the inconfide-
 rate Clarence ‡, had concealed it with equal circumspection
 from Richard, nor disclosed it till his return from the north
 after Edward’s death, when his power as protector enabled
 him to vindicate his title, and exclude a bastard race from the
 throne. But whatever was the period at which his ambition
 commenced, his right of succession, as the heir of Richard
 Plantagenet his father, is to me indisputable. Clarence’s issue
 was excluded by attainder, and Edward’s marriage with lady

* Grafton, Hall, in continuation of More.—See in the note above, the
 quotation from Comines.

† Id.

‡ See vol. iii. chap. i. sect. 5.

Butler is established at present by such evidence as it is possible either to obtain or expect, such as would be transmitted through the medium of an hostile faction, always malignant, and ultimately victorious. If the records of the Yorkists have perished with their family, the truth, though suppressed by their enemies, may be still traced in the partial and contradictory narratives of those historians, who, at a subsequent period, disfigured the annals of a short reign, disquieted and unfortunate, but not inglorious.

III. The preceding discussions, as preparatory to our inquiries concerning the young princes confined in the Tower, give us few indications of Richard's character, his historical character, and no assurance whatever of the fate of his nephews. Instead of a perjured traitor, we recognize the legitimate sovereign of England. Instead of a violent usurpation, we discover an accession, irregular to modern usage, but established without violence on a legal title. The crimes imputed to his youth disappear; and in the execution of Rivers, Gray, and Hastings, if the ultimate object was to secure his succession, some intermediate mysterious cause will be suspected by those whose inquiries have taught them to peruse our ancient historians with extreme mistrust †.

Richard,

† The execution of Gray and Rivers may be considered as a just retribution for the murder of Clarence; nor is Richard's morality highly censurable; if he inflicted a just revenge on his brother's murderers, without reversing the attainder of his issue, that established his own succession to the crown. The effect of the attainder was too remote, consequential, and precarious, to involve Richard in a share of the murder; and acquitting him of any participation in that crime, we must allow that, according to the spirit of those times, his revenge was justifiable, prompted at least by a laudable resentment. Hastings's execution is more mysterious. More's information has been considered as traditionary, gleaned from his converse with Richard's contemporaries; but a tradition recorded by Harrington (1596) assigns his history to Morton, (Malone's *Shakespeare*, vol. v. p. 562.) and a Latin History of Richard, composed by that prelate, was preserved in the last century by Roper, a descendant of More, to whom as a favourite pupil the book had devolved. (Buck. apud Kennett, 546.) That such was the source of his information, the substratum on which he constructed his history, is farther confirmed by the English edition, which, extending beyond the period of Richard's accession, comprehends the murder of his nephews, the secret disaffection of Buckingham, and terminates abruptly in the midst of an interesting conversation between the latter and Morton. The conversation is resumed and continued by Hall and Grafton in a manner equally minute and circumstantial, nor apparently less authentic; and as the particulars could only be obtained from Morton, I conclude that they and More had access to the same original information, and attribute the materials of the history in question to Morton, the ornamental and classical varnish to More.

Richard, according to these historians, assuming on the ninth, or the nineteenth of June, the regal dignity, was crowned on the sixth of July, and thereafter began a progress through Gloucester, Warwick, and Coventry, northward to York; during which the young princes were secretly murdered. These events are recorded as passing in rapid succession, as connected together; the execution of Hastings with Richard's accession, the death of the princes with his coronation, and immediate removal from London. The public records correct these dates; the accession took place on the twenty-seventh of June, about a fortnight after the execution of Hastings, and the coronation was celebrated on the sixth of July, in the presence of almost every peer of the realm*. The progress north commenced in the beginning of September, and till that period we are assured that the princes continued alive.

More. This discovery may exculpate More from the imputation of propagating deliberate falsehood. Not a spectator merely, but an actor chiefly instrumental in Richard's destruction: Morton's knowledge and intentional misrepresentation of Edward's marriage and Richard's title bestows additional confirmation on both. The seizure and execution of Hastings, at which he was present, is preceded in his history by dreams and omens, and related with circumstances so ridiculous that they provoke a smile amidst all the tragic declamation of the drama. The Protector, at a council held in the Tower, requested a dish of strawberries from Morton for dinner, retired for an interval, but returning with a countenance expressive of wrath and vengeance, exclaimed of the sorcery practised on his person by the queen, Jean Shore, and Hastings her paramour, and bared his withered arm as a proof of their guilt. The most prominent circumstances are historically certain; a cry of treason was raised without, the Protector's armed attendants on his opening the door rushed into the council, apprehended Hastings, the primate, and Morton; and while the latter were imprisoned, the former were conducted to immediate execution. [Fabian.] But the intermediate circumstances are false and absurd; Jean Shore was the mistress of Dorset, not of Hastings; and, from an original letter of Richard's, was treated certainly with peculiar lenity. (Historical Doubts, p. 118.) But why these dreams and predictions of Hastings's death? Shall we believe that Richard's arm was withered and useless, Richard a warrior, expert at arms? or if secret, that he would expose his dishonour; if notorious, that he would render it the absurd pretext for the murder of his friend? What do these multiplied absurdities amount to? The artificial glare with which the whole is surrounded, generates a suspicion that some treason was detected and punished; a conspiracy in which Morton had participated with Hastings, and was therefore desirous to remove from view.

* Compare Grafton's list of the peers present at the coronation with the lords summoned to parliament in the reigns of Edward, and Henry VII. and it will appear that their number amounted to about thirty-six, of whom thirty-two attended the coronation, and in all probability concurred in presenting the bill of supplication. Henry's first parliament was not attended by half the number—See Parliamentary Hist.

During this expedition associations were formed, and various insurrections projected for their delivery; but when these were matured, and Buckingham proclaimed as the leader of the enterprize, a report prevailed that the princes had suffered a violent death. Such is the concise and barren account of contemporary writers, whose narrations rather attest the existence of the rumour than the truth of the murder, and to whom the manner in which it was perpetrated was then unknown. Succeeding historians have adopted that which, among different traditionary stories, appeared the most probable to Sir Thomas More. Richard, during his progress, prefiging danger from the lives of his nephews, dispatched an attendant from Gloucester with orders to Brakenbury for their immediate death. Brakenbury resisted the dishonest proposal, and Green the messenger returned with his refusal to Richard at Warwick, who complaining to a page that his commands were unexecuted, was directed to Sir James Tyrell (then asleep with his brother in the next apartment) as an aspiring man, depressed by Ratcliffe, and likely to perpetrate whatever was enjoined. Tyrell accordingly was commissioned next morning to receive for a single night the keys and the command of the Tower from Brakenbury, and repairing to London employed Dighton and Forest to stifle the princes while asleep at midnight. The bodies were buried at the bottom of the staircase, but were afterwards removed by the chaplain; and Tyrell, having performed his commission, hastened back to Richard, by whom he was knighted, much honoured, and highly rewarded.

It has been observed with truth, that these circumstances are improbable, and partly false; that Richard, before his departure from London, would have sounded Brakenbury in devising the murder; nor would such a proposal be entrusted either to a letter, or to verbal credentials; that Richard would not have communicated his disappointment so freely; nor was Tyrell, already knighted and master of the horse, in a situation to be either depressed by Ratcliffe, or recommended to the king's notice by a nameless page; and finally, that Brakenbury on his refusal would not have been superseded for the palpable purpose of murder, nor again entrusted with the command of the Tower*.

But the story is not destitute of evidence, the confession of the assassins to be noticed in the sequel, and the accidental

* Walpole's Hist. Doubts, p. 53.

discovery in the last century of bones correspondent in size to those of the princes buried in the Tower under the rubbish of a ruinous staircase. They were found, it is said, in a chest or coffin at the depth of ten feet, in rebuilding a staircase conducting from the king's lodgings to the chapel in the White Tower, and were deposited as the remains of the princes by Charles II. in Westminster Abbey*. Their identity has been inferred from their size and irregular interment, indicating, as the ground was not consecrated, a secret murder; from the coincidence of the place with historical description, and from the presumption that no children unconnected with the crown were exposed in the Tower to a violent death†. To me the inference appeared at first to be strong and conclusive; but there are difficulties not to be surmounted or obviated:—

1. The coincidence of place is extremely doubtful. The princes, according to a tradition preserved in the Tower, were lodged in a building near the Water-gate, and Tyrell, as we are informed, remained till the murder was finished at the bottom of the staircase, beneath which he interred their bodies‡. They were buried therefore under the stairs of their lodging; but Henry, to whom the assassins disclosed the place, sought ineffectually to discover the bodies, and concluded at last that the chaplain, who was then dead, had removed them elsewhere. Their bodies therefore must have been transferred from the staircase of their lodging to that of the chapel; and those who were present at the discovery and inspected the bones, admitted that they were found not in the place where Tyrell had deposited, but where the priest had removed them§. That place was unknown, its coincidence with the situation of the bodies is conjectural, nor is it probable that a staircase should be twice selected to conceal their remains; but it is certain that the chaplain, when directed by Richard to remove their bodies to a place less unsuitable to the sons of a king, would have given them a regular interment in consecrated ground.—
2. The identity of the bones is uncertain. The

* Sandford's Genealog. Hist.

† Hume's Hist. vol. iii. p. 459. note M.

‡ Bacon, p. 608. The place where the princes were confined has been denominated the Bloody Tower.

§ See Sandford's Genealogical History, where, on the authority of the king's surgeon, who was present at the discovery, the place where the bones were found, is explicitly marked, and admitted to be different from the place where Tyrell interred them. Whoever examines the situation of the chapel, and its distance from the staircase, still shewn in the Bloody Tower, must be convinced that the bones were not discovered where Tyrell was said to have buried the bodies.

Tower was both a palace and a state prison, the receptacle of Lallards, heretics, and criminals, within which those who died by disease or violence were always buried: the discovery therefore of bones is neither surprising nor, perhaps, uncommon; but we must guard against the extreme credulity perceptible in the officers, who, persuaded that the princes were secretly interred in the Tower, appropriated every skeleton to them. Bones found at a former period in a deserted turret were regarded as the remains of one of the princes; though some entertained a ludicrous suspicion that they belonged to an old ape who had clambered thither and perished*. As to the bones in question, we are merely informed that their size corresponded with the age of the princes; and without assurance of the time at which, from the state of the bones, they were probably interred, we are required to believe, that during a period of two centuries they remained unconsumed, and the chest in which they were deposited entire. We know not whether the situation indicated a secret murder by an irregular interment in unconsecrated ground; they were buried beneath the staircase of a consecrated chapel in ground which, previous to the erection of the staircase, had perhaps been consecrated as a place of interment; they were buried ten feet beneath the surface, a depth to which the murderers had no leisure, the priest no occasion, to penetrate; his business was to inter them decently, not to conceal them; and on the supposition of their removal to consecrated ground, who can distinguish their remains from others? But the depth of a grave on the outside of a chapel indicates people that had died of the pestilence, and were buried precipitately in the same coffin without the church, and at such a distance from the surface as to prevent the danger or the dread of contagion. I know not that children of royal blood were alone exposed in the Tower to a violent death; but the discovery of a skeleton in the ruins of the Bastile would have been no proof that the man in the iron mask was assassinated†.

There is another objection to More's relation, if established, absolutely preclusive of the fact. A singular, and, for Richard's memory, a providential concurrence of circumstan-

* *Buck. p. 552*

† When the identity of place is removed, it is obvious that the presumption arising from the size of the bones is slight in itself, and obviated both by the discovery of similar bones at a former period, and the certainty that private murders were not uncommon, and interments frequent and customary in the Tower. Arthur Lord Lisle, the brother of these princes, was buried, with many others, in the Tower.

ces enables us to ascertain the duration, and to trace the particular stages of that progress, in the course of which the supposed destruction of his nephews was planned and accomplished. He was at Westminster on Sunday the thirty-first of August, where he ratified a league with the king of Castile, and at York on the seventh of September, the day preceding his second coronation *. Windsor, Oxford, and Gloucester, are specified as the three first stages of his journey; and he seems to have carried the queen to Windsor with the Spanish ambassadors, on Monday the first of September, and leaving them there, to have proceeded on Tuesday to Oxford, where at the requisition of the University, he released Morton, it is said, from the Tower. At Woodstock, which he probably reached that evening, the popular clamour induced him to disafforest an extensive circuit, annexed by his brother to Whichwood forest †; and at Gloucester, whither he arrived on the morrow, he honoured his ducal city by the creation or appointment of a mayor and sheriffs. These circumstances postpone his arrival in Gloucester till Wednesday the third, and he must have resumed his journey on Thursday, in order to accomplish it within the period limited. Passing through Worcester, he was rejoined at Warwick on Thursday by the queen and the Spanish ambassadors from Windsor; and proceeding through Coventry and Leicester, he arrived on Friday at Nottingham, on Saturday at Pontefract, and on Sunday at York. With the train and impediments of a court, which limited the daily progress to fifty miles, the time allotted, of which the two first days were expended necessarily at Windsor and Oxford, was barely sufficient for performing the journey. Green then, if dispatched from Gloucester, or on the road

* Rymer, vol. xii.

† Rous, p. 216. Chr. Croyl. More. The different stages of the progress are to be discovered by an inspection of these writers; the duration of it is ascertained by Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. There is a letter, however, in Drake's *Eboracum*, from John Kendal, Richard's secretary, to the mayor of York, dated at Nottingham the 23d of August, (without any year,) informing the mayor, that the court had been worshipfully received throughout the progress, and desiring pageants to be prepared for their reception at York, p. 117. Ex lib. Chart. in Cust. Com. Ebor. Were the date certain, the letter could not invalidate the authority of the records published by Rymer; but it was written undoubtedly in the ensuing year, and dated, as I suspect, on the 23d of September, on which day Richard was certainly at Nottingham, Rym. vol. xii. Drake apprehending that it was written previous to the coronation in the former year, and knowing that the progress was over, and that Richard was not at Nottingham on the 23d of September, altered, as I imagine, the date to August.

thither, had no time to return to London on Wednesday, execute his commission to Brakenbury, and rejoin Richard on Thursday at Warwick; a journey upwards of two hundred miles, before the establishment of regular posts. Tyrell, commissioned to supersede Brakenbury, departed early on Friday from Warwick; yet we are assured that, returning after the execution of his orders, he overtook the king previous to his arrival on Sunday at York. The wardrobe roll, in which were inserted as an article of expenditure, robes provided for Edward, affords no presumption, as was once suspected, that the young prince walked in procession at his uncle's coronation; but its information is otherwise material, that previous to the progress northward, Sir James Tyrell, knighted during the former reign, was master of the horse, and in that capacity received considerable deliveries from the wardrobe, to be employed in the approaching coronation at York*.

The presumption thence arising of his attendance at the coronation is confirmed by More's narrative of his hastening after the murder to Richard, who received him with marked approbation and honour, circulated a report of the death of his nephews, and *then* prosecuted his journey to York. Tyrell therefore was present, and officiated at the coronation as master of the horse. The dates are insurmountable, authenticated by public instruments; they reduce this strange transaction to three days; and we are required to believe, that Tyrell, who, dispatched from Warwick on Friday, could not arrive at the Tower till Saturday, nor perpetrate the murder till midnight, departed from London on Sunday morning, and rejoined the king on the road previous to his arrival that evening at York. We are required to believe, that two consecutive journeys of five hundred miles were performed by Green and Tyrell in four days, and these with the interruption of two nights and the day preparatory and previous to the murder. Such journeys, with our modern roads and relays of horses, may be practicable at present; but when I review the particulars and consider the period, I conclude without hesitation, that the fact related by More is impossible: he knew not, it is evident, that the progress was strictly limited to seven days; but finding the month of August unoccupied, appropriated that period to

* See Mill's account of the wardrobe roll in the *Archæologia*, vol. i. from which it appears that the wardrobe-keeper had taken the opportunity of charging, in the disbursements for Richard's coronation, the robes formerly provided for the Lord Edward. See also *Hist. Doubts*, p. 65.

Richard's progress; and Sir James Tyrell's adventures prolonged the stay of the former at Gloucester, Warwick, and other cities, till the latter rejoined him, and about the end of August conducted them both to York before the departure of either from London. The time assumed was requisite for the various transactions recorded; restricted to the short space of a week, it demonstrates that these are fictitious; that Richard could not be overtaken on Thursday at Warwick by a messenger sent on Wednesday from Gloucester to the Tower of London; and that Tyrell, dispatched thither on Friday, and employed on Saturday in selecting instruments, removing the keepers, and making other arrangements preparatory to the murder, could not possibly perpetrate the fact, rejoin Richard, and reach York, in the space of a day*.

The murder, however, is still possible, as the credit of contemporary writers remains unimpaired; and of these, as the most credulous and prejudiced, Rous shall be first examined, and dismissed for ever: " Gloucester obtained, or rather invented, the title of Protector, to promote himself, and disinherit king Edward, who, with his brother, was imprisoned so closely, that the particular death by which they were martyred (*qua morte martyrizati sunt*) was known to few. The throne of the murdered kings was then usurped by their protector, Richard the tyrant, who had remained two years in his mother's womb, and at Fotheringay, on the feast of eleven thousand virgins, was born with long hair, and his teeth complete: at his nativity the Scorpion was ascendant, a sign in the house of Mars; and as the Scorpion's aspect is bland and *fawning*, its sting mortal, such was Richard, who received his master Edward with kisses and *fawning* caresses, and in three months murdered him and his brother, poisoned his own wife, and what was most detestable both to God and the English nation, slew the sanctified Henry VI.†" The historian who deduces Richard's crimes from a calculation of his nativity, may attest the popular belief and rumour; but his private information must rest, where he has placed it, on the authority of the stars.

The princes, according to Fabian, were, on Richard's accession, " put under sure keeping in the Tower, in such wise

* Carte was the first that discovered this argument: but a typographical error in the dates rendered it, as explained in his history, absolutely unintelligible.

† Rous, p. 214.

“ as they never came abroad ;” and afterwards “ the common fame ran, that king Richard had put them unto secret death; for the which and other causes had within the breast of the duke of Buckingham, the said duke conspired against him.” Remanserunt Edwardi filii sub certa deputata custodia infra turrim, pro quorum liberatione, exceperunt populi australes et occidentales plurimum submurmurare, inire cœtus et conventiuncula, maximeque hic qui per franchiseas et sanctuaria dispersi sunt. Cumque tandem populus ad ulciscendum considerationes iniret, factis publicis proclamationibus, quod dux Buckinghamie facti poenitens capitaneus in hac re principalis exillerit, *vulgatum est dictos Edwardi filios, que generi violenti interitus ignoraretur, decesse in fata**.” Such is the authentic information derived from contemporaries, expressive only of the prevailing opinion ; yet of an opinion supposed to be corroborated by the repentant conviction of Buckingham, the belief of the insurgents, and the positive testimony of those Yorkists who joined the Lancastrians, and promoted Richmond to the throne of England.

Perhaps there is too much refinement in supposing, that for different purposes a similar report was propagated both by Richard and Buckingham ; by Richard, to persuade the people that the *death* of his nephews rendered him indisputably their sovereign ; by Buckingham, to convince them that the *murder* of the princes required and justified *his* resistance, the degradation of the tyrant, and the elevation of a new line to the throne. We are informed by More, that Richard circulated the first report of the death of his nephews, an improbable circumstance on the supposition of their murder ; but we are assured by the monk of Croyland, that the rumour prevailed not till the insurgents were prepared for revolt, not till Buckingham was proclaimed their leader†. Such an opportune report, diverting their attention from the young princes whom they had confederated to rescue, to the exiled Richmond, generates a suspicion that it was disseminated purposely by Buckingham and Morton, and afterwards preposterously attributed to Richard. Their motives hitherto have never been examined. Buckingham’s family had been keen Lancastrians ; his father perished at the battle of St. Alban’s, his grandfather at that of Northampton ; and Morton, a Lancastrian also, had been faithful to Henry VI. in his lowest fortune. Buckingham’s defection has been variously ascribed to resentment or

* Page 567—8.

† Supra.

penitence; resentment at the refusal of deserved rewards, and repentance of his treachery to Edward's children. Every reward that could ensure a friend or attach a subject had been accumulated on him; and it is not credible that a repentant humour would induce him for Richmond's benefit to endanger himself or dissolve the government he had recently constructed. A political character is seldom accessible to penitence, unless it be profitable. Resentment at Edward's offspring had connected him with Richard; from whom, as no cause of quarrel existed, ambition alone could detach him afterwards. His motive may be discovered from his conversations with Morton, an artful intermixture of truth and falsehood*. Morton, a prisoner at Brecknock, remarking Buckingham's secret disaffection, proposed that he should dethrone the tyrant Richard; and if averse to the cares and disquiet of a crown, bestow it on the princess Elizabeth, or reinstate the royal lineage of Lancaster. Buckingham replied, that at Gloucester, when informed of the murder of the princes, (a murder not then perpetrated,) he forsook the court with detestation and horror; and ruminating during his journey on the destruction of the tyrant, recollected for the first time that himself, the descendant and representative of John of Gaunt, possessed an indubitable title to the crown. An interview with Margaret countess of Richmond destroyed these visions, by reminding him that they were sprung from two brothers, dukes of Somerset, and lineal descendants of John of Gaunt; but that as her father was the elder brother, her son's was therefore the preferable title. But he could not be ignorant that the Beauforts, dukes of Somerset, though descended from John of Gaunt, were the produce of an adulterous connection with Catherine Swineford; and when legitimated by parliament, were excluded expressly from succession to the crown. He must have remembered his own descent from Anne, daughter and heiress of Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III. and younger brother of Edmond of Langley and John of Gaunt, progenitors of the York, and Lancastrian families; and recollected (for he bore the arms of Woodstock) that such descent afforded a title inferior only to Richard's, and superior to any pretensions of his or Richmond's, as the spurious

† See More, Hall, and Grafton's continuation of this curious conversation; the particulars of which, as they were derived from Morton himself, serve to elucidate much of the obscurity attending Richard's accession.

descendants of John of Gaunt *. The fact is, that Richmond never avowed his pretensions till the field of Bosworth decided his right. Individually his power was unequal to a contest with Buckingham, whose Lancastrian title, however defective, was sufficient to conciliate the Lancastrian interest; and whose ambition, had his rebellion prospered, would have induced him assuredly to retain and wear, not to resign to Richmond, the crown he had conquered; and to fortify his doubtful title, by an union with the Yorkists, the intermarriage of his son with the princess Elizabeth. Whatever were the secret motives of Morton and others, *his* propinquity to the crown, and the probable issue of his conduct if successful, indicates an ambition aspiring to royalty, and productive of rebellions, in which repentance had no share. The murder therefore of the young princes is not authenticated by his revolt, since we cannot conclude from his conduct that his motive was to avenge their death. On the contrary, a report propagated on the eve of a general insurrection, excites a suspicion that it was devised to render the insurrection popular, to justify the proposed degradation of Richard, and the transference of the crown to a different family.

But the report is confirmed by the contemporary evidence, that of the chief partisans of York; who, persuaded of the murder, concurred with the Lancastrians in supporting Richmond, and promoting the union of the rival roses†. The argument is specious, not satisfactory; for those enumerated as the principal Yorkists were either Lancastrians, or connected by birth or affinity with Buckingham and Richmond. The Courtneys were Lancastrians, and steadfast adherents of Henry VI.; the earl of Devon was enriched by the forfeiture of the duke of York; his son was attainted by Edward, and afterwards slain, fighting for the Lancastrians, at the battle of Tewksbury; and his family supported the insurrection of Buckingham. The Talbots were Lancastrians, and obtained their share in the rich confiscations of the duke of York; the earl of Shrewsbury and Christopher his brother fell at Northampton; and Sir Gilbert Talbot, a surviving brother, brought a large accession of strength to the standard of Richmond. The Stanleys were properly Yorkists; but lord Stanley's marriage with Richmond's mother, which rendered his fidelity sus-

* Sandford's Gen. Hist. Dugdale's Baronage.

† Hume's Hist. vol. iii. p. 456. A strong proof of Hume's inattention to the *minutiae* of history is, that those whom he enumerates as the principal Yorkists were all Lancastrians, the Stanleys excepted.

picious, occasioned his subsequent defection from Richard. The Blounts were Yorkists; but lord Mountjoy and Sir James* his brother were connected both with Buckingham and Richmond; their mother was the dowager duchess of Buckingham; Henry Stafford their uterine brother was the countess of Richmond's second husband; and the execution of Buckingham their nephew attached them necessarily to Richmond's interest. If the Berkleys were Yorkists, we discover in their accession to Buckingham's conspiracy their dissatisfaction at the recent elevation of the Howards, descended with them from the daughters of Thomas first duke of Norfolk, and earl marshal of England; but as their mother was the eldest daughter, the revival of these honours in the Howard family was probably resented as injurious to theirs †. Bouchier's and Hungerford's fathers were Lancastrians; Willoughby, Cheney, Dawbeny, Arundel, and others, were either soldiers of desperate fortune, or private gentlemen whose political connections no researches can now discover. Sir Thomas St. Leger is marked as a partisan of the house of York, on account of his marriage with the duchess of Exeter, Richard's sister; but the duchess died in the former reign; and as her first husband was a devoted Lancastrian, we have no assurance that the second was a Yorkist. The conspiracy for which he suffered was concerted to rescue and restore the princes, and its formation preceded the report of their death ‡. Those partisans, whose desertion of Richard can be rendered a presumptive attestation of the murder, are therefore reduced to the Grays and Woodvilles, the queen's relations; and as these were originally Lancastrian families, I cannot discover that Richmond's accession was ef-

* Who betrayed the castle of Haras to Richmond.

† The title of Norfolk had been bestowed before-hand by Edward on his second son Richard duke of York, whom he betrothed and intended to marry to the infant daughter and heiress of Mowbrey, the last duke.—It was suggested, I find, by a learned prelate, in his correspondence with the late Dr. Henry, that Richard would not have offered, nor would Howard have accepted, the title, unless it was vacant; and as there was no forfeiture, there is reason to presume that the title was vacated by the duke of York's death. The argument is the less conclusive, as Howard's creation took place on the 28th June, 1483, when the duke of York was certainly not understood to be dead. The interests of a boy might have been disregarded, or the revival of the title in his person considered as irregular, injurious to the claims of the Howards, descendants of the first duke. But the duke of York, as far as history can ascertain, was certainly alive on the 8th of September following.

‡ See Dugdale's Baronage, under the names of the respective families enumerated in the text.

fectad,

fectcd, as historians have imagined, by a previous coalition with the principal Yorkists †.

- The queen's friends, whose attachment to the house of York depended solely on their alliance with Edward, projected, for the restitution of his children, those insurrections to which Buckingham, Morton, and the Lancastrians acceded. The report of the murder dissolving their recent connection with the Yorkists, renewed their former attachment to Lancaster; and I must conclude that they acted on a firm persuasion and belief of the fact, when they transferred their interest gratuitously to Richmond, concurred in his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, and for his benefit persisted in those insurrections that were first concerted to rescue Edward V. from prison. Their evidence resolves however into mere opinion, their belief of a dark and secret transaction, to the truth of which they had no certain access: it is diminished by the frequent fluctuations, and destroyed by the apparent contradiction, of their subsequent conduct. The queen, on assurance of safety, forsook the sanctuary, and resorted with her daughter to Richard's court: his proposals for marriage proved so acceptable to the princess Elizabeth, that she seems to have languished with impatience for the nuptials ‡; and the marquis of Dorset endeavoured, by the queen his mother's directions, to escape from Richmond, by whom he was intercepted, and detained in custody, during the subsequent invasion, at Paris. Either their former persuasion was much altered, or the mother had forgotten or pardoned the murderer of her sons, and the daughter was desirous of embracing a husband, polluted with the recent blood of her brothers. Adopting their conduct as the rule of evidence, we must conclude from Buckingham's insurrection, when their interest was certainly exerted for Richmond, that they were actuated then by the report of the murder, and their own internal conviction of its truth; but we must also conclude from the same rule, that Richard was afterwards enabled to establish his innocence, to convince the queen that her children survived, or at least that their death was casual, not accelerated by his interference. If he was serious in his proposals to marry Elizabeth, his intention was not to strengthen his title, (her illegitimacy precluded that) but to frustrate an hostile connection with Richmond.

† In the historians of the period there is no trace of such a previous union of the Lancastrians and Yorkists.

‡ Buck quotes a letter of hers to the duke of Norfolk, preserved in the earl of Arundel's library, and expressive of extreme impatience for the marriage.

The circumstances now ascertained are, the existence of the princes on the eighth of September, a conspiracy for their restoration, to which Buckingham and the principal Lancastrians acceded, a report of their murder, and the concurrence and temporary resolution of their kindred to transfer the succession to a different family. Two contradictory conclusions are deducible: 1. That Richard, to counteract the object of an alarming conspiracy, extinguished the male issue of Edward his brother: 2. That the report of the murder, originating with Buckingham and Morton and the chief Lancastrians, was calculated to deceive; to conciliate the insurgents to their private measures; and that it afterwards passed uncontradicted by Richard, as the probable means of uniting the divided adherents of York. Were the evidence to terminate here, the last conclusion would be properly rejected; the disappearance of the princes, succeeded by a report and belief of their murder, would constitute a satisfactory proof that their death was violent. But the evidence extends to a subsequent period; and as the re-appearance of one of the princes would render the murder of his brother extremely improbable, the conclusion must be suspended till we ascertain the character of him who, personating the duke of York, has in history been hitherto denominated Perkin Warbeck.

IV. It is singular, and perhaps peculiar to Henry's fortune, that his success was promoted, and his acquisition of the crown effected, by a persuasion of the death or murder of the young princes; and that his reign was disquieted afterwards by the prevailing opinion of their having either escaped the cruelty, or survived by the clemency, of their unfortunate uncle. Cardinal Bourchier expressed his apprehension of the queen's intention to remove the youngest beyond the realm; and early in Richard's reign a conspiracy for conveying them both was detected and punished*. Another design for the escape of one of their sisters, in disguise, from sanctuary, was discovered during the progress to York†; and scarcely was Henry established on his throne, when a report was diffused, and generally credited, that the sons of Edward IV. had been conveyed secretly away, and were still alive, concealed by their obscurity in some distant region‡. Whether the rumour was coeval with Henry's reign,

* More. Stowe, Ric. III.

† Chron. Croyl.

‡ 'The deaths and final fortunes of the two young princes have nevertheless so far come in question, that some remained long in doubt whether they were in Richard's days destroyed or no.—In vulgus fama valeret, filios

reign, or propagated that Lambert Simnel might personate the duke of York, (the character assumed by that juvenile impostor) was determined by a subsequent report of Warwick's murder, not, as historians have misconceived, of his escape from the Tower. Surmises of secret violence to state prisoners were not peculiar to Richard's reign; and but for Lambert's imposture, that rendered the public exhibition of Warwick necessary, *his* death or existence might have remained as mysterious at present as that of his unfortunate cousins; concerning whom reports are so various, and whose fate historians are so solicitous to discover*.

On the appearance of Lambert, when the earl of Lincoln departed to solicit assistance from the duchess of Burgundy, Henry, after much deliberation in council, seized the queen dowager's person, confiscated her estates, and confined her for life in a solitary cloister. The pretext was, her having departed from sanctuary, and entrusted her daughter to Richard's care; a false pretext, adopted obviously to conceal a more secret, and in Henry's eyes a more criminal, transaction. Either she connived with Lincoln in Lambert's imposture, or possessed some dangerous political secret, dangerous to the future stability of Henry's government; and when the preceding report of her son's escape is combined with the subsequent appearance of Warbeck, that she was imprisoned in consequence of such a report; estranged from all correspondence with the world, to prevent her testimony in the event of her son's existence from transpiring; stripped of her wealth, to intercept any secret resources from him; is a conclusion more probable than this, that, convinced of the death

"filios Edwardi regis, aliquo terrarum secreto migrasse, atque ibi superstitesse." Pol. Virg. p. 569 — "Neither wanted there even at this time" (Henry's accession) "secret rumours and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength, and turned to great trouble, that the two young sons of king Edward IV. or one of them, (which were said to be destroyed in the Tower.) were not indeed murdered, but were conveyed secretly away, and were yet living. And all this time it was still whispered every where that at least one of the children was living." Bacon, p. 4. See Hall.

* "Fama valeret Edwardum Varvici comitem, vel necatum, vel breviter necandum. Haud ita multo post, fama passim dissipavit in carcere interisse." Pol. Virg. p. 69. — This material fact, perverted by Hall and Grafton, from their tenderness to Henry, has strangely escaped the notice of our recent historians, who have all supposed the imposture founded on the report of Warwick's escape: such imposture was superfluous if the escape was true, and liable to immediate detection if his person remained in Henry's custody. We see that Henry was defamed in much the same manner as Richard; but who will assure me that, had Warwick never been exhibited, his execution would have been public, or that his murder would not have been attributed to Richard.

of her sons, yet dissatisfied with Henry, she engaged in a conspiracy, and promoted an imposture, for the purpose of transferring the crown from the queen her daughter, and prince Arthur her grandson, to Lincoln, Richard's nephew, formerly declared his presumptive heir. Let historians, who ascribe such conduct to habitual intrigue and the desire of power, beware of indulging in wanton conjectures. If she had no son to succeed to the throne, she had no power to expect from the promotion of Richard's heir, or Warwick, Clarence's issue, not less hateful to her than Lincoln. The report then that occasioned her imprisonment, demonstrates the probability, as it discloses Henry's apprehensions, that one at least of her sons existed; and as it was preceded by repeated attempts for their rescue, it is to be verified or refuted by an investigation of Perkin Warbeck's pretensions and character.

Historical notices concerning this personage are slight and unsatisfactory, transmitted either by Henry, or by writers who discover a rancorous prejudice against his rival. Warbeck's first appearance was in Ireland, whence he was invited by ambassadors to France; and on the peace of Estaples, he repaired to Flanders, it is said, and obtained the protection of the duchess of Burgundy, was received as her nephew the duke of York, the descendant of Edward IV. her brother. The imposture originated, as is generally asserted, in her inveterate hatred of the Lancastrian party; for the depression of which, she circulated rumours of her nephew's escape from the tyranny of Richard, her brother; and after a search for years, discovered a youth of obscure birth, qualified to personate the youngest of the princes, of the same age, handsome and elegant in his person and appearance, with a crafty head and bewitching address, so subtle and cunning, that it was impossible in conversation to detect his falsehood; such a wanderer, that it was difficult to trace his origin, or discover his adventures; an expert linguist, to whom the English was familiar as his vernacular language; a Jew by birth, yet so similar in every feature to him whom he personated, that the resemblance could only be solved by the supposition of his being an illegitimate descendant from the same father. This *mercurial* the duchess secretly retained at court, instructed him in her cabinet to assume the demeanor and state of a prince, without departing from a modest sense of his own misfortunes; informed him of every circumstance relative to the character he was intended to personate; described minutely the persons and features of the king and queen his pretended parents, their son prince Edward, their five daughters, and those who had formerly attended the
duke

duke of York; devised a *smooth and likely tale* of his brother's death, and his own escape; and concluded her instructions by teaching him to evade, when interrogated, such captious questions as might tend to detection. When properly tutored, and inspired by the duchess with unbounded ambition, he was sent with an English lady* to Portugal, and afterwards emerged from obscurity in Ireland, assumed the character of the duke of York, and attracted the notice, and acquired the esteem and friendship, of different princes. At Paris, an hundred English gentlemen, who resorted to him, were convinced of his birth, and embraced his interest; his behaviour was princely, and supported uniformly with such propriety, that all ranks, persuaded of his title, regarded him as Richard duke of York: the counterfeited was practised so long, that it became habitual; it deceived himself, from a liar, to become a believer, and was almost converted into the identical character which he was employed to exhibit †. Of his relation, our author justly observes, that it is too laboured and artificial to be strictly true; that particulars extremely improbable, and of a nature too secret for the historian to discover, are asserted positively without proof; and that it is "more like a tale contrived to solve appearances, than like genuine history, supported by proper evidence ‡."

Its purport is to discredit the public declarations of an aunt, on whose testimony the existence and identity of her nephew would otherwise be established; and its credit therefore depends on the character and probable motives of the duchess of Burgundy, whether her character can warrant the imputation, and what motives could suggest the contrivance of so vile an imposture. Margaret was the sister of Richard, the widow of Charles the Hardy, the tutelage of whose grandchildren, the Flemings, ever jealous of their liberties, transferred, on the death of his daughter, (the offspring of a former marriage) from Maximilian their father to Margaret's care. Her execution of this maternal trust, as described by an historian partial to Henry, will explain her character. "*Hos liberos materno amplexa amore, mira charitate, nutriebat, accipiebat, fovebat, studiose que rebus domesticis operam tribuebat, quæ ejusmodi officiis magnam apud Flandres sibi auctoritatem compararet §.*" Such affectionate and prudent conduct indicates

* Lady Brampton; yet her evidence was never produced.

† Bacon, p. 607. *Credunt simul quæ fingunt*, had belonged, I thought, to religious impostors.

‡ Bacon, ch. i. sect. 1.

§ Polydore Virgil, p. 570.

those mild and beneficent virtues that conciliated the esteem and respect of the untractable Flemings, not that character addicted to intrigue and prone to mischief which might be suspected of dangerous and dark machinations. An imputation so inconsistent with her general character derives no presumption from her former conduct. Lambert Simnel she never acknowledged, nor supported otherwise than by furnishing Lincoln her nephew, once the presumptive heir of the English crown, with troops to render his pretensions effectual. Whatever was the secret object of that insurrection, the imposture was certainly concerted without her participation; her assistance was solicited by Lincoln alone, and granted, on every hypothesis, to support a nephew*, not Lambert, a boy removeable at Lincoln's pleasure: but on Warbeck's appearance, when Lincoln had perished, and Warbeck's life was at Henry's disposal, there was no prince of the house of York whose accession such an imposture could promote. Warbeck's reward, in the event of his success, was the crown of England; and on the supposition of his imposture, Margaret, for the purpose of supplanting Henry, must have selected a vagabond of a detested race to personate the heir, and maintain the honour, of her illustrious family, to acquire and transmit to his own descendants, that crown which, in her opinion, was the exclusive patrimony of the house of York. Whatever were her prejudices or antipathy to Henry, the conduct imputed to her involves "such perverseness, wickedness, and malice, as is scarcely credible†;" more than that, its absurdity would have defeated her own intentions. She hated Henry, because he depressed her family, and communicated no share of his splendor or power to her niece, his wife; therefore she labours, by every detestable artifice, to transfer the crown from her niece the descendant of the house of York, to the obscure son of a converted Jew. Conclusions so preposterous must be rejected, and Margaret's acknowledgment received as evidence of an unsuspicious nature, confirming the preceding report of her nephew's existence, and attesting his identity with Perkin Warbeck.

* Either Lincoln, or Richard duke of York, (Warwick then was supposed to be murdered,) but most probably the latter. Lincoln, connected with the Plantagenets by the female line, found, when he employed Lambert to personate Warwick, that he could not claim in his own person; and the pageant could have been removed afterwards with a bad grace, unless by the superior right of the duke of York.

† Supra, ch. i. sec. 1.

There is some difficulty, perhaps, on the disappearance of the duke of York at the age of nine, his re-appearance at manhood, and obscurity during the intermediate period. The difficulty is thus obviated: He was either conveyed from the Tower by the intervention of some of his mother's friends, or committed by Richard to the care of Margaret, to be educated abroad in a manner correspondent to the mediocrity of his future fortune. On these suppositions Margaret's court was the last place to which he could have fled for refuge while Richard was alive, or where he could have obtained public protection when Richard was dead. Flanders then was a scene of distraction; its cities had revolted against Maximilian; the inhabitants were dependent on England for a lucrative commerce; and had Margaret produced her nephew in public, no protection could have been obtained from a feeble government, or expected from a people averse to every altercation that might terminate in an interruption of their trade with England. The facility with which Henry, by a short suspension of commerce, procured the expulsion of Warbeck from Flanders, affords a satisfactory reason for his obscurity during his early youth, if entrusted by Richard or others to Margaret's care: if conveyed abroad, as his manifesto seems to insinuate, by his mother's assistance, he must have effected his escape during Richard's life, or after his death at the battle of Bosworth, when Brackenbury the lieutenant was slain, and before Willoughby with the unfortunate Warwick had arrived at the Tower. On the first supposition, a boy, entrusted probably to some faithful domestic, and too young to be proposed as a popular leader, had no friendly potentate to receive him on the Continent. Margaret of Burgundy might have restored him to Richard her brother; the courts of France and Britain, were pre-occupied by Richmond, who, as a Lancastrian, was hostile to every male of the house of York, and whose influence was such, that he detained the marquis of Dorset at Paris in an honourable custody*. Silence and concealment were therefore necessary; but if on the other, and to me the more probable, supposition, his escape was effected after his uncle's death, and during the flight or confusion of those officers to whom the Tower was entrusted, concealment and silence were still more requisite. His mother was in London, and must have been sensible, that when Henry, at the head of a victorious army, assumed the crown, there was no resource but im-

* Hall, p. 26.

mediate flight, no protection but profound obscurity, to preserve her son from perpetual confinement. Assuredly, had Henry, who disregarded his sister's pretensions, secured his person, Warwick's portion must have been his; and as they were involved in the same ignominious death, they must have shared for life in the same oblivious gloom of a dungeon. Whatever was the fate of his elder brother, whether he died in confinement, or escaped to the Continent, I will not presume that he perished by Richard's orders, when I find the existence of the youngest attested by the common report of the age, the public unsuspicious declarations of his aunt, and Henry's severity, otherwise unaccountable, to the queen his mother.

It was incumbent on Henry, if desirous to vindicate his own title, to discredit the duchess of Burgundy's evidence, and to ascertain in the most unequivocal manner the supposed murder of the duke of York, and the pretended origin of Perkin Warbeck: either would have sufficed to detect the imposture; but Warbeck's identity with the duke of York is, by a strange fatality, best authenticated by Henry's narrative of the obscure birth of the one, and his measures to discover the murder of the other. There were three circumstances in Warbeck's history, for which a particular explanation was requisite—a visible and strong resemblance of the duke of York, a perfect knowledge of the English language, and a plan projected by a foreign youth for dethroning a monarch, by personating a prince who had perished in his childhood; but of these the narrative adopted by historians, and the confession attributed to Warbeck, contain different contradictory solutions.

1. In the reign of Edward IV. a Flemish Jew, recently converted to the Christian persuasion, resided during a season in London, where his wife was delivered of a son, to whom, at his baptism, the king condescended to act as sponsor*. Such a godson as Perkin for a monarch, whose name was Edward, is alone ridiculous; but the tale is calculated to explain that resemblance which could not be contested, by the surmise of a previous intrigue between Edward and Warbeck's mother. The tale was susceptible of proof; and as Henry's title to the crown was in question, it was incumbent on him to establish the fact by the testimony of those who had witnessed Warbeck's baptism, or remembered his father at Edward's court: but the name of his pretended father is uncertain;—Warbeck according to historical narrative; Osbeck according to the con-

* Bacon.

cession ascribed to Perkin, as extorted from him; a confession which informs us that his birth-place was Tournay, but contains no trace of a Messiah from the Jews to the English nation.

2. He was removed in his infancy to Tournay, as a residence sufficient for the acquisition of the language might have involved Henry in the difficulty of proving his birth and early education in England*: but his knowledge of English was confessedly perfect, acquired, according to Bacon, in Flanders, by frequenting the company of English merchants; as if perfection was attainable in any language from the casual intercourse of a boy with foreigners. His confession is more explicit, and more contradictory. He was born at Tournay, from which his first excursion was to Antwerp, whither he was sent to acquire the Flemish, his native language; afterwards he lodged at a skinner's adjoining to the "house of the English nation;" and at last was placed by his friends in a merchant's service at Middleburgh, with whom he remained from Christmas to Easter, for the express purpose of learning the language. The merchant's name was John Strew; the language he taught was undoubtedly English: yet in Ireland, where Warbeck was mistaken for a Plantagenet, the inhabitants constrained him, against his inclination, to acquire that language. Henry, solicitous to account for the purity of his accent, insinuated that his knowledge of English, which commenced from his vicinity at Antwerp to the English factory, was completed during his stay at Middleburgh; yet dissatisfied with this solution, Henry sends him at last to Ireland to be instructed by force in the English language. The duke of York, if attended after his escape from the Tower by an English domestic, would retain the purity, and cultivate the propriety, of his vernacular language; but that correct pronunciation, which to him was natural, could be communicated to Warbeck, neither by an intercourse abroad with the English, nor by a short and precarious residence among the Irish†. His pretensions announced on his arrival in Ireland must have been authenticated by a previous acquaintance with the language;

* Bacon.

† It is easy to estimate the possibility of the fact; the acquisition of language is now facilitated by grammars and dictionaries. Let us consider then within what determinate number of years we ourselves, residing in England, could acquire the Dutch or Flemish in perfection; and if in the course of a life, neither study, nor the converse of natives, could accomplish that, let us again consider what residence abroad would be necessary, and we will discover the impossibility of Perkin's acquiring English abroad or in Ireland.

an acquaintance unaccountable, unless on the supposition of his being the identical duke of York.

3. That a foreigner, a youth of obscure birth, should devise or execute such an imposture, assume the name, and support the character of a prince, whose person was unknown to him, indulge the preposterous ambition of supplanting a powerful and vigilant monarch, and in the character of their native prince, of usurping the throne of a nation, to which he was an absolute stranger, were contradictions which Henry was obliged to reconcile, by ascribing the imposture to Margaret's secret instigation and contrivance: she discovered in Warbeck a resemblance of her nephew, tutored him to personate that prince, and, to provide for the exigencies of his future character, stored his mind with instructions and anecdotes concerning his family. Such a character, with the best instructions, was surely an arduous attempt for a foreigner. In the character of princes numerous impostors have deceived the world, but history furnishes no example of an impostor personating a foreign prince to impose himself as a native on a foreign nation. The name of the unfortunate Warwick was adopted twice, but by English impostors. In the next century the false Demetrius, whose history has some resemblance to Warbeck's, obtained for a short period the Russian empire; but Demetrius, whatever was his birth, was a native of the country he aspired to govern*; and in our memory Pugalscheff and others, who successively assumed the name of their murdered sovereign, were Russians, whose language and manners coincided with the character they endeavoured to personate. Such a residence abroad as might vitiate the pronunciation and alter the manners of the duke of York, would certainly facilitate the attempt to support his character; but as Warbeck's pronunciation was confessedly perfect, and his behaviour consistent, we may estimate, with sufficient precision, the obstructions to be surmounted by a foreign impostor. Suppose then that the tragedy of Richard the Third were exhibited at Paris, and a French youth, instructed by an English actor to perform the part of the duke of York, his erroneous pronunciation and defective utterance, the repugnance of his action and manners

* Demetrius is treated uniformly as an impostor by Russian historians; but foreigners, less prejudiced, are apt to recognise his title on the authority of a mother's public acknowledgment, never publicly disowned or retracted. He was supposed to have been murdered in his infancy, but re-appeared, attesting his escape, at the age of manhood.—Vide Cox's Travels.

to those peculiar to the English nation, his inability to preserve or attain to propriety for a single scene, would convince us that Warbeck, a foreigner, could not possibly be capacitated by Margaret's instructions for the performance of the same character with unexampled consistency during his life. But Margaret was herself incapable of informing this orator; her marriage and departure from England preceded the birth of the duke of York, nor could she discover his resemblance in Perkin, describe his character, the features and appearance of his brother and sisters, (none of whom she had ever beheld,) nor instruct her pupil in the daily incidents, the companions and pursuits of his juvenile years, at a court in which, after her marriage, she had never resided *. The historical narrative is therefore false; but the confession published as Warbeck's disclaims it in a manner that exculpates Margaret and discredits itself: it was in Ireland, according to the confession, when Warbeck appeared at Cork dressed in some silk clothes of his master, that he was first mistaken for a Plantagenet, the son of Clarence; and when he denied it on oath, Water formerly the mayor, and Poytron an Englishman, repaired to him privately, maintained that he was a natural son of the late king Richard, assured him of adequate protection and succour, and advised him to assume that character without being intimidated by Henry's power. "And so," says the confession, "against my will they forced me to learn English, and taught me what I should do and say; and after this they called me duke of York, second son of king Edward IV. because king Richard's bastard son was in the hands of the king of England." Thus the imposture, concerted in Flanders with such artful preparation by the dukes of Burgundy, disappears from the canvas, and the whole resolves into an idle tale of a servant mistaken by the Irish for a prince, (not from personal resemblance, because he was dressed in his master's clothes,) and a plan for dethroning the king of England, constructed, on such a mistake, by the mayor of Cork. Such absurd falsehood demonstrates that the confession was either extorted by torture, or fabricated after the execution of Warbeck. It was unknown to Fabian and Polydore Virgil, both contempora-

† His information has also been attributed to Trion, formerly Henry's French secretary, seduced from his service, and dispatched with Lucas to Warbeck in Ireland; but a Frenchman retained for a period as a clerk by Henry, could communicate few particulars, and none of the domestic or secret transactions of a former reign.

ries*; but historians of a subsequent period, who adopted the narrative of the latter with such deviations as their prejudice suggested, have superadded to those indignities, and to that dishonourable death to which Warbeck was exposed, a public confession of his birth and parentage, his adventures and frauds, read aloud, they assure us, first when he was set in the stocks at Cheapside, and again before his execution at Tyburn. That the confession was fictitious, is certain from its falsehood; for Warbeck landed in Ireland, not to be trained to imposture, but to assert his pretensions, and to solicit assistance from the potent earls of Kildare and Desmond†. That it was fabricated by Henry, is more than probable; but to what shall we attribute his suppression of Margaret's share in the imposture? Not to any regard for Margaret, whose character Warham, his ambassador in Flanders, had loaded publicly with reproach and abuse‡.

Henry, to render the imposture probable, had circulated a story which he could not authenticate, and in the confession he published durst not assert. The accusation of Margaret would have rendered a proof of the imposture necessary, and might have provoked her to publish, in her own vindication, incontestible evidence of Warbeck's identity with the duke of York. The repugnance between the confession and the histo-

* Polydore Virgil was sent by the Pope to England to collect the papal tribute about the year 1500, and continued there till the Reformation commenced. His history, as he informs us in a dedication to his brother, of his book *De Inventoribus Rerum*, was begun in 1505 at Henry's request, and finished in twelve years. His information was certainly derived from Henry; and with respect to Warbeck's execution in 1499, must be genuine: but he either knew not, or regarded the confession as spurious, when he omits it in his account of Warbeck's being set in the stocks, and afterward hanged at Tyburn; p. 608.—See Fabian also.

† His letters to these noblemen were supposed to have been extant in Sir James Ware's time.—Ware's *Annals of Ireland*, 1492.

‡ “Dr. Warham, in the latter end of his oration, a little rebuked the lady Margaret, and hit her on the thumbs, saying, that she now in her old age, and within few years, had produced and brought forth two detestable monsters, that is to say, Lambert and Perkin Warbeck; and being conceived of these great babes, not in eight or nine months, but on the hundred and eightieth month, for both these were at the least fifteen years of age before she could be brought-to-bed of them; and when they were newly crept out of her womb, they were no infants, nor sucking children, but lutt younglings, and of age sufficient to bid battle to kings.” Grafton, p. 901.—The historian observes, that although Margaret was vexed at being *hit on the thumbs*, Perkin was more disconcerted at the detection of his fraud in Warham's oration. Thus Henry accused Margaret publicly of a share in the imposture, and afterwards retracted the transaction in the confession which he fabricated. Can that be ascribed to decorum?

rical narrative, (both of which originated with Henry,) must be ascribed to the impossibility of supporting either; and we must conclude that Henry was unable, either to ascertain the pretended birth of his rival, or to remove the improbability of a foreigner, a youth of obscure condition, aspiring to his crown, and projecting to dethrone him, by assuming the character of a prince destroyed in his early youth, whose name was almost forgotten in the world. His spies were certified, it is said, of Warbeck's parentage by "many honest persons in Tournay;" but that testimony might have been obtained by his ambassador in a more unexceptionable and public manner, when Warbeck was expelled by his influence from Flanders. That testimony was necessary to vindicate his title; but his inability to produce it assures us, that he had made no real discovery of Warbeck's origin, to disprove his identity with the duke of York.

Nor is their identity refuted by Henry's pretended discovery of the previous murder of the duke of York. It is justly observed *, that on Henry's accession, when Richard and his numerous adherents were attainted, the passions of the people, inflamed and agitated, should have been productive of an immediate investigation of the murder. No inquiry was instituted however, not till Henry (as Bacon informs us) imprisoned, on Warbeck's appearance, Dighton and Tyrell, the surviving assassins, and obtaining ample confessions of the murder, released the one "who spake best for his interest," but detained the other, whom he afterwards beheaded for a different crime. The purport, according to Bacon, of these confessions, was discovered only by public report; for Henry made no use of them in his subsequent declarations: nor could he, for the confessions had not then an existence. Sir James Tyrell at that time enjoyed his confidence, if not his esteem. He had obtained from Henry the command of Guisnes; and after Warbeck's appearance and reception at Paris, was appointed one of the commissioners to conclude the treaty of Estaples with the French †. He was not imprisoned till ten years afterwards; when, on Suffolk's flight in 1502, he was accused of treason, attainted, and beheaded. His confession must be postponed to that period; as More informs us, that, "when in the Tower for treason committed against Henry, he and

* Historical Doubts.

† Hall, p. 18, 55. Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 481.

"Dighton confessed the murder*." Henry's previous measures to ascertain the murder originated therefore in the historian's invention; and as Tyrell's crime was a confederacy with Suffolk, no reliance can be placed on a rumoured confession, never published, but calculated to asperse the character and vindicate the execution of a soldier, the victim of a tyrant's suspicions. Warbeck's pretensions required an immediate proof of the murder; but no discovery was made, nor inquiry instituted, till Warbeck's death; when a confession, certainly fictitious, was fastened on a person already condemned for a different crime.

Admitting then that Henry attempted neither to discover the murder, nor to establish the pretended obscurity of Warbeck's origin, that his competitor's pretensions derive additional confirmation from his failure, there was another more obvious detection of which the imposture was susceptible, an absolute criterion to determine its truth. Personal identity at different periods derives its sole proof from the opinion of friends, and acknowledgment of kindred; and Margaret's attestation of her nephew's identity, might have been counteracted, if false, by the more authoritative declarations of nearer relatives. The mother must have remembered her son, and the sisters their brother, whom they had formerly endeavoured to preserve in sanctuary, and the lost object of their fond regret no lapse of time could efface from their memory. Manhood might expand, but it could not extirpate his youthful features; or if these were altered, a thousand incidents still remained—the particulars of the night in which they took refuge in sanctuary, their distress, dangers, and mutual endearments, their separation and solemn farewell, the recollection of a sister's tears and a mother's blessing, all remained to determine his filial and fraternal claims. The declarations of the queen-dowager, of the queen, or of her sisters, would have decided his character; and their denial of his pretensions would have disabused the nation, and have silenced for ever the sceptical voice of inquiry. "But Warbeck was never confronted with them: they were never asked, is this your son? is this your brother†?" Their verdict admitted of no appeal; but they might have recognized in Warbeck the youth

* Warbeck, who appeared in 1492, was executed in 1499. Fabian mentions Sir John Tyrell's imprisonment and execution on Suffolk's account in 1502; but not a word of his confession or imprisonment formerly.

† Historical Doubts, p. 85.

they had fondly cherished in sanctuary, and the emotions of nature might have disregarded the feeble injunctions of a tyrant. This was an obvious mode of detection, far preferable to the reports of spies, or a spurious confession; but the proof which Henry withheld or avoided, operates decidedly in Warbeck's favour, whose identity, thus established by the direct or presumptive evidence of his nearest kindred, is farther attested by his father's friends, Stanley, Fitz-walter, and others, who finally sealed their conviction with their blood. Their information, it is true, was derivative, not personal; yet its certainty may be estimated by the conviction it excited, such as exposed their lives to the rigour, and their fortunes to the rapacity, of a jealous tyrant. Their testimony might be corroborated, if necessary, by that of different contemporary princes; nor can we attribute to a smooth and plausible tale the reception Warbeck experienced from James IV. or believe that, without credentials or proofs of his birth, he obtained the cordial support of that monarch, and a princess, his near relation in marriage. But the belief and declarations of friends and kindred, the opinion of the most respectable personages that distinguished the period, Henry's inability to discover the murder, or detect the imposture, constitute such evidence as can only be impaired or confirmed by those probable or ostensible motives with which Richard and Henry were respectively actuated. Acquitted of treason, usurpation, and treachery; and of the murders formerly imputed to his youth, Richard's character assumes a milder hue, and his supposed cruelty to Edward's, seems irreconcilable with his tenderness to Clarence's issue, as his accession, founded on the incapacity of both, rendered either equally formidable; and the attainder of the one might have been reversed as easily as the illegitimacy of the other had been declared by parliament. No adequate motive could stimulate to a murder which neither strengthened his title, nor, during Warwick's survival, increased his security; and the conclusion deducible from the disappearance of his nephews, and the report of their murder, is removed by the subsequent report of their existence, and the re-appearance of the youngest, whose identity, which his friends and kindred attested, his implacable enemy was unable to discredit. Henry's apprehensions of their appearance are discovered by his severe and unmerited treatment of the queen dowager, his preservation of Lambert, as a remedy against future *enchancements* of a similar nature, his regret that Lincoln's death intercepted the knowledge of the *bottom of his danger*;

ger*; and his systematical depression of the Yorkists must be attributed, after his marriage with Elizabeth, not to a foolish and incurable prejudice, but to a persuasion that the existence of one of their princes rendered it dangerous to entrust them with power. But the reason assigned by Henry for the execution of Warwick, *vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis facere*, discloses his secret conviction of Warbeck's descent from the house of York. At the instigation of Ferdinand, who refused his daughter while the male line of Plantagenet existed, Warwick was removed as an obstruction to prince Arthur's approaching marriage†. His conspiracy with Warbeck was fictitious, or rather, as was understood at the period, a snare prepared for their mutual destruction; but as Warbeck, if an impostor, was no obstacle to Arthur's nuptials, Henry, whose policy spared Lambert, stooped confessedly to a detestable artifice in order to terminate his own or Ferdinand's fears, by the extinction of the two surviving princes of the race of Plantagenet.

That Perkin Warbeck was a genuine Plantagenet, that Richard was no usurper, nor a tyrant stained with the blood of his kinsmen, are conclusions of which the reception can only be obstructed by the difficulty of discarding our ancient historians. Their credit, however, is now diminished; More's information is traced to Morton, than whom there was none more interested in traducing his recent deserted sovereign; Polydore Virgil, a courtly writer, composed his history at Henry's request; and when succeeding chronicles transcribed the one, and improved on the other, we may be assured that, during the Tudor dynasty, literature possessed no curiosity to examine, nor spirit to vindicate, an obscure and dangerous historical truth. Would historians, afraid to intimate the defect in Henry's title, express the slightest recognition of his rivals, or suggest a marriage that rendered himself an usurper, his wife a bastard, and the royal issue of England's roses, doubly illegitimate, destitute of every hereditary or legal claim‡? Would historians, whose rancour had branded Richard with every personal deformity and moral turpitude, transfer to Henry the imputation of murdering in Warbeck, the true Plantagenet, to secure an equivocal right to the crown? The same causes ope-

* Bacon.

† Ibid.

‡ "A bastard branch of Lancaster, matched with a bastard of York, were obtruded on the nation as the right heirs of the crown; and as far as two negatives make an affirmative, they were so."—Historic Doubts, p. 40.

rated after the accession of the Stuarts, whose divine or hereditary right, derived from Henry's daughter, would have been impaired by whatever tended to Richard's vindication; and Buck, the first who asserted his innocence, felt the necessity of procuring a new title for the reigning family, in the descent of James from the Saxon monarchs*. Bacon's history might have been composed from materials that are now lost; an apologetical history, calculated to establish his master's despotical principles, and display their milder exercise by the severe precedent of a former reign; but when the historian records as real what he conceived requisite, who can discriminate facts from the produce of invention? The inquisition concerning the murder of the princes, however requisite, was not instituted; and Warbeck's manifesto was perverted, either capriciously, or to countenance the purport of a wretched speech. That manifesto contains an explanation of his escape from the Tower, nor was it prudent to expose his secret deliverers to Henry's resentment; but his supposed oration to the Scottish court (a fiction of Grafton's, embellished by Bacon) will not persuade us that the *smooth and likely tale* of his deliverance was absurd and improbable; that his life, according to his own account, was spared by the compassion, and his escape effected by the connivance and aid of his brother's murderers†. But to those who, in estimating the voice of history, take no computation of the character of historians, timid or venal, subservient to the times, or obsequious to power, let me suggest an illustration that may render the present dissertation not entirely barren of moral instruction. The fate of Richard's nephews, and the participation of the Scottish Mary in her husband's murder, constitute two problematical questions in British story, exemplified in the recent annals of Europe by crimes of a more unequivocal and detestable die. Richard died like a soldier, but his memory has been persecuted with unmerited hatred; and the beautiful and accomplished Mary, expelled from her throne and paternal kingdom, bewailed her misfortunes in a long captivity, and expiated her imputed guilt with her blood. The present generation has beheld a

* From Margaret, Edgar Atheling's sister, married to Malcolm Commore.

† A smooth and likely tale indeed! It is observable that the proclamation, the only genuine evidence derived from Warbeck of his pretension or character, neither gives countenance to the absurdity supposed to attend his escape, nor accuses Richard of a single crime; yet Bacon has given it such an implied meaning.

princess murder her husband and usurp his throne, and with despotic impunity rule an empire to which she was an alien. We have seen usurpations recognised as legal, parricide and regicide approved as glorious by the monarchs of Europe, who, instead of confederating against her to vindicate sovereignty thus outraged, solicit her alliance, and sue for her friendship; by those monarchs, who, if a gallant nation re-asserting its freedom, interpose an intermediate power between the prince and his people, are alarmed for their own indefeasible supremacy, and eager by the conspiracy of their flagitious arms to reduce that state to its pristine servitude. Two observations are deducible from an example, the dishonour, not the detestation, of Europe: The one is, that the virtues and the vices of the human species are, in different periods, nearly balanced; that if three centuries of progressive refinement have improved the manners and repressed the vices, they have also debased and degraded the virtues of the moderns; supplanted that indignation which pursued the supposed guilt of a Richard and a Mary, and instructed nations, at least their rulers, to sympathize with the successful crimes of a female usurper, not to commiserate the wrongs of her murdered husband. The other observation is, that under her despotism his fate will be converted by the discreet historian into a natural demise; and if her successors are interested in her meretricious virtues, the falsehood will be propagated by future historians till the time arrive when the crime itself shall become problematical, and the enquirer, who reads in foreign authors the *decease* of the prince, will not credit the imputation of a murder, of which the annals of his country contain no trace; but when the just imputation of such atrocity is in this enlightened period suppressed by power, or averted, even among foreigners *, by its splendor, who will tell me that, during five reigns and a long century of Tudor domination, historians would venture, by the suggestion of Richard's title, to pronounce his successors a race of usurpers, or by a surmise of his innocence to establish their right on the murder of his nephew the duke of York? The Stuarts are accused, and perhaps with truth, of obliterating the evidence of Mary's guilt; and it is not presumable that a document of Richard's innocence, or his nephews' existence, would survive the suppression of the monasteries, and escape the destructive vigilance of either Henry: but whether the fo-

* See in Cox's Travels, (but I forget the passage, the personage, the period of time, or the particular region,) a curious instance of such a *decease*.

licitude of Mary's descendants has redeemed her innocence, Richard's must be recognized, when of numerous accusations no crime has been substantiated by a race of sovereigns hostile to his memory, nor scrupulous either in the abuse of power, or the perversion of truth.

NUMBER IV.

[Ex originali in Bibl. Thomæ Astlei, arm.]

Recepta Scaccarij. DECLARACIO fact. metuendissimo domino nostro regi nunc Henrico Octavo per Johannem Cutte militem subthes. Anglie tam de feodis & annuitatibus diversarum personarum solut. ad receptam Scaccarij illustrissimi principis famose memorie domini Henrici nuper regis Anglie Septimi quam de omnibus & singulis denariorum summis pro quibuscumque alijs causis per mandatum dicti nuper regis ad receptam predictam solut. & assignat. pro uno anno integro finit. ad festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni serenissime majestatis predict. nuper regis 24to. ut in consequentibus particulis plenius apparent; videlicet,

Tempore nuper regis Henrici Septimi.

Dominis, militibus, armigeris, & diversis alijs personis.

J OHANNI comiti Oxon. constabular. Tur- ris regis Lond. de feod. suo, per annum Wilhelmo domino Conyers—De hereditate sua, per ann.	<table style="margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">£.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">s.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">d.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">100</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">20</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0</td> </tr> </table> <div style="text-align: right;">Thome</div>	£.	s.	d.	100	0	0	20	0	0
£.	s.	d.								
100	0	0								
20	0	0								

Thome domino Dacre—Locumtenent. West-	£.	s.	d.
march. versus Scociam, per ann.	153	6	8
Thome Domino Darcy—Locumtenent. Est-			
march. versus Scociam, per ann.	114	13	5
Edwardo Ratcliff mil. & } Locumtenent. Middle-			
Rogero Fenwyk arm. } march. versus Sco-			
ciam, per ann.	114	13	4
Jacobo Strangwais mil.—De hereditate sua,			
per ann.	20	0	0
Thome Lovell mil.—Custod. castris regis Not.			
de feodo suo, per ann.	26	13	4
Thome Brandon mil.—De annuitate sua, per			
ann.	40	0	0
Edwardo Darell mil.—De annuitate sua, per ann.	20	0	0
Edwardo Wyngefeld mil.—De annuitate sua,			
per ann.	40	0	0
Willelmo Vampage mil.—De annuitate sua,			
per ann.	33	6	8
Rowlando Vylevile mil.—De annuitate sua,			
per ann.	20	0	0
Johanni Carewe mil.—De annuitate sua, per			
ann.	33	6	8
Matheo Baker arm.—De annuitate sua, per ann.	33	6	8
Antonio Fetyplace arm.—De annuitate sua, per			
ann.	33	6	8
Thome Parre arm.—De annuitate sua, per ann.	33	6	8
Ricardo Hastyngs arm.—De annuitate sua, per			
ann.	33	6	8
Edmundo Duddeley arm.—De annuitate sua,			
per ann.	66	13	4
Henrico Wyatte arm.—Clerico jocalium domini			
regis, de annuitate sua, per ann.	13	6	8
Petro Shampayn arm.—De annuitate sua, per			
ann.	20	0	0
Roberto Knollys arm.—De annuitate sua, per			
ann.	13	6	8
Thome Neville arm.—De annuitate sua, per			
ann.	20	0	0
Johanni Heron—Rangeatori regis infra fo-			
restam de Waltham, per ann.	9	2	6
Hugoni Denys—Virgebajulo infra castrum regis			
de Wyndesore, per ann.	18	5	0
Johanni de Roye—De annuitate sua, per ann.	26	13	4
Edwardo Cheseman—Coferaro hospicii regis			
de appunctuac. per ann.	300	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Andree Wyndefore mil.—Clerico magne garderobe regis de appunctuac. per ann. -	300	0	0
Johanni Meawtys—Secretario domini regis in lingua Gallica, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	40	0	0
Roberto Rydon—Clerico consilij domini regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	26	13	4
Ricardo Dycons—Custod. Brun. domini regis in communi banco, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	6	13	4
Willelmo Smyth—Custod. icorum & al harnec. regis infra Turrim London. de annuitate sua, per ann. -	18	5	0
Roberto Haslrigge—Custod. garderobe regis infra palacium Westm. de feodo suo, per ann. -	12	3	4
Petro Narbonne—Barbitonfori domini regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	13	6	8
Ricardo Gybson & alijs luforibus domini regis—De annuitate sua, per ann. -	13	6	8
Henrico Glasebury & alijs ministrallis domini regis—De annuitate sua, per ann. -	53	6	8
Garcionibus & pagettis camere domini regis de reg. inter se erga festum natalis Domini annuatim consuet. per ann. -	100	0	0
Willelmo Cornyshe—Magistro puerorum capelle regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. pro excubicione eorundem puerorum -	26	13	4
Radulpho fenette—Custod. lectorum & armature domini regis infra castrum de Wyndefore, de feodo suo, per ann. -	13	13	9
Ricardo Gybson—Portatori magne garderobe regis in civitate London. per ann. -	6	1	8
Antonio Spynell—De annuitate sua, per ann. -	20	0	0
Johanni de Pounde—Armurario regis de annuitate sua, per ann. -	20	0	0
Ricardo Smyth—Custod. gardini regis infra Turrim London. de feodo suo, per ann. -	9	2	6
Thorne Holden—Custod. hospicij regalis infra palacium Westm. de feodo suo, per ann. -	6	1	8
Radulpho Pontiewe—Brigandario regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	10	0	0
Cornelio Vandestrete—Arefmaker, de feodo suo per ann. -	18	5	0
Henrico Wyndefore—De annuitate sua, per ann. -	5	0	0
Johanni Turstan—Magistro barge domini regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	11	8	6h

Eidem

Eidem Johanni—Pro vadijs 20 hominum ad serviend domino regi in barga sua, per ann.	£.	s.	d.
	20	0	0
Fredefwide Puilenham—De annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-
	5	0	0
<hr/>			
Summa hujus tituli,	£.	2,111	15 2½
	<hr/>		

Heraldis & pursevandis domini regis.

Thome Bevolte, al. Clarenceux herald de annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	20	0	0
Johanni Yong, al. Norrey herald, de annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	20	0	0
Johanni Pounde, al. Somersfett. herald, de annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	13	6	8
Johanni Joynor, al. Rychemounde herald, de annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	13	6	8
Laurencio de la Gatta, al. Rougecrox pursevand, de annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	10	0	0
Radulpho Lagoo, al. Blewmantell pursevand, de annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	10	0	0
<hr/>						
Summa hujus tituli.	£.	86	13	4		

Diversis personis ecclesiasticis.

Magistro Johi Yong—Custod. rotulorum can- cellarie regis de feodo suo, per ann.	-	-	-	31	8	2
Decano capelle domini regis, pro obla- cionibus ipsius domin regis debit' in die passaven, per ann.	-	-	-	33	6	8
Willelmo Malham—Clerico parve bage cancel- lar. domini regis, de feodo suo, per ann.	-	-	-	10	0	0
Fratribus minoribus Oxon.—De annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	33	6	8
Fratribus predicatoribus Cantebrig.—De annu- itate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	16	13	4
Fratribus minoribus Cantebrig.—De annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	16	13	4
Fratribus predicatoribus in civitate London.— De annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	20	0	0
Fratribus & sororibus sancte Katherine juxta Turrim London.—De annuitate sua, per ann.	-	-	-	3	13	4
Vol. VI.	X x			Abbat		

Abbatj monasterij de Stratford—De annuitate sua, per ann.	£.	s.	d.
Willelmo Gyddyng—Clerico rectori de Ayshe, de annuitate sua, per ann.	5	0	0
Ricardo Surbande—Clerico rectori capelle regis infra Turrim London. de annuitate sua, per ann.	5	0	0
Infirmis leprosis sancti Egidij London. de annuitate sua, per ann.	6	13	4
Puero episcopo sancti Nicholai infra capellam sancti Stephani, de annuitate sua, per ann.	3	0	0
	1	0	0

Summa hujus tituli, £. 185 13 10

Servientibus domini regis ad arma

Gilberto Mawdesley—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Thome Twysday—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Hugoni Cholmeley—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Willelmo Butteler—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem per ann.	18	5	0
Jacobo Conyers—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Leonello Crafford—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Mauricio Butteler—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Willelmo More—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Johanni Harper—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Roberto Wafshyngton—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem per ann.	18	5	0
Edwardo Gryffith—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0

Summa hujus tituli, £. 200 15 0

Valectis de corona domini regis.

Johanni Wattys—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,	£.	s.	d.
per ann.	9	2	6
Henrico Strete—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Willelmo Almer—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Olivero Turnor—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Davye—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Evan—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Jeffron—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Roberto Walker—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Amyas—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Brereton—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Forde—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Petro Wrattton—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Whytyngton—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per			
diem. per ann.	9	2	6
Henrico Hopkyns—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per			
diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Edmundo Huntewade—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per			
diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Smyth—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Almer—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem,			
per ann.	9	2	6

Summa hujus tituli, £. 155 2 6

Clerico, valecto, & vibrellatoribus ordinac. domini regis.

	£.	s.	d.
Wilelmo Archebald—Clerico ordinacionum domini regis, de feodo suo, ad 8d. per diem, per ann.	12	3	4
Ricardo Smythe—Valetto ordinacionum regis, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Thome Greves—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Ricardo Fawconer—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Eidem Ricardo—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, pro vadijs unius hominis	-	9	2 6
Rogero Anglois—Vibrellatori de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Roberto Fyfscher—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Blasio Billarde—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Winardo Godfrey—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Willelmo Ivec—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Henrico Cromer—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Pais Reynold—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Euelmo Lucryand—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Johanno Wystowe—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6

Summa hujus tituli, £. 130 15 10

Thefaurario Anglie, baronibus ac alijs officiarijs & ministris de Scaccario domini regis.

Thome duci Norff.—Domino thefaurario Anglie, de feodo suo, per ann.	365	0	0
Willelmo Hody milit.—Capitali baroni in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	100	0	0

artho.

		℥.	s.	d.	
Bartho. Westeby—Secundar. baroni in Scaccario,					
de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	46	13	4	
Willelmo Bollyng—Tercio baroni in Scaccario, de					
feodo suo, per ann.	- -	46	13	4	
Johanni Aleyn.—4to baroni in Scaccario, de feodo					
suo, per ann.	- -	46	13	4	
Thome Lovell milit.—Cancellar. regis in Scac-					
cario, de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	26	13	4	
Roberto Blagge—Remem. ex parte regis in Scac-					
cario, de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	55	17	4	
Edmundo Denny—Remem. ex parte thesaur. re-					
gis in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	64	2	6	
Thome Darnalle—Clerico magni rotuli in Scac-					
cario, de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	47	19	7	
Riegnaldo Fillole—Contra rotulatori magni rotuli					
in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	13	14	7	
Quinque auditoribus, in Scaccario, cuilibet eo-					
rum ad 10℥. per annum, in toto per ann.	- -	50	0	0	
Edmundo Wylley—Oppositori forinseco in Scac-					
cario, de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	16	13	4	
Willelmo Atwode—Clerico extractarum in Scac-					
cario, de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	15	0	0	
Roberto Bristolle—Clerico ad placita in Scaccario,					
de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	5	0	0	
Ricardo Blacwall—Marescallo in Scaccario, de					
feodo suo, per ann.	- -	5	0	0	
Thome Sacheverell—Summonitori in Scaccario,					
de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	4	0	0	
Willelmo Fermer—Clerico ad tall. jungend. in					
Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	5	0	0	
Johanni Newporte—Alteri clerico ad tall. jungend.					
in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	- -	5	0	0	
Johanni Majer & } Clericis secundar. ex parte re-					
Johanni Copwood } mem. regis in Scaccario,					
	de feodis suis cuilibet eorum				
	ad 4℥. per ann.	- -	8	0	0
Johanni Castell & } Clericis secundarijs ex parte					
Johanni Dodde } rem. thes. de feodis suis in-					
	ter se per ann.	- -	9	0	0
Thome Cavundishe } Clericis secundar sub clerico					
& Johanni Pette } magni rotuli in Scaccario					
	cuilibet eorum, ad 5℥.				
	per ann. in toto inter se	10	0	0	

Hostiario de Scaccario—Pro brevibus regis portand. ad divers. loca Anglie, pro feodis dietis suis ac pro cera & alijs necessarijs per ipsos empt. & provis. per ann. - - - 32 14 0 $\frac{1}{2}$

Summa hujus tituli, £. 979 14 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

Camerarijs, subthesaurarijs, & alijs officiarijs & ministris de recepta Scaccarij regis.

Sampsoni Norton mil.—Uni camerar. recepte Scaccarij regis, de feodo suo, per ann. - 52 3 4
 Johanni Cutte mil.—Subthes. Anglie, de feodo suo, per ann. - 173 6 8
 Johanni Daunce—Uni numeratorum recepte, de feodo suo, per ann. - 31 13 4
 Johanni Hasilwode—Alteri numeratorum recepte, de feodo suo, per ann. - 31 13 4
 Johanni Lewis—De feodo suo, per ann. - 28 6 8
 Roberto Blacwall—De feodo suo, per ann. - 17 10 0
 Johanni Milletti—De feodo suo, per ann. - 10 0 0
 Hugoni Nayler—De feodo suo, per ann. - 10 0 0
 Ricardo Barley—De feodo suo, per ann. - 6 0 0
 Thome Goldeburgh—De feodo suo, per ann. - 6 0 0
 Hugoni Denys—Hostiar. de recepta pro feodis dietis suis, cera, & alijs necessarijs per ipsum empt. & provis. per ann. - 26 4 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Henrico Pemberton—De feodo suo, per ann. - 5 0 0
 Willelmo Gilbert—Portatori bage cum rotulis & alijs memorandis, de feodo suo, per ann. - 6 6 8
 Eidem Willelmo—Super provisione pergameni pro officio thes & camerar. per ann. - 4 0 0
 Quatuor nuncijs de recepta—Pro vadijs cujuslibet eorum, ad 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per diem inter se, in toto per ann. 27 7 6

Summa hujus tituli, £. 435 11 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

Summa totalis de omnibus & singulis feodis & annuitatibus supradictis solutis ad receptam Scaccarij illustrissimi domini Henrici nuper regis Anglie septimi, pro uno anno integro finito ad festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno 24to predicti nuper regis £. 4,286 1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

Totalis

Totalis soluc. in promptis denarijs & assignac. in tallijs ad receptum predictum per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis super expensis hospicii sui per tempus predictum.	£.	s.	d.
	12,759	9	11

Totalis soluc. in promptis denarijs & assign. in talijs ad receptum predictum per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis super expensis & provisione garderobe sue per tempus supradictum	-	-	
	1,715	19	11

Totalis assignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis pro expensis ambassatorum per tempus predictum			
	2,000	0	0

Totalis assignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis pro manutenencia & salva custodja Este & Middlemarch, versus Scociam pro expensis ducis Ebor. per tempus predictum	-	-	
	1,000	0	0

Totalis assignac. in tallijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis & per eundem nuper regem ratione divers. forisfactur. servientibus suis dat nomine regardi per tempus predictum	-	-	
	403	6	8

Totalis assignac. in tallijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis pro expensis operationum suarum per tempus supradictum	-	-	
	333	6	8

Summa totalis omnium & singulorum solucionum & assignacionum predict. per illustrissimum principem famose memorie dominum Henricum nuper regem Anglie Septimum pro diversis & separabilibus causis diversis personis conc. a festo sancti Michis Archan-

geli anno regni egregie sue ma-	£.	s.	d.
jestatis 23to usque festum sancti			
Michis Archi. proxime sequen-			
tem anno 24to. ejusdem nuper			
regis pro uno anno integro	22,498	4	8½

NUMBER V.

Extracts from a MS. Book in the Remembrancer's Office, almost every Page signed by K. Henry VII.

13th Hen. VII.

ITEM, to a woman for three apples, 12d.

Item, for two pair of bellows, 10d.

Item, for the king's losse at tennis, 12d.

Item, for losse of balls there, 3d.

N. B. The king's Sunday's offering seems constantly to have been, 6s. 8d.

To the preacher of the day, 20s.

Item, for three sackbuthes wages, 6li.

Item, for three stryngmynstrels wages, 5 li.

Item, for offering St. George's day, 30s.

John Send. nonick Rebeck; 43s. per month.

Item, for the feryboate of Rochester, 53s. 4d.

14th Hen. VII.

Item, a reward given for apples by Thomas Fote-man homeward, 20d.

Item, to a strange taberer, in reward, 66s. 8d.

Item, to a strange tumbler, in reward, 20s.

Item, for heling of a feke maid, 6s. 8d.——

N. B. This charge occurs frequently, and was perhaps the piece of gold given by the king in touching for the evil.——

Q. If there was any such piece of coin?

20th July. Item, to the mayor of Rochester towards the bridge there, 100s.

Item, for a stryngmynstrel for one moneth's wages of August last passed, 15s.

Item, for finding three hares, 6s. 8d.——N. B. This occurs frequently.

Item,

- 20th July. Item, to a piper at Huntingdon. 2s.
 Item, for apples presented by a woman, 4d.
 Item, for breaking of hegges at Wiscome, 20d.
 Item, to my lord prince's organ-player for a qrt.
 wages ending at Michell, 10s.
 Item, for three dozen of leder gloves, 12d.
 Item, to the yeomen of the king's chamber for
 their months wages of November last pas-
 sed, 67l. 8s. 8d.
 Item, for the wages of the seke yeomen, 60s.
 Item, to a tumbler at my lord Bathe's, 20s.
 Item, to the pleyers of London, in reward, 10s.
 Item, to the tabouretts and a tumbler, 20s.
 Item, to my lord of Dudley's servant for bringing
 up a money-maker, 13s. 4d.
 Item, to a Scotch sole, in reward, 13s. 4d.
 Item, to Sir Thomas Brandon for a horse, 4l.
 Item, for another horse, 4l.
 Item, for a third horse, 66s. 8d.
 Item, to a Ducheman for a cage, 4l.
 Item, to Master Barnard the blind poete, 100s.
 To William Est for digging of the conduit at
 Wodestock, p lis. 20l.
 To the abbot of Reading for lede bought for
 Wodestock, 16l.
 For the carriage of the same, 18s.
 Item, to Jakes Haute for the conduyt at Wode-
 stock upon a bill, 10l. 12s. 10d.
 Item, to a man and woman for strawburyes,
 8s. 4d.
 Item, to the bishop of Bangor's cheefes at Lantony,
 6s. 8d.—N. B. This frequently.
 Item, for a woman for a red roffe, 2s.
 For the hyre of a cart from London to Wode-
 stock, 10s.

Extracts from a MS. in the Remembrancer's Office.

9th Hen. VII.

- Item, to Robert Forst for appaules and cakes,
 6s. 8d.
 Item, to Cart for writing of a booke, 6s. 8d.
 Item,

- Item, to one that presented two cakes and a cheefe, 13s. 4d.
- Item, to Sir Robert Curfon's servent for an horse, 40s.
- Item, to Danyell riding to Shene and Thistleworth, 2s.
- 26th Decr. Item, for a pair of trussling cofres boughte, 10s.
- Item, to a fellow with a berde, a spye, in reward, 20s.
- Item, to two monkes, speyes, in reward, 40s.
- Item, payed for two pleyes in the hall, 26s. 8d.
- Item, to the king's pleyers, for a rewarde, 100s.
- Item, to him that brought the pnosticaçon, 6s. 8d.
- Item, to the king to play at cardes, 100s.
- Item, to John lbye, a spye, in reward, 13s. 4d.
- Item, to one that brought the king a lyon, 53s. 4d.
- Item, to a spye that dwelleth in the west country, 20s.
- For the king at tables, chefs, glasses, &c. 56s. 8d.
- Item, to the players that begged by the way, 6s. 8d.
- Item, to a litell feloo of Shaftesburye, 20s.
- Item, to Pechie the sole, in rewarde, 6s. 8d.
- Item, lost to my lord Moring at buttes, 6s. 8d.
- Item, to Afshbyby for writing of a boke, 3s. 4d.
- 8th June. Item, to Sir Edward Boroughe which the king lost at buttes with his crossebowe, 13s. 4d.
- 10th. Item, to a Spanyarde that played the sole, 40s.
- 29th July. Item, to a woman that broke an heggez by the way, 12d.
- 5th Aug. Item, to Diego, the Spanish sole, in reward, 20s.
- 2d Oct. Item, to the shippes boates that brought the king's grace to and fro the ship the Swan, 40s.
- Item, to the mariners of the same Swan, 6l. 13s. 4d.
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- Item, to Dego, the Spaynyshe foole, in rewarde, 6s. 8d.
- Item, to a Scot, an espye, in rewarde, 40s.
- Item

2d Oct. Item, to one that presented the king with a mule, 2os.

Item, to one that bought a lamprey, in reward, 4s.

Item, to Harry Poyning, the king's godson, in reward, 2os.

Item, to the sole the duk of Lancastre.

Item, to finding one hare, 3s. 4d.

25th May. Item, to Pudelay piper in the bagpipes, 6s. 8d.

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